

# **Beacon Conference 2014**

**A Conference for Student Scholars at Two-Year Colleges**

**Ulster County Community College, Stone Ridge NY**

**PROCEEDINGS**

## Table of Contents

<b>List of Outstanding Papers by Panel .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>A Compassionate Science: The Intersection of Epicurean Philosophy and Nursing Practice .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Much Ado About Something: The Shakespeare-Marlowe Authorship Controversy .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Gender Role Conformity and Transgression in the International Situations Project .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>“They Did Not See It Was For Our Hurt” .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>Purchasing Power: How the Erosion of Campaign Finance Law Subverts Democracy .....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>The Incidence of Traumatic Brain Injury and its Impact on the Adult and Juvenile Brain .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Compassion .....</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>Counterfeit Medicines.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Understanding Deaf Psychosis: Schizophrenia’s Prevalence and Manifestation in the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Population .....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>From Greeks to “Grape” to Mozart: Istanbul’s Globalized Culture as Reflected through Art (Based on a Study of <i>My Name is Red</i>) .....</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>Copper .....</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>“Ce que tes yeux me disent”: Facets of the Gaze in The Awakening.....</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>US Policies and Terrorism .....</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>Representation of Women in Unilever Advertisements.....</b>	<b>206</b>

## List of Outstanding Papers by Panel

### Philosophy

A Compassionate Science: The Intersection of Epicurean Philosophy and Nursing Practice  
Janelle Zimmerman, Mentor: Dr. Christopher Costello, Reading Area Community College

### Literature I (19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> Century)

Much Ado About Something: The Shakespeare-Marlowe Authorship Controversy  
Joanna Dykeman, Mentors: Elaine Torda & Max Schaeffer, Orange County Community College

### Gender

Gender Role Conformity and Transgression in the International Situations Project  
Caitlin Brown, Mentor: Dr. Betsy Swope, Lehigh Carbon Community College

### History

"They Did Not See It Was For Our Hurt"  
Sheila Frees, Mentor: John Lawlor, Reading Area Community College

### Social Sciences

Purchasing Power: How the Erosion of Campaign Finance Law Subverts Democracy  
Wellington Mackey, Mentor: Dr. Mira Sakrajda, Westchester Community College

### Allied Health

The Incidence of Traumatic Brain Injury and its Impact on the Adult and Juvenile Brain  
Madonna Enwe, Mentor: Dr. Carole Wolin, Montgomery College

### Interdisciplinary

Compassion  
Nathan Christie, Mentor: Dr. Christine Bowditch, Lehigh Carbon Community College

### Social Justice

Counterfeit Medicines  
Yael Tsitohay, Mentor: Shweta Sen, Montgomery College

### Psychology

Understanding Deaf Psychosis: Schizophrenia's Prevalence and Manifestation in the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Population  
Rachel Lee, Mentor: Dr. David Brant, Reading Area Community College

### Arts

From Greeks to "Grape" to Mozart: Istanbul's Globalized Culture as Reflected through Art  
(Based on a Study of My Name is Red)  
Catherine Baker, Mentor: Kelly Rudin, Montgomery College

Science

Copper

Humoyun Musaev, Mentor: Dr. Abel Navarro, Borough of Manhattan Community College

Literature II (19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> Century)

“Ce que tes yeux me disent”: Facets of the Gaze in The Awakening

Diana Wu, Mentor: Effie Siegel, Montgomery College

Global

US Policies and Terrorism

Vivek Sood, Mentors: Elaine Torda & Paul Basinski, Orange County Community College

Communication and Popular Culture

Representation of Women in Unilever Advertisements

Anastasia Sidorenkova, Mentor: Dr. Naida Zukic, Borough of Manhattan Community College

## A Compassionate Science:

### The Intersection of Epicurean Philosophy and Nursing Practice

Janelle Zimmerman

The philosophy of the third century BCE philosopher Epicurus is not concerned simply with obscure theoretical considerations but provides a practical guide to living well. As biographer David Konstan notes, the Greek philosopher “Epicurus understood the task of philosophy first and foremost as a form of *therapy for life*, since the philosophy that does not heal the soul is no better than a medicine that cannot heal the body” [emphasis added] (6). There are many connections between Epicurus’ philosophy and modern nursing practice and theory, and the connection is not mere chance. Epicurus’ basic tenet of eudemonia (variously translated as happiness, satisfaction, or human flourishing) as the ultimate end of human life and his emphasis on empirical rather than theoretical knowledge shaped the thought of nineteenth century philosopher John Stuart Mill (Kessler 116), who in turn strongly influenced Florence Nightingale, his contemporary and the founder of modern nursing. Nightingale’s impact on nursing shapes today’s nursing practice in many ways. The intersection of philosophy and nursing is filled with rich insights into the nature of illness, health, and happiness. Epicurean philosophy as expressed in modern nursing practice leads to an empirical, humanistic, and holistic approach to nursing.

Though abstract, nursing philosophy has practical applications in routine nursing practice, allowing the nursing professional to understand the nature of health and happiness. The historical account of nursing, as well as my own experience<sup>1</sup>, corroborates this belief. When I was a young child, my mother warned me—more than half seriously—that my fascination with abstract questions might lead to being too heavenly minded to be of any earthly use. Despite her warnings, this penchant has not been useless or impractical. I have spent a lot of time thinking about the philosophical underpinnings of modern nursing practice. What I have learned through studying philosophy has helped me understand the practice of the healing arts, particularly when working with seriously ill or dying patients. I am better able to understand their concerns and questions about the nature of life and death, and thus better able to meet the patient’s needs.

Epicurean philosophy focuses on eudemonia (happiness, satisfaction, or human flourishing) as the goal of human life. Eudemonia is an interesting philosophical concept, with intriguing applications for nursing practice. For both the nurse and the patient, living in a state of eudemonia is a major achievement.

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<sup>1</sup> Clinical examples in this paper are drawn from the author’s experience working as a nurse aide at a hospital in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Nurses seek to find in their life and career the satisfaction and fulfillment implied in eudemonia, while also helping their patients to find eudemonia in their lives. The nursing professional has two parallel goals—gaining eudemonia for themselves and helping their patients reach eudemonia. Nursing as a path to eudemonia means finding fulfillment and “flow”, or engagement (Seligman 166) in the daily round of caregiving. The nursing professional takes a significant role in helping the patient work with their illness, and helps the patient find at least a measure of contentment and flourishing in their pain and state of disease. Nursing care based on Epicurean philosophy attempts to alleviate both mental and physical pain and un-ease.

Epicurean philosophy is often seen as focusing solely on the increase of physical pleasure and fulfillment of physical desires, while Epicurus actually saw mental and intellectual pleasure as being equal to physical pleasure. This attitude is typical of the Greek thinkers, to whom the ideal human combined strength and elegance of body with that of the mind (Costello). Epicurus emphasized the removal of pain and the establishment of long-term fulfillment as the pathway to lasting pleasure (or contentment), saying, “The magnitude of pleasure reaches its limit in the removal of all pain. When pleasure is present, as long as it is uninterrupted, there is no pain either of body or of mind or of both together” (“Principle Doctrines” 3). Reducing malaise and disease is a way to reach this condition of flourishing. An Epicurean approach to nursing care does not focus solely on reducing the patient’s physical pain, but also acknowledges the link between physical and emotional well-being. Through this approach, nursing practice promotes eudemonia.

Epicurus saw eudemonia as the ultimate goal of human life. Although he did not use that same term, the eighteenth century philosopher John Stuart Mill was also a major proponent of the theory that happiness is the ultimate goal of human life. He states, “The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals “utility” or the “greatest happiness principle” holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness.... The utilitarian doctrine is that happiness is desirable, and the only thing desirable, as the end; all other things being desirable only as means to that end” (116). Depending on the individual’s definition of happiness, the utilitarian doctrine can lead to sheer selfish hedonism or to a selfless devotion to a greater cause. When—as in Epicurean philosophy—happiness is considered synonymous with eudemonia or human flourishing, utilitarianism tends toward the latter.

Recent research in positive psychology provides a practical guideline for reaching eudemonia, which is the ultimate end of both Epicurus’ and Mill’s philosophy. Researchers have found some intriguing insights into what humans need to reach eudemonia. Contrary to popular thinking, happiness and ill health

are not mutually exclusive; and there is more to eudemonia than mere physical good health. Psychologist Martin Seligman concludes that reaching eudemonia is deceptively simple. At the highest level of happiness, one is using one's strengths toward a cause larger than oneself. "The meaningful life... [is] using your signature strengths in the service of something larger than you are" (249). This route gives life meaning. It satisfies a longing for purpose in life and is the antidote to the "fidgeting until we die" syndrome (Seligman 8).

Seligman's multi-faceted approach outlines the foundations of finding eudemonia. He proposes three routes for reaching eudemonia—(1) increasing positive emotions; (2) reaching a state of apparent timelessness, or 'flow'; and (3) using one's strengths toward something larger than oneself (7-14). For the practicing nurse, Seligman's methodology holds the key to happiness and fulfillment in professional practice. Nurses can continually find moments of joy in their work and have an underlying sense of deep fulfillment even on days when nothing seems to go right. Working together as a team increases positive emotions, and reinforces that all staff members are working together for a purpose larger than themselves. They may also experience the state of 'flow'—time never flies so fast, as when one is totally engaged in what one is doing. Seligman's guidelines thus provide a practical approach for achieving eudemonia, which is the ultimate end of both Mill's and Epicurus' philosophies.

Modern practice often minimizes the philosophical aspects of nursing in favor of scientific, evidence-based nursing practice. The empirical effectiveness of the scientific method supports Epicurus', Mill's and Nightingale's insistence on empirical observation and judgment. Following this empirical emphasis, nursing today is almost exclusively evidence-based practice, in which recommendations based on empirical studies determine the best nursing interventions. For example, when a patient arrives at the emergency room with stroke symptoms (acute ischemic stroke), care follows a strict protocol that dictates which tests are used, which drugs are given, and when these procedures are done. Researchers have extensively studied acute ischemia treatments and outcomes, and scientific research is the basis for most nursing actions. Recommendations for best practice are dynamic and constantly changing as new studies reveal improved methods. Building on the utilitarian ideology of John Stuart Mill (McDonald 9), nursing leader Florence Nightingale implemented this scientific method in the nineteenth century, but the scientific method has roots more than two thousand years earlier in the philosophy of third century BCE atomist philosopher Epicurus ("Principal Doctrines" 12).

Epicurus believed that a rigorous, empirical study of nature was necessary for true happiness—as did John Stuart Mill, many centuries later. Epicurus was one of the first philosophers to insist on making judgments based on empirical observation rather than abstract reasoning. "It would be impossible

to banish fears on matters of the highest importance”, Epicurus claims, “if a person did not know the nature of the whole universe, but lived in dread of what the legend tells us. Hence without the study of nature there is no enjoyment of unmixed pleasures” (“Principle Doctrines” 12). Accurate observation is necessary for understanding the world around us. Reasoning after having observed is important, as he notes, “[I]t is through the senses that we must by necessity form a judgment about the imperceptible by means of reason...” (*Essential* 21). Centuries later, Mill echoed this thought, and argued that we make predictions based on patterns we observe in the world around us (Wilson 5). This logic leads to modern empirical science, and—indirectly—evidence-based nursing practice.

Nightingale argued that since physical laws are predictable and certain, therefore medical personnel can discover which actions will promote health rather than disease. Observation is an essential primary step in discovering these laws. Nightingale states, “The most important practical lesson that can be given to nurses is to teach them what to observe—how to observe—what symptoms indicate improvement—what the reverse—which are of importance—which are of none.... All this ought to make part, and an essential part, of the training of every nurse” (105). As the healthcare professional closest to the patient, the nurse is best able to observe minute changes. A nurse skilled in the scientific method will not only observe; s/he will also make deductions based on those observations and will adjust care accordingly.

Scientific nursing practice, as above, is the practical application of Epicurus’ and Mill’s assessment of how humans gain and use knowledge about the physical world. Epicurus stated the foundational principle of modern science when he argued that we must make judgments based on empirical observation. John Stuart Mill takes this argument further and, as stated in Wilson, “argues that the rules of scientific method evolve out of the spontaneous inductions about the world that we make as embodied creatures” (5). According to biographer Fred Wilson, Mill said that in observing the world, we discover recurring patterns, and learn to make predictions based on the patterns we observe. When our predictions are incorrect, we realize the need to revise our interpretation (5). Mill’s argument is an elegant approximation of the modern scientific method, where we test a hypothesis via experiments, and confirm, revise, or reject the hypothesis based on the empirical evidence of the results.

Mill’s reasoning influenced the common-sense ideology of his contemporary Florence Nightingale (Mc Donald 9). Although Nightingale believed that published scientific writings are an important source of information, she contended that direct observation and experience are more valuable. “To watch for the opinions, then, which the patient’s stomach gives, rather than to read ‘analyses of foods’, is the business of all those who have to settle what the patient is to eat—perhaps the most important thing to be provided for him after

the air he is to breath” (Nightingale 75). Nightingale emphasized a common-sense approach—keen observation coupled with immediate practical action. Likewise, today’s nursing practice insists on continued evaluation of current practice to identify specific actions that can be changed to improve patient safety, comfort, and healing.

In the world of evidence-based nursing, almost every nursing action is based on experiential evidence, prompted by observation and subsequent revision of practice. For example, a visitor walking into many hospitals may notice nurse aides seemingly loafing in front of partially closed bathroom doors in patient rooms. This apparent dawdling is evidence based nursing in practice. Studies have shown that patients are less apt to fall if staff members stay right outside the bathroom door, rather than instructing patients to ring when they are ready to leave the bathroom (Dacenko-Graw and Holm 225). In hospitals implementing this practice and several others, patient falls have fallen by approximately fifty percent per 1,000 patient days—providing empirical confirmation of effectiveness (Dacenko-Graw and Holm 223). The empirical effectiveness of the scientific method supports Epicurus’, Mill’s and Nightingale’s insistence on empirical observation and judgment.

In her own writings, Nightingale utilized the scientific perspective, making generous use of statistics, graphs, and figures, usually based on a rigorous analysis of her own and others’ observations (McDonald 177). Even where Nightingale was mistaken about the source of a disease, her preventative measures are still effective. For example, she thought malaria was caused by miasma rising from swampy ground, and recommended building houses only on higher ground. This practice is effective because it will avoid both the miasma and the mosquitoes that are the true vectors of malaria (McDonald 101).

Nightingale applied principles of science and compassion and elevated nursing from a demeaning occupation seen as fit only for spinsters and workhouse drudges, to a respected profession that combines compassionate care and rigorous science. Nightingale’s influence on nursing extends far beyond the introduction of statistical analysis. Jeanne LeVasseur, nursing theorist at the University of Connecticut, points out that Nightingale has transformed nursing through the greatness of her vision for the future. She writes,

Nightingale, as the originator and guardian of modern nursing, has set her imprint on the broad scope and holistic vision of nursing. Her belief that nursing ought to extend beyond the mere application of diets and poultices to include the management of the environment, attentive observation, and care for psychosocial needs, transformed nursing by expanding its scope and reconfiguring its character. (LeVasseur 284)

Nightingale's seminal contribution to nursing practice was the combination of science and compassion, which attends to the physical and the psychosocial needs of the patient and provides fulfillment to the nursing professional.

This holistic scope of nursing practice links to its philosophical roots. As related to nursing practice, Epicurean philosophy provides an eminently practical and humanistic guideline for the full range of nursing practice. In Epicurus' thinking, "humans are born with a full capacity for flourishing....Eudaemonia, or fulfillment, is not a mere negative state, free of anxiety, pain and everything fun. It is also a positive state, in that it implies a fully functional, unimpeded activity using all the faculties. It is by no means stagnant or inactive (Fogel and Auer). Many areas of modern nursing practice reflect this dynamic humanistic outlook. By the very nature of their work, which is both a caring profession and a scientific discipline, nurses must combine hard-nosed practicality, unflinching realism, and unfailing compassion and helpfulness. Modern nursing is a holistic practice that treats the whole person.

If nursing were only a scientific endeavor, it would lose much of the power to heal. The blending of the disparate themes of science and humanistic compassion is a unique feature of nursing. That combination can be truly powerful, as in the case of a young man paralyzed in the same accident that killed his drunken girlfriend. His slight young body rested on a sophisticated mattress, which automatically turned every fifteen minutes while pumping air through a system of waffles designed to keep pressure off his ulcerated buttocks. Tyler was needy, both physically and emotionally. He was in pain, and there was very little we could do to help his tailbone, or his emotions, heal faster. He brought home to me—again—that nursing is not just about medicine and bandages. Nurses are caregivers first, technicians second. They care for the soul as much as, if not more than, the body. Our smiles and cheerful faces, our willingness to spend time with Tyler, were just as important as the pills and fancy beds, if not more so. As nurses treat the whole person and not just the physical disease, they can increase the healing impact of their caring actions.

If medical and nursing staff assumes that the state of the body and the state of the mind and soul are inter-related, they will focus on decreasing bodily pain and mental anguish. The medical and nursing staff is responsible for assisting the patient to attain this condition of health, as the ones most competent to fill the role of advisor to the unhealthy and the unhappy. Dr. Charles T. Wolfe states that the "[t]he physician philosopher, which is to say, the medical Epicurean" is in the best position to "know the functional laws of our *organisation*". Those who combine medical and scientific knowledge with the philosophical method are in the ideal position to help others attain freedom from bodily pain and mental anguish—which is Nightingale's goal and Epicurus' highest good.

Epicurus believed that the soul (the mind or seat of consciousness) is intrinsically attached to the atoms that form the body—consequently there is no way for the soul to survive the body’s demise (*Essential* 33). This dependence of soul (or mind) upon body is closely related to professor and nursing theorist Virginia Henderson’s theory of emotional and physiological balance. “[A]n emotion is actually our interpretation of cellular response to fluctuations in the chemical composition of the intercellular fluids which,” according to Henderson, “produce muscle tension, changes in the heart and respiratory rate, and other reactions. Mind and body have come to be inseparable in my thinking” (15).

Epicurus intended his philosophy of the interdependence of mind and body primarily as a means of delivering humans from irrational fears, including fear of the ancient gods and fear of death (Copleston 404). He approached both in a similar way, by arguing that nothing exists except what can be perceived by the senses; hence, neither the gods nor life after death is real. To Epicurus, the soul is merely invisible atoms attached to the body; it dissolves when we die. “It is not possible to imagine the soul existing and having sensation without the body...” (*Essential* 33). For the nursing professional providing end-of-life care to those who are afraid of dying and death, this philosophy is not likely to provide assurance or relief from fears, thus failing to alleviate the emotional pain associated with death and the dying process.

Other philosophers argued for a more dualistic view of the human soul and body, believing that there must be something more to the human mind than what can be empirically observed (Kessler 184). This argument speaks to the belief that humans universally seek to have a faith in something greater than themselves, and seek to find a purpose underlying the apparent chaos we observe (Henslin 525). This understanding can enhance the practice of the nursing professional by allowing them to approach end-of-life care in a way that incorporates the belief system of the patient, acknowledging death as a passage, not an end but a change, even a new beginning.

This is true for a patient like Stephanie, who had just received a diagnosis of renal cancer, which has a very low rate of successful treatment and a very high mortality rate. The chances were extremely slim that she would live to hold the great-grandbabies, which her six-year-old grandson had promised to her. Telling Stephanie that she wouldn’t feel anything after she died would be scant comfort. Acknowledging the existence of ‘something beyond’ allowed her to integrate her desperate faith with her deepest hopes. Stephanie could face the ending of her life; though dying, she could find hope in the belief that her body might die, but her soul would not. Humane and compassionate nursing care will incorporate the beliefs of the individual when providing psychosocial care for the dying individual. In this way, the patient can attain Epicurus’ end of eudemonia, though not by his means.

Even those nurses who are most passionate about the importance of loving, professional care for their patients often complain that philosophy doesn't make them a better nurse. Many do not take time to think about the implications of philosophical inquiries and their relevance to nursing practice. They forget what the founder of modern nursing knew—that nursing is as much an art as a science, and requires far more than technical knowledge and skills, as important as these are. As noted in Dock, Florence Nightingale insisted that nursing is an art requiring strenuous training, hard work, and faithful study (129). To be truly effective in nursing practice involves understanding the philosophical underpinnings of nursing theory and practice.

Professor and nursing theorist Virginia Henderson makes the valid point that truly effective nurses need to have access to higher education and the liberal teaching and learning that occurs in the higher educational institutions. “In order to practice as an expert in her own right and to use the scientific approach to the improvement of practice, the nurse needs the kind of education that, in our society, is available only in colleges and universities.... Her work demands a universal sympathy for, and the understanding of, diverse human beings” (Henderson 96-97). Nurses are operating on a foundation laid by great thinkers throughout history. They can only build on that foundation if they understand it and love it, for “[i]n the end we will conserve only what we love. We will love only what we understand. We will understand only what we are taught” (Dioum). While scientific research continues to be the basis for evidence-based nursing practice, the humanities, including philosophy, have been and are important components in the education of tomorrow's nurses.

From the philosophy of Epicurus, John Stuart Mill, and Florence Nightingale, nurses have many rich insights into the nature of illness, health, and happiness. As the nursing profession continues to grow and develop, the insight gained from the founders is no less important. From the students still struggling to distinguish the sounds of Korotkoff while measuring blood pressure, to the veterans with fifty years under their stethoscopes, philosophy is relevant to all nurses.

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## **Introduction**

William Shakespeare's works have been staples of English literature for centuries. While the high literary standing of these plays, poems, and sonnets is established, their true authorship has been in question since 1785, creating a controversy still prominent today. At first glance, Shakespeare's story seems open-and-shut. Born in 1564 in the rural English town of Stratford-Upon-Avon, he became a husband and father before he came of age. He had three children; his only son, died young. Between the late 1580s and the early 1590s, he moved to London, became an actor, shareholder in theatre companies, and author. He enjoyed enormous success in these trades, retired back to his hometown in approximately 1612, and died shortly after in 1616 (Anderson xxv). The plays, poems, and sonnets of "The Bard of Avon," are revered today.

This paper will begin by stating the reasons why William Shakespeare is considered to be the author of the works attributed to him. Next, arguments that suggest that he was merely the front for another author will be examined, as well as those which present Christopher Marlowe as the true author of Shakespearean literature. By evaluating the theories and questions surrounding the Shakespearean controversy and those which support Marlowe as author, logical conclusions can be reached regarding the Shakespeare question.

## **The Shakespeare Question**

Shakespeare achieved success comparable to his contemporaries throughout his lifetime, but was posthumously deified by many critics, especially in the later eighteenth century (LaPorte). Classified with writers such as the classical Roman poet Ovid, his plays were exalted as the best of English drama,

both comedy and tragedy. This glorification was noted by Voltaire in 1728 when he stated “ [Shakespeare] is rarely called anything but ‘divine’ in England,” to which English playwright Arthur Murphy responded, “with us islanders, Shakespeare is a kind of established religion in poetry” (qtd in Shapiro 30). This religious view of Shakespeare became an important theme in the “Shakespeare Question,” or “Shakespeare Myth,” as the debate is called. Words such as “bardolatry” and references to his plays as the “Bible of Humanity” characterize the attitude many people had about him and his works. This proud fervor regarding Shakespeare’s authorship caused backlash against those who doubted him. Because he was considered by many scholars to be second in societal impact only to the Christian deity Jesus Christ, those who wrote or spoke against his authorship were frequently ostracized as literary heretics (LaPorte). In 1785, Englishman James Wilmot began a debate regarding the authorship of “Shakespeare’s” works, which has raged for centuries.

Wilmot, an Oxford graduate and scholar, lived near Shakespeare’s birthplace, and in the 1780s, began seeking documents to prove Shakespeare’s authorship of the works attributed to him. Wilmot was unsuccessful, and before his death, told James Corton Cowell, about his failure to find proof. Cowell, a member of the Ipswich Philosophic Society (Shapiro 11), believed that Wilmot’s inability to find proof sufficient to indicate that Shakespeare was not the true author, and told the Philosophic Society that he was a “renegade” to the Shakespearean “faith.” Wilmot is considered the first to argue against traditionally-held authorship beliefs, but the debate did not explode until the nineteenth century. Based on writing style, scholars have established that many Shakespearean plays are collaborations between the primary author and another, secondary contributor (Fields 75); the argument is whether or not Shakespeare was the primary author. As this argument became increasingly well-known in scholarly circles, doubt grew. Throughout the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries, famous people including authors Henry James, Washington Irving, and Mark Twain, father of psychology Sigmund Freud and other figures including Helen Keller, Malcolm X, and Orson Welles, have questioned Shakespeare's authorship (Anderson xxvi-xxvii).

However, this theory was not universally supported. Many people were scrutinized and condemned for their "anti-Stratfordian" views. Although most people today do not treat anti-Stratfordians as heretics, the topic is still debated among literary and theatre researchers today. Leading critics and scholars frequently publish new works on the topic, and the mystery still fascinates the intellectual curiosity of those in academia. If Shakespeare was not the author, someone else must be. Dozens of potential candidates have been proposed since the inception of the controversy, including theatre financier and closet playwright William Stanley, Oxford scholar and Essex rebellion leader Henry Neville, and alchemist and author Mary Sidney. However, the most likely of these, based on circumstantial and documented evidence, is Christopher Marlowe. Examination of the life and works of Marlowe, as they relate to the biography and works traditionally attributed to William Shakespeare, reveals that he is the most likely candidate for authorship of Shakespearean plays.

### **Argument for Shakespeare as Author**

To propose that someone other than "The Bard" is responsible for these writings, one must first establish reasons why William Shakespeare could or did not write the works attributed to him. Many of the supporting ideas are straightforward. The name "Shakespeare" appears on these plays, and has since their publication. This was never challenged by his associates, friends, or family. Many Stratfordians assert that those who worked and lived closely with him surely would have known if he was not the true author, and if he was not, he would have been denounced. The "twin pillars" of the Stratfordian arguments are

the Folio of 1623 and Shakespeare's bust in Holy Trinity Church at Stratford. A folio is a volume of the largest standard size, similar to a modern large "coffee table" book, typically reserved for works by famous, honored authors. An author in the 1600s who published his or her works in a folio would be considered "presumptuous" for publishing his or her works in such a prestigious format (Shapiro 29). However, seven years after his death, a folio of Shakespeare's works was published, bearing his name as author. If his contemporaries did not believe he was the author, they would not have posthumously printed his works in such a prestigious format. Not only does the folio include William Shakespeare's image, it also begins with introductory material supposedly written by fellow actors, and rivals Ben Jonson and Leonard Digges (Fields 74). These endorsements by his contemporaries have convinced many scholars that Shakespeare was the author of the works in the collection, and make the folio a vital part of the Stratfordian argument.

The second "pillar" upholding this idea is the bust of Shakespeare at Holy Trinity church in Stratford-upon-Avon. This monument depicts William Shakespeare as a prosperous writer, holding a quill pen and paper, leaning on a cushion. According to Shakespeare scholar S. Schoenbaum, this funerary sculpture was commissioned and funded by surviving members of his family. Clearly, the family believed this depiction to be acceptable, and the bust remains intact today (Schoenbaum 309-310). The most important aspect of this memorial to the Stratfordian argument is the inscription beneath it. The words carved in stone read, "Stay passenger, why goest thou by so fast? Read if thou canst, whom envous death hath plast, with in this monument Shakespeare: with whome, quick nature dide: whose name doth deck y tombe, far more than cost: [see] all, y he hath writ, leaves living art, but page, to serve his witt" (Schoenbaum 310). This implies that Shakespeare was viewed as one of the most accomplished, memorable writers of his era. Stratfordian scholars purport

that this inscription, along with the accompanying image are sufficient to strongly suggest, if not prove, his authorship.

While the First Folio of 1623 and the bust are used as Stratfordians' main empirical data, they also rely heavily on the defense that he was never denounced by his personal acquaintances or peers in the theatre. While this argument is valid to consider, evidence and persuasive circumstantial material exists, showing that the traditional view of authorship is invalid.

### **Argument Against Shakespeare as Author**

Aside from basic birth and death dates, residence and spouse, little is known about the "The Bard's" personal life. Details are scarce, and his relationships and actions, aside from acting and writing, remain mysterious. Clearly, William Shakespeare did exist, and was connected to the theatre in London during this time, but the lack of information surrounding his background and personal life supports the idea that he was merely a front for another author who did not want to be publicly known.

A hotly contested topic is that of Shakespeare's will. The lack of certain items in it are significant. His will divided his belongings, money, and property among family and friends. However, no mention is made of any written works

being bequeathed to anyone (Shapiro 9). No books or manuscripts are listed. If he was the author, he would have had works that he personally authored among his belongings, which should have been included in the will. Additionally, the lack of other books among his personal items indicates a serious flaw in the case for his authorship.

For the author to include certain events or settings of the plays, Shakespeare would have to have been a "voracious" reader (Challinor). Due to expense, his access to books would have been limited, and this, along with the lack of books among his belongings at his death, indicate that he had few

opportunities to read. Some Stratfordians assert that he hired historians to do research for his plays, possible once he achieved success, but unlikely when he was first writing (Challinor). Most people believe that no author will become truly great without reading others' work. Although the evidence is circumstantial, many scholars conclude that the real author would not have been able to succeed without diverse reading material, which Shakespeare would not have had.

When Shakespeare emerged as a writer, he burst upon the literary scene as a great playwright. He had no known "juvenilia" or experimental beginning works; he appeared to be a genius writer from the start (Challinor). Because Stratford records show that he had only an elementary education, his ability to write with eloquence and skill is improbable (Fields 37). After 1580 to 1590, when evidence of Shakespeare's existence disappears, he reappeared as an extraordinary playwright (Shapiro 9). While some attribute this to natural brilliance, his abilities cannot logically be explained this way. His refinement with poetry and prose indicates that he must have had higher education, in addition to natural talent. Shakespeare's sudden appearance as a prominent author is a strong point for the anti-Stratfordian argument, contributing to the theory that he was merely a "front" for another author.

William Shakespeare's life is inconsistent and problematic for Stratfordians. The traditional story states that he began with a humble upbringing, achieved an incredible level of wisdom and culture as he grew older, but reverted to his earlier lifestyle in his later years (Challinor). Shakespeare's retirement to his hometown and return to his earlier lifestyle do not match who he became. One who experiences the wealth, fame, and culture the author of "Shakespeare's" works did would generally not choose to go back and spend years in a small town. However, Shakespeare did, implying that the period of his life centered on writing and theatre was an "illusion." Henry James questioned how such a genius could "spend what remained to him of life in walking about a

small, squalid country-town with his hands in his pockets and ear for no music but the chink of the coin they might turn over there” (Shapiro 147). This illogical life pattern is another piece of evidence serving to weaken the traditional theory.

Arguably the strongest argument in the anti-Stratfordian arsenal is that Shakespeare’s plays contain facts and specialized knowledge that he would have had little to no knowledge about, due to his lack of education and experience. His works cover a vast array of topics, including “law, music, war, sports, the sea, plants, [and] the Bible” (Challinor), medical “principles...the etiquette and usages of the nobility...and even insider terms used by students at Cambridge University” (Fields 85), and many other topical and cultural references. While many authors specialize in one field, Shakespeare appears to have knowledge in nearly every field of study, and many languages and cultures. Not only was the Bard a master of English, French, Latin, Italian, and Spanish, he wrote in French and Italian colloquial speech, implying he had spent time in these countries, or was taught by those who had. In *All’s Well that Ends Well*, two characters are referred to as being “by the ears,” an Italian idiomatic expression meaning “in continuing conflict” (Fields 93). His flawless incorporation of words and phrases with meanings specific to one culture indicate that he is experienced in that society. However, no evidence suggests that he traveled abroad, or had the means to do so. He also included knowledge of specific aspects of other cultures in his works. For example, in *Romeo and Juliet*, Juliet mentions an “evening mass,” while mass was typically celebrated in the morning during this era. However, this scene of the play takes place in Verona, one of the few places where mass was traditionally said in the evening (Fields 86). Two of Shakespeare’s contemporaries, playwrights Thomas Kyd and Ben Jonson, were not university educated, and neither attempted to include specific details of other locations and cultures as the author did in his own plays.

Perhaps even more convincing than the author’s knowledge of other

languages, is his mastery over his own. The plays include a profusion of words, and invented many words and phrases, the majority of which are still commonly used today. Over 21,000 words are used in these works, more than any other of the time (Fields 101). The grammar school education he received, and his limited global experience, would not have provided him with this vocabulary, let alone the ability to create new words. This ability to master and add to the English language, as well as the magnitude of his knowledge on diverse subjects, is strong evidence that the author was not William Shakespeare from Stratford.

Evidence for and against the Stratfordian theory suggests that Shakespeare from Stratford clearly had some involvement in the works attributed to him. However, his education and experiences show that he was likely used as a pen-name for another author wishing to remain anonymous; the question of this true author's identity is as fervently debated as the Stratfordian theory.

### **Argument for Marlowe as Author**

Born in the same year as William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, English dramatist and poet, was first suggested as a candidate for authorship in 1819. Several compelling arguments have kept this theory at the forefront of the controversy since then. In 1895, American lawyer Wilbur Zeigler published his work *It Was Marlowe*, which discussed his theory that Marlowe was the author of Shakespearean works, using Shakespeare as a false identity, so that he would not be recognized as the author (Nicholl). Zeigler's work is no longer widely read, but his theory was legitimate, leading other scholars to investigate the Marlovian argument. However, many scholars disagree with this theory, and use several common arguments to deny it.

Although Marlowe was supposedly murdered in 1593, scholars have found many ways to circumvent this issue by providing explanations for why this event does not rule him out. The question of his candidacy can be viewed as

merely a matter of perspective, as many proponents of the Marlovian theory see his “murder” as suggestive of his authorship. Documentation regarding his death was discovered in 1925, but scholars agree that the “verdict of the inquest into Marlowe’s death...was false” (Barber). The burial record is not legitimate evidence; the three men who identified his body, English spy Robert Poley, and two of his associates who were known “conmen,” are not considered reliable sources (Barber). Because only these documents exist to verify Marlowe’s alleged death, and because they have essentially been disqualified as proof, Marlovians argue that these circumstances cannot be accepted as fact. Not only do scholars say his supposed death cannot be proven, the argument has been made that it was staged so he could never be found out as the author of Shakespearean works.

The idea that Marlowe faked his own death appears sensational and improbable, but does have legitimacy. Marlowe was intelligent and educated, and held a high societal position. His typical companions were “the intellectual elite—writers, publishers, explorers, scientists, astronomers, mathematicians, statesmen, and patrons of the arts” so, if this was really a social or business meeting, why would Marlowe have been associating with conmen and “agents provocateurs?” (Farey). The setting of his death is unusual and raised suspicion. The first issue that needs to be addressed in the argument promoting Marlowe’s faked death is why he would have wanted to appear dead, and use another author as a front to continue writing.

Marlovian theorists argue that he had the proper upbringing, education, and background to have written Shakespearean works. Marlowe was born in a poor Canterbury family. His father was a “debt-ridden” cobbler with no assets or fortune (McCrea 147). Marlowe would have been destined to the same lifestyle had he not received a scholarship to the King’s School, which prepared young men for entrance to university. In 1581, he received another scholarship to

Cambridge University and studied religion for four years (Sobran 20). His experiences at Cambridge would have given him the knowledge to include information regarding the University's culture and other aspects of Shakespearean works that indicate extensive reading and formal education. While he was at Cambridge, Marlowe was employed by the government to pretend to be Catholic and spy on a Jesuit seminary in Rheims, France (McCrea 147). This began many years of service as a British government spy and intelligence agent. He worked under the authority of Sir Francis Walsingham, chief of security to Queen Elizabeth (Fields 243). Additionally, Marlowe was a prolific poet and writer, writing seven plays before 1593. Sir Francis' cousin, Sir Thomas Walsingham, served as Marlowe's patron after his graduation from Cambridge, allowing writing to be his main focus (McCrea 148). During this time, Marlowe traveled in elite academic circles of writers and thinkers. He belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh's "School of the Night," an intellectual group that discussed philosophy and religion, with views that frequently challenged the prescribed norms of the day (Fields 243). Marlowe and his companions were forward thinkers, in a society when progressivism was disparaged. Opponents of this philosophical group referred to them as the "School of Atheism" and believed they promoted heresy and the occult (McCrea 148).

Not only did Marlowe resist societal norms in his thinking, he was also an open homosexual. His reputation was solidified in his famous quote "all they that love not tobacco and boys are fools" (qtd. in Dynes). He also asserted that Jesus Christ and Saint John were lovers. His play *Edward II* features a homosexual protagonist who details his love affair with a young man (Dynes). Marlowe also referenced similar relationships in his poem *Hero and Leander* and his play *Dido Queen of Carthage* (Dynes). Rumors suggested that Marlowe was in a long-term romantic relationship with his patron, Sir Thomas Walsingham (Fields 243). The homoerotic themes found in many Shakespearean works are consistent with

Marlowe's sexuality. Marlowe's freedom of thought and sexuality, plus his work as a government agent won him many enemies in government, religion, and high society.

Marlowe was arrested for minor charges of fighting in 1589, and of counterfeiting coins in 1592. However, his real legal trouble culminated just before his supposed death, when he was accused of writing a manuscript that denied Christ's divinity. He was taken to the Privy Council and questioned, but was released on bail (McCrea 150). A week later, an acquaintance, Richard Baines, reported to the authorities that he heard Marlowe utter "blasphemies," including that "Moses was but a [magician]" and "that Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest," as well as his previous statements that Jesus himself was homosexual (McCrea 150); the usual charge for heresy was death. The cornerstone of the Marlovian argument is based in this; a man cast out by society because of his sexuality, free thinking, and in danger of receiving the death sentence for his religious speculations, yet who still desired to continue writing and sharing his views with the world, would have had every reason to want to disappear.

The reason why Marlowe would have wanted to appear dead is clear, but logistics of staging this cover-up need consideration. Even if it was not Marlowe's, a body was found in the Deptford house that day. One theory states that the body of a sailor who died at sea was used (McCrea 151). Because the men who identified the body were known to be dishonest and unreliable, the body did not have to resemble Marlowe to pass the inquest. Marlowe had the means to set up such a scene. With attention shifted onto his supposed death, the investigation, and Frizer's trial, Marlowe could have easily slipped away unnoticed, and began writing under a pseudonym.

Theories about the events of Marlowe's staged death and his motivations for it are fascinating, but the issue has no relevance to the authorship debate

unless evidence indicating that he lived beyond 1593 exists. Fortunately for Marlovian theorists, clues to Marlowe are scattered throughout Shakespearean plays and poems. According to Professor Jonathan Bate, “Marlowe did come back from the dead after the Deptford stabbing: his ghost astonishes us even as we read and hear the verse of Shakespeare” (132). The fact that Marlowe died just before the first work under Shakespeare’s name was published is perfectly coordinated, the “handover” from Marlowe to Shakespeare occurred at a fixed date; there was no overlap in their writing (Farey). Marlowe’s influence was evident in the first published works. Literary critics emphasize the obvious references to Marlowe in the Shakespearean play *As You Like It*. When the character Touchstone says “When a man’s verses cannot be understood, nor a man’s good wit seconded with the forward child, understanding, it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room (Farey). This is a two-fold reference to Marlowe, first in that it mentions reckoning and death in a little room, the exact situation in which Marlowe supposedly died. Secondly, this line of the play is similar to one in *The Jew of Malta* which reads, “Infinite riches in a little room” (Kay). While Shakespeare would probably not have mocked the death of a respected fellow playwright, Marlowe might have written it as a clue to his identity.

While the circumstances of Marlowe’s death provide strong arguments against the Marlovian theory, it remains a viable explanation for Shakespearean authorship. Marlowe’s education and experiences indicate that he would have been qualified to write these works and clues throughout the Shakespearean canon point to him. Marlowe had reasons to hide from society and live unnoticed while writing under a pseudonym. Suspicious death records and unreliable witnesses to Marlowe’s “death” are not sufficient proof to rule out this otherwise convincing authorship candidate.

## **Argument Against Marlowe as Author**

The main issue with this argument is Marlowe's supposed death on May 30, 1593, within weeks of the publication of Shakespeare's first work, *Venus and Adonis*. The details of his death are vague, but he is said to have been dining with Ingram Frizer, Robert Poley, and Nicholas Skeres in a home in Deptford when he was stabbed by Frizer (Farey). At the time, a jury ruled that the killing was self-defense, and Frizer was pardoned by the Queen. However, biographers are now almost certain that he was murdered. Some question why Poley and Skeres did not assist Frizer if he was being attacked, or question why three men could not have overpowered one without killing him (Farey). Others suggest that Marlowe owed Frizer a debt, and a fight ensued when he refused to settle it ("Biography Part II"). Regardless, the idea that he attacked Frizer appears unlikely. Marlowe was in legal trouble, having recently been charged with heresy and attempting to convert others to atheism (Farey); the usual sentence for this would be death, so in the court's eyes, his death would have been no great loss. Those who counter the Marlovian argument state that the report of Marlowe's death prohibits him from being considered as an authorship candidate. While Marlovian theorists find ways to circumvent this flaw in their theory, the question is a legitimate one: how could Marlowe possibly have written Shakespearean works if he died before their publication? Based on inquest documentation, the burial record, and Frizer's pardon signed by the Queen, the question is a difficult one, despite attempts to provide plausible explanations.

Even if Marlowe's death was fake, he would have had to live the rest of his life under a false identity. A few possibilities have been suggested, including "Hugh Sanford, who was based with the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House in Wiltshire, John Matthew alias Christopher Marlowe...who entered the Catholic College at Valladolid in Spain in 1599, and a Monsieur Le Doux, a spy for Essex, but working as a French tutor in Rutland in 1595. There was also an Englishman

who died in Padua in 1627, said by the family he lived with to be Marlowe” (Farey). Despite this list of options, no evidence exists to prove that Marlowe was living under a different name, only the assertions of people claiming that he resided with them, or that they knew him under an alias. These testimonies are insufficient to convince many scholars that he was living after 1593.

While the idea of Marlowe’s death is the most common, and certainly the strongest argument against him, secondary ones are also worth considering. Questions concerning his writing style and subject matter conflict. Many lines in Marlowe’s works are almost identical to those in Shakespearean plays and poems. In Marlowe’s play *Doctor Faustus*, a line reads, “Was this the face that launched a thousand ships?” (Marlowe 71). Similarly, a passage in Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida* states “She is a pearl, whose price hath launch’d above a thousand ships” (Shakespeare 73). “The sun, unable to sustain the sight shall hide his head,” Marlowe writes in *Tamburlaine the Great*, in *Romeo and Juliet*, a line reads “The sun for sorrow will not show his head” (Fields 239). Some say these similarities indicate that the two authors were the same man, but those who seek to disprove the Marlovian argument state that because Marlowe was a well-known writer of the day, Shakespeare was simply plagiarizing, or making allusions to him, even satirizing his works and famous scenes. These critics would argue that while the two playwrights appear similar in their use of language, their writing contains deeper contrasts. For example, a comparison of themes found in Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* and Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* is frequently made to refute the Marlovian argument. Both seem to have similar subject matter, but the character development in the Shakespearean work is deeper and more complex than Marlowe’s. Shylock, the villain in *The Merchant of Venice*, is anything but heroic, yet portrays relatable characteristics including religious devotion and “stubborn vindictiveness” (Fields 241). Shylock’s counterpart in Marlowe’s play, Barabas, the villain in *The Jew of*

*Malta* is not a relatable character. His emotions, motivations, cynicism, and skepticism, while enjoyable to watch, are not easy for the viewer or reader to understand (Fields 241). Scholars question these characters' relationship to their author or authors. The possibility that Marlowe's characters were weakly developed, and him becoming much more skilled when he began writing under the alias of Shakespeare appears unlikely to literary critics. Regardless, the possibility that this did occur cannot be discounted. If one man wrote both sets of plays, than the fact that Shakespeare eventually surpassed Marlowe in writing talent could indicate that one writer matured and improved over time (Fields 242).

To many scholars, the answer to the Shakespeare question is simple; because he has been credited with these works for centuries, he must be the author. Upon deeper examination, the inconsistencies in the Stratfordian argument are clear, and the possibility of another author becomes apparent. Marlowe is plausible based on knowledge and experiences, had a pressing reason to want to hide behind a pseudonym, and had the education and ability to write these works. Until further documents are found, the case against Shakespeare and promoting Marlowe cannot be definitively proven. The issue is relevant today, as new works and theories are presented. The mystery and intrigue of the Shakespeare authorship question continues to fascinate intellectually curious minds, centuries after its origin.

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## Gender Role Conformity and Transgression in the International Situations Project

Caitlin Brown

### Abstract

This study seeks to determine if one gender is more likely to violate gender norms. Hypotheses suggest that men would violate gender norms less than women, because men are punished more strongly for violating gender norms than women are (Aubé & Koestner, 1992). Data were collected through the International Situations Project. There were 106 participants (20 men and 86 women), ranging in age from 18 to 64. Participants reported what they were doing at 7 P.M. the previous night and rated the characteristics of the situation and their behavior therein. Men did not behave significantly more masculinely than women behaved femininely. Women behaved significantly more masculinely than men behaved femininely, showing that men violated gender roles less frequently than women did.

People commonly say that recognizing one's own culture is as difficult as a fish recognizing the water in which it swims. This expression is true of gender as well. From a sociological standpoint, gender and sex are not analogous concepts. Sex is what makes one biologically male, female, or intersex, whereas gender refers to the societal expectations and roles associated with being a man or a woman (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). These societal expectations and roles are not static and inherent in men and women. They change over time, place, context, and culture. Groups interested in preserving the hegemonic social arrangements and structures have a vested interest in promoting traditional gender roles as natural and "common sense," because this allows patriarchy, and by extension, many patriarchal social institutions such as religion, work, family, and government to function smoothly. The roles and societal expectations of women and men are strengthened by widespread compliance, and weakened by widespread challenge or rejection. Performing or "doing gender" modifies or reinforces the system that is in place in a given place and time. These challenges do not often go unnoticed, for, like most behaviors, the gender binary operates on a system of reinforcement and punishment to keep members of that particular society in line and to chastise those who dare transgress gender norms.

By virtue of living in a societal system that promotes the view of gender in a binary way, discussion of gender norms is best suited to a two-part analysis. However, this societal system excludes any person who does not neatly fall into one of two categories, prompting authority figures to panic and forcibly assign the person membership to one group. Throughout most of history, gender variation was seen as a spectrum with femininity at one extreme and masculinity at the other extreme. However, recent research suggests that a bipolar model does not accurately capture gender variance as expressed in the real world. Research points to two spectrums, masculinity and femininity, that together describe the degree to which a person is feminine and the degree to which that same person is masculine (Frale, 1989; Woo & Oei, 2008).<sup>2</sup>

That women were the fairer sex was a commonplace assertion throughout much of history. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, dialogue on philosophy and psychology was spreading to more public arenas, with magazines akin to *Psychology Today* peppering public debate (Shields, 2007). These magazines blurred the distinction between scholarly publications and mass media and were often informed by stereotypes and folk

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<sup>2</sup> Four possibilities arise from this new method. An individual can be sex-typed, that is the person can score high on his or her self-identified gender and low on the other scale. A person can be cross-sex-typed, that is, he or she can score low on his or her own gender and higher on the other gender. A person can be androgynous, that is, he or she can score high on both the masculine and feminine scales. Finally, a person can be undifferentiated and can score low on both masculinity and femininity (Frale, 1989). Stereotypically manly men are typically masculine sex-typed individuals and stereotypically feminine women are feminine sex typed individuals.

knowledge, which then was absorbed into the scholarly publications, thereby propagating information based not upon empirical facts, but on outdated and biased ideologies. One major perceived difference between masculinity and femininity was that of emotion. Men's emotion was controlled by reason and put to use in what society deemed constructive ways - in dominance, business, sport, and leadership. Women's emotions were seen as direct byproducts of their biological destiny of the time - to bear children, and thereby not as developed and of a different order than men's were (Lax, 1995; Shields, 2007). These messages, gathered from popular discourse at the time were absorbed without careful testing by the scientific and psychological community and repackaged to justify women's subordinate positions in every area of society at the time under the guise of complementarianism; that is, the philosophy that women's and men's abilities are different and where one fails, the other exceeds, thereby creating by their cooperation a complete unit. To think of this in more concrete terms, some examples would be, husband/wife, public sphere/domestic sphere, pastor/congregation, leader/follower (Shields, 2007). This way of expressing the complementary natures of the genders led to the systematic devaluation of women's work and women's contributions to society, and further served to exclude them from positions of power, the effects of which are still felt today.

Two theoretical frameworks that aid in the understanding of gender are the social constructionist framework and the essentialist framework. Social constructionists emphasize the active role men and women play in creating meaning through and adopting gender roles, whereas essentialists argue that males and females are sorted into the categories of men and women based on immutable biological factors present since birth. Chrisler (2012) offers a counterargument to Vandello and Bosson (2013), who selectively use the social constructionist framework in reference to men and use the essentialist framework in relation to women (as cited in Chrisler, 2012). Men are not the only ones who have to prove or win their recognition as a "real man." Women, too, are held to standards they must uphold in order to be recognized as a "real woman," primarily through pursuing the unattainable standard of beauty so often represented in the mass media, and by being not just a mother, but a good mother (Chrisler, 2012). The trouble with these ways of evaluating women based on maternal behavior and their efforts to be beautiful is that it is typically the responsibility of men to decide whether women have achieved these goals or not and thereby meet the definition of a "true woman" or not. Allowing men the primary power to define and evaluate women, especially when it comes to matters of beauty, shows continued support and dominance of a phenomenon known as the male gaze. The male gaze operates on the principle that the default viewer, consumer, subject, in short, the default, general human being is White, male, and upper or upper/middle-class (Shields, 2007) and implies that any deviation from this model of the ideal is somehow defective at best and pathological at worst.

Cole and Zucker (2007) argue that three core markers of femininity among Black and White women in America are feminine appearance, traits, and traditional gender

role ideology. Black women were more likely to endorse feminine appearance more strongly than were their White counterparts. Levant et al. (2012), while studying masculinity, found similar results among adolescents. Of the three core markers of masculinity - emotionally detached dominance, toughness, and avoidance of femininity - Black adolescent boys were more likely to endorse emotionally detached dominance and avoidance of femininity than were the White adolescent boys in the same study (Levant et al., 2012). Both of these studies' findings reflect the popular conception of the default man and woman as White. In order for Black men and women to be viewed as "real men" and "real women," they must put extra effort into being accepted as a "real man" or "real woman" to overcome deeply entrenched racism, specifically in the gender binary system. The gender binary system is already deeply sexist and racist, which gives white men the greatest advantage, followed by men of color, followed by white women, and finally leaving women of color at the most disadvantaged position in the social hierarchy of gender. When these matrices of oppression are combined with others, such as ableism, ageism, cissexism, classism, and heterosexism, it becomes clear that in any given human being, each aspect of their identity works together to afford them a unique position and a unique perspective on the way they experience each level of oppression in their own lives.

"Be a man!" One hears statements like this frequently for example, in school, athletics, and social situations, to name a few, but what does it really mean to be a man? In its simplest terms, it means to not be a woman, because, for most of history masculinity was defined in opposition to femininity (Aubé & Koestner, 1992; Chrisler, 2012; Croteau & Hoynes, 2013; Levant et al., 2012). The gender binary functions based on attributions of differences between men and women. One may think of a host of insults most often directed at men or boys, things such as "you throw like a girl," "boys don't cry," "sissy," and a variety of much more explicit phrases. One common thread in insults such as these is that the insulted party is equated with femininity, as if that is the worst possible thing with which to be linked. However, in today's society, it is not. Aubé and Koestner (1992) found that boys and men who transgressed masculine gender norms early in life were socially punished then as well as later in life more extremely than were women who transgressed feminine gender norms as girls or women. When viewed in light of the rampant misogyny still strong in our culture, it becomes clear that to be a woman or to be feminine is considered lesser or wrong. Women are already seen as lesser by dominant cultural interpretations and men who transgress masculine gender role norms are seen as on the same level as women. Boys' and men's more extreme punishment than girls and women for not adhering to culturally appropriate gender role norms begins to make sense in the context of the sexism in our culture. For men, to associate with something feminine is to associate with something below them, thereby lessening their social status. For women, it is logical that they should want to strive to be on a higher societal rung and so are not as punished for exceeding their unjust position in life. Some characteristics of normative masculinity are the expectation of athletic ability and muscularity, dominance, toughness, inhibition in emotional expressiveness, rational/logical thought processes, and, to a certain extent, sexism and the unequal

treatment of women. (Frable, 1989; Levant et al., 2012; McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005; Shields, 2007).

This study utilizes archival data from the International Situations Project conducted through Psi Beta and the University of California, Riverside. This project utilizes the Riverside Situational Q-Sort (RSQ Version 3.15), an 89-item survey tool for the determination of psychological characteristics of situations, and the Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort (RBQ Version 3.11), a 68-item survey tool designed to pinpoint the most psychologically salient behavioral characteristics of individuals in everyday situations. Sherman, Nave, and Funder (2010, 2013) used the RSQ and the RBQ in their studies and found that personality is related to differences in situation perception and that a person's construal of the situation and his or her behavior in that situation were stable characteristics across multiple situations. Both the RSQ and the RBQ include items related to gender (RSQ items 80 and 89 and RBQ items 51 and 68). The items on the RSQ measure whether the situation each participant was in afforded him or her the opportunity to express masculinity (RSQ 80) or femininity (RSQ 89). The items on the RBQ assess whether each participant behaved in a stereotypically masculine (RBQ 51) or feminine (RBQ 68) style or manner.

This study investigates gender role conformity and gender role transgressions. To test gender role conformity, the question of whether men behave in a more masculine manner than women behave in a feminine manner was investigated, and to test gender role transgressions, the question of whether women behaved in a more masculine manner than men behaved in a feminine manner was tested. It was hypothesized that men would conform more to masculine gender roles than women would conform to feminine gender roles, and that men would have lower scores for items measuring feminine behavior than the scores that women would have for measuring masculine behavior. The rationale behind this hypothesis is that men are held to tighter gender role standards than women because to associate with something feminine is to lower one's status, because women are purported to be inferior and any gender infractions by women would be to attempt to gain a higher status. Any gender role infraction would be punished more severely in men, thereby deterring men from behaving in a more feminine manner.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The participants in this data set were part of a national research collaboration through Psi Beta and the International Situations Project, University of California, Riverside. Participants were recruited through Psi Beta Chapters at their school and asked to complete the study online. In the dataset used for this project, there were 20 males and 86 females ranging in age from 18 to 64 ( $M = 29.3$ ,  $SD = 10.9$ ).

### **Materials**

During data collection, demographic questions were used in addition to published surveys to measure situation perception and behavior. The Riverside Situational Q-Sort Version 3.15 (RSQ; rap.ucr.edu/qsorter/) asked participants to answer 89 questions and provide characteristics regarding their perception of the situation they experienced at seven P.M. the previous night. If the participant was sleeping at seven P.M. the previous night, the survey instructed them to report what they were doing right before they were sleeping. The 68-item Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort Version 3.11 (RBQ; Funder, Furr & Colvin, 2000) asked participants to classify behavioral items associated with the situation the previous evening. Both surveys use a scale ranging from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic) to 9 (extremely characteristic) and require participants to sort items into an approximate normal distribution ranging from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic) to 9 (extremely characteristic). In order to administer the survey participants had to go online and register using their specific school code and participant ID code ([www.internationalsituationsproject.com](http://www.internationalsituationsproject.com)).

## **Procedure**

This is an archival data set. Data were originally collected by the University of California, Riverside through the International Situations Project ([www.internationalsituationsproject.com](http://www.internationalsituationsproject.com)) in collaboration with the Psi Beta National Research Project 2012-2013. In order to gather the original data, participants were assigned an ID number and asked to visit the International Situations Project website ([www.internationalsituationsproject.com](http://www.internationalsituationsproject.com)). Participants were asked to choose a language and country of origin. Participants in the current data set were asked to choose English and United States. Participants entered site ID and Participant ID. An electronic consent form was offered for participants to complete. Participants were provided brief directions to complete the study. They then entered demographic questions including information related to home country and family background. Participants then described what they were doing at 7 p.m. on the previous night. Participants completed the Riverside Situational Q-Sort (RSQ; rap.ucr.edu/qsorter/) and the Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort Version 3.11 (RBQ; Funder, Furr, & Colvin, 2000). Participants answered final questions regarding ethnicity and submitted responses.

For this study, the participant's gender, items 80 and 89 from the Riverside Situational Q-Sort, and items 51 and 68 from the Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort were used in analysis. In order to test the experimental hypothesis, a behavior variable was created, that for the men, was RBQ 51 ("Behaves in a stereotypically masculine style or manner"), and for the women, was RBQ 68 ("Behaves in a stereotypically feminine style or manner"). Another variable was created to measure gender role transgressions that, for the men, was RBQ 68, and for the women was RBQ 51. This enabled the researcher to carry out a t-test to compare the value of these new variables between men and women, to show if men transgressed gender role norms more than women did.

## **Results**

This study sought to determine whether men behaved in a more masculine manner than women behaved in a feminine manner and whether men transgressed gender role norms more than women did. It was hypothesized that men would behave in a more masculine manner than women would behave in a feminine manner, and that men would have a lower score measuring gender role transgressions, due to the societal pressure to be masculine that is more strongly exerted over men than the pressure to be exclusively feminine is exerted over women. For this study, three cases were excluded because these participants did not follow survey instructions and reported that they were sleeping at seven P.M. the previous night. This lowered total number of participants to 103. The participant pool was comprised of 20 (18.9%) men and 86 (81.1%) women, ranging in age from 18 to 64 ( $M = 29.3$ ,  $SD = 10.9$ ). Participants reported their ethnicity, and 71.7% of participants were Caucasian American, 8.5% were Latino or Latin American, 7.5% were Other (Native American, African, Multiple, European American), 4.7% were African American, 4.7% were Arabic or Arabic American, and 2.8% were Asian or Asian American.

Table 1

Scores for Gender Conformity and Transgression Separated by Gender

Survey Item	Men		Women		t-statistic	df(101)
	M	SD	M	SD		
Opportunity to express masculinity	5.21	2.39	3.93	1.93	-2.502*	
Opportunity to express femininity	3.32	1.86	4.79	1.78	3.219**	
Behaves in masculine manner	5.63	1.92	3.37	1.96	-4.568***	
Behaves in feminine manner	2.32	1.57	5.44	2.00	6.368***	

\*Significant at the  $p < .05$  level (two-tailed)

\*\*Significant at the  $p < .01$  level (two-tailed)

\*\*\*Significant at the  $p < .001$  level (two-tailed)

A t-test was carried out to see if there were differences between men and women in how they perceived and behaved in situations. Table 1 illustrates means and

standard deviations, separated by gender, and t-scores of each variable measuring gender role conformity or deviance. Men behaved in a more masculine manner and perceived situations as affording an opportunity to express masculinity more than women did. Women behaved in a more feminine manner and perceived situations as affording an opportunity to express femininity more than men did.

Three sets of correlations were run to see if there was any relationship between how participants viewed situations and how they behaved in them. The first set of correlations included both men and women. For all participants, there was a significant positive correlation between the perception of the situation as affording an opportunity to express masculinity and behaving in a stereotypical masculine style or manner ( $r=.242, p<.05$ ). For all participants, there was a significant positive correlation between the perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity and behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner ( $r=.381, p<.001$ ). The second set of correlations only included women. For women, perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express masculinity was not significantly correlated with behaving in a stereotypically masculine style or manner ( $r=.074, p>.05$ ). For women, perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity was positively correlated with behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner ( $r=.219, p<.05$ ). The third set of correlations only included men. For men, the perception of a situation as affording the opportunity to express masculinity was strongly positively correlated with behaving in a stereotypically masculine style or manner ( $r=.489, p<.05$ ). For men, perception of the situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity was strongly positively correlated with behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner ( $r=.575, p<.05$ ).

To test the main hypothesis, two more t-tests were carried out. The first t-test was to see if men behaved in a more masculine way than women behaved in a feminine way, using one of the two variables created to assess gender role compliance and deviance. Men reported a mean score of 5.63 (SD=1.92) on RBQ 51 (measuring stereotypically masculine behavior). Women reported a mean score of 5.44 (SD=2.00) on RBQ 68 (measuring stereotypically feminine behavior). There was no significant difference between men's masculine behavior scores and women's feminine behavior scores ( $t(101)=-.378, p>.05$ ). The second t-test used the second variable, created to test if there was a difference between men and women when it came to gender role transgressions. Men reported a mean score of 2.32 (SD=1.57) on RBQ 68 (measuring stereotypically feminine behavior). Women reported a mean score of 3.37 (SD=1.96) on RBQ 51 (measuring stereotypically masculine behavior). There was a significant difference between men's scores on RBQ 68 and women's scores on RBQ 51 ( $t(101)=2.191, p<.05$ ).

## Discussion

This study investigated the differences between men's and women's perceptions of situations, and behavior in those situations. The two constructs that were focused on were masculinity and femininity. Much research is in agreement that to achieve

masculinity is essentially to actively reject and avoid femininity, to be emotionally detached in one's dominance, and to be tough (Aubé & Koestner, 1992; Chrisler, 2012; Croteau & Hoynes, 2013; Levant et al., 2012). Some attributes of femininity are adherence to and pursuit of societally defined beauty standards, fulfillment of the role of the "good mother," possessing feminine traits, and subscribing to traditional gender role ideology (Chrisler, 2012; Cole & Zucker, 2007). Participants in this study were asked to rate the situations they reported being in at 7 P.M. the previous night as allowing them the opportunity to express masculinity, femininity, and to what degree they behaved in stereotypically masculine and feminine manners or styles. This study found that men and women perceived situations significantly differently, with men perceiving situations as providing an opportunity to express masculinity significantly more than women perceived their own situations, and women perceiving situations as providing an opportunity to express femininity significantly more than men perceived their situations. Men also reported behaving in a significantly more masculine style or manner than did women, and women reported behaving in a significantly more feminine manner than did men. These results are consistent with widely accepted societal beliefs about the gender binary and show that participants may have internalized the socially constructed rules, norms, and stereotypes about their own gender, and that participants may also have internalized the common assertion by defendants of the gender binary that men and women are inherently different, perceive things differently, and behave differently.

When all participants were included in analysis, there was a significant positive correlation between perception of the situation as affording an opportunity to express masculinity and behaving in a stereotypically masculine style or manner, as well as a significant positive correlation between perception of the situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity and participants behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner. When only women were included in analysis, there was a strong positive correlation between perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity and behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner, however there was no significant relationship between perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express masculinity and behaving in a stereotypically masculine style or manner. When only men were included in analysis, there was a strong positive correlation between perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express masculinity and behaving in a masculine style or manner, additionally, there was a strong positive correlation between perception of a situation as affording an opportunity to express femininity and behaving in a stereotypically feminine style or manner. These correlational findings are largely consistent with and provide support for the claim that personality and gender are important factors when it comes to perception of situations (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2010; 2012).

In initial analyses, the principal researcher conceptualized gender role adherence as men behaving in a stereotypically masculine way and women behaving in a stereotypically feminine way. This variable measured, for men, masculine behavior, and for women, feminine behavior. After more careful scrutiny, it was realized that this single

variable did not get entirely at the heart of the construct of gender role compliance and deviance. In order to more completely represent the construct of gender role deviance, the principal researcher endeavored to design a variable that took into account the degree to which men acted in a feminine style or manner and the degree to which women acted in a masculine style or manner. A t-test was carried out on the variable measuring gender role adherence and found that men did not behave in a significantly more or less masculine way than women behaved in a feminine way. This lack of significance, however only meant that men behaved about as masculinely as women behaved femininely, and therefore did not address if either gender transgressed gender role norms more than the other did. A final t-test was carried out with the new variable and it was found that men transgressed gender role norms less than women did, or men behaved less femininely than women behaved masculinely.

This is consistent with past research that men are punished more severely for gender role infractions than women are (Aubé & Koestner, 1992). Additionally, this finding provides further support to claims that masculinity is defined as the systematic rejection and devaluation of femininity (Aubé & Koestner, 1992; Chrisler, 2012; Croteau & Hoynes, 2013; Frable, 1989; Levant et al., 2012). The patriarchal notion that women are below men leads to the idea that men lower themselves and willingly make themselves objects for ridicule by deigning to express feminine behaviors and traits. It is the lower position of women that does not make the reverse true. When women challenge feminine gender role norms by acting masculinely, they are aspiring to be at a higher position of the patriarchal hierarchy, and although women are almost always the subject of criticism in one area of their lives or another, many people do not blame women for wanting to improve their position in a deeply sexist social system. This study's findings imply that patriarchy is still at work, forcing all people into two rigid boxes labeled "Men" and "Women," by punishing gender role transgressions more severely in men than in women, which leads to men fearing this punishment and thereby engaging in self-policing so they do not display any hint of femininity. These systems of oppression, punishment, and prejudices give rise to the phenomenon of hypermasculinity as one way to raise the walls that separate men and women, even if it means denying women their drive to be assertive and strong, and denying men their desire to be a nurturing parent, allowed to express emotion safely and freely, without fear of punishment.

This study was limited by a relatively small sample size, and by the fixed nature of the survey instruments used in the International Situations Project. To further this research, the survey tool should encompass many more areas of masculinity and femininity as supported by other researchers' efforts, and would allow for a more nuanced examination of gender conformity and nonconformity. In the vein of Aubé and Koestner (1992), a longitudinal approach would allow the effects of gender role transgressions and punishment to be traced over the course of many years to see if such patterns are still common now. A strength of the current study was, paradoxically, in the self-report format of the questions. Although self-report measures can sometimes

pose a significant challenge to research and analysis, in this study participants rated themselves on masculinity and femininity, thereby, taking up a symbolic interactionist theory perspective in which individuals used shared social perspectives and shared social realities to create meaning in their own lives every day (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). Although it is a huge step forward from some decades ago for women to be able to break out of the rigid gender stereotypes to some degree, men are still trapped in their rigid gender roles as much, if not more than, in decades past. Clearly, patriarchy is unhealthy for all people's development into complete, well-rounded human beings, for it tells women they must be irrationally emotional, beautiful, and weak, and tells men they must be always stoic, tough, and strong. Until the day comes when patriarchy no longer holds so much power over men, women, and people who reject both of those categorical labels, the world will be missing men who show their emotions proudly, women who take charge without it being considered an aberration, and people who are free to decide who they are and what they want to make of the possibilities of their unique experiences and existence.

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## Appendix A

### Riverside Situational Q-sort Version 3.15

1. Situation is potentially enjoyable.
2. Situation is complex.
3. A job needs to be done.
4. Someone is trying to impress P.
5. Someone is trying to convince P of something.
6. P is counted on to do something.
7. Talking is permitted.
8. Talking is expected or demanded.
9. P is being asked for something.
10. Someone needs help.
11. Minor details are important.
12. Situation evokes values concerning lifestyles or politics.
13. Affords an opportunity to demonstrate intellectual capacity. (e.g., an intellectual discussion, a complex problem needs to be solved)
14. Situation is uncertain.
15. Another person (present or discussed) is under threat.
16. P is being criticized, directly or indirectly.
17. Someone is attempting to dominate or boss P.
18. Situation is playful.
19. Introspection is possible. (e.g., the atmosphere allows or encourages reflection upon deeply personal issues)
20. Things are happening quickly. (Low placement implies things are happening slowly.)
21. Someone (present or discussed) is unhappy or suffering.
22. A reassuring other person is present.
23. P is being blamed for something.
24. A decision needs to be made.
25. Rational thinking is called for.
26. Situation calls for self-restraint.
27. Situation involves competition.
28. Affords an opportunity for P to do things that might make P liked or accepted.
29. Others are present who need or desire reassurance.
30. Situation entails frustration. (e.g., a goal is blocked)
31. Physical attractiveness of P is relevant.
32. It is important for P to make a good impression.
33. Situation would make some people tense and upset.

34. Situation includes one or more small annoyances.
35. Situation might evoke warmth or compassion.
36. A person or activity could be undermined or sabotaged.
37. It is possible for P to deceive someone.
38. Someone else in this situation (other than P) might be deceitful.
39. Situation may cause feelings of hostility.
40. People are disagreeing about something.
41. Affords an opportunity to express unusual ideas or points of view.
42. Situation contains physical threats.
43. Situation contains emotional threats.
44. Situation raises moral or ethical issues. (e.g., a moral dilemma is present; a discussion of morality)
45. A quick decision or quick action is called for.
46. Situation allows a free range of emotional expression.
47. Others present might have conflicting or hidden motives.
48. Situation entails or could entail stress or trauma.
49. Affords an opportunity to ruminate, daydream or fantasize.
50. Situation has potential to arouse guilt in P.
51. Close personal relationships are present or have the potential to develop.
52. Someone other than P is counted on to do something.
53. Situation includes intellectual or cognitive stimuli. (e.g., books, lectures, intellectual conversation)
54. Assertiveness is required to accomplish a goal.
55. Situation includes potential for immediate gratification of desires. (e.g., food, shopping, sexual opportunities)
56. Social interaction is possible.
57. Situation is humorous or potentially humorous. (if one finds that sort of thing funny)
58. P is the focus of attention.
59. Situation includes sensuous stimuli. (e.g., touch, taste, smell, physical contact)
60. Situation is relevant to bodily health of P. (e.g., possibility of illness; a medical visit)
61. Success in this situation requires self-insight.
62. P controls resources needed by others.
63. Others present a wide range of interpersonal cues. (e.g., body language, tone of voice, social signals)
64. Situation includes behavioral limits. (e.g., rules or social norms that might or might not be challenged)
65. Situation includes aesthetic stimuli. (e.g., art, music, drama, beauty)
66. Situation is potentially anxiety-inducing.
67. Situation makes demands on P. (either explicitly or implicitly)
68. Affords an opportunity to express or demonstrate ambition.
69. Situation might make P feel inadequate.
70. Situation includes stimuli that could be construed sexually.
71. Situational demands are rapidly shifting.
72. P is being abused or victimized.
73. Members of the opposite sex are present.
74. Potential romantic partners for P are present.

75. Situation has potential to arouse competing motivations.
76. Situation is basically simple and clear-cut.
77. Affords an opportunity to express charm.
78. Situation involves social comparison.
79. Situation raises issues of power. (for P or others present)
80. Affords an opportunity to express masculinity.
81. Others may need or are requesting advice from P.
82. Independence or autonomy of P is questioned or threatened.
83. Situation is potentially emotionally arousing.
84. Affords an opportunity for demonstrating verbal fluency. (e.g., a debate, a monologue, an active conversation)
85. People who are present occupy different social roles or levels of status.
86. P is being pressured to conform to the actions of others.
87. Success requires cooperation.
88. P is being complimented or praised.
89. Affords an opportunity to express femininity.

## Appendix B

### **The Riverside Behavioral Q-sort (RBQ) Version 3.11**

1. Interviews others (if present). (e.g., asks a series of questions)
2. Volunteers a large amount of information about self.
3. Seems interested in what someone had to say.
4. Tries to control the situation. (Disregard whether attempts at control succeed or not.)
5. Dominates the situation. (Disregard intention, e.g., if P dominates the situation by default because other(s) present does very little, this item should receive high placement.)
6. Appears to be relaxed and comfortable.
7. Exhibits social skills. (e.g., makes other(s) comfortable, keeps conversation moving, entertains or charms other(s))
8. Is reserved and unexpressive. (e.g., expresses little affect; acts in a stiff, formal manner)
9. Laughs frequently. (Disregard whether laughter appears to be nervous or genuine.)
10. Smiles frequently.
11. Is physically animated; moves around.
12. Seems to like other(s) present. (e.g., would probably like to be friends with them)
13. Exhibits an awkward interpersonal style. (e.g., seems to have difficulty knowing what to say, mumbles, fails to respond to conversational advances)
14. Compares self to other(s). (whether others are present or not)
15. Shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level.
16. Shows a wide range of interests. (e.g., talks about many topics)
17. Talks at rather than with other(s). (e.g., conducts a monologue, ignores what other(s) says)
18. Expresses agreement frequently. (High placement = agreement is expressed unusually often, e.g., in response to each and every statement partner(s) makes. Low placement = unusual lack of expression of agreement.)

19. Expresses criticism. (of anybody or anything) (Low placement = expresses praise.)
20. Is talkative. (as observed in this situation)
21. Expresses insecurity. (e.g., seems touchy or overly sensitive)
22. Show physical signs of tension or anxiety. (e.g., fidgets nervously, voice wavers) (Middle placement = lack of signs of anxiety. Low placement = lack of signs under circumstances where you would expect them.)
23. Exhibits a high degree of intelligence (Give this item high placement only if P actually says or does something of high intelligence. Low placement = exhibition of low intelligence. Medium placement = no information one way or another.)
24. Expresses sympathy. (to anyone, i.e., including conversational references) (Low placement = unusual lack of sympathy.)
25. Initiates humor.
26. Seeks reassurance. (e.g., asks for agreement, fishes for praise)
27. Exhibits condescending behavior. (e.g., acts as if self is superior to other(s) [present, or otherwise]) (Low placement = acting inferior.)
28. Seems likable. (to other(s) present)
29. Seeks advice.
30. Appears to regard self as physically attractive.
31. Acts irritated.
32. Expresses warmth. (to anyone, e.g., including affectionate references to close friends, etc.)
33. Tries to undermine, sabotage or obstruct.
34. Expresses hostility. (no matter toward whom or what)
35. Is unusual or unconventional in appearance.
36. Behaves in a fearful or timid manner.
37. Is expressive in face, voice or gestures.
38. Expresses interest in fantasy or daydreams. (Low placement only if such interest is explicitly disavowed.)
39. Expresses guilt. (about anything)
40. Keeps other(s) at a distance; avoids development of any sort of interpersonal relationship. (Low placement = behavior to get close to other(s).)
41. Shows interest in intellectual or cognitive matters. (discusses an intellectual idea in detail or with enthusiasm)
42. Seems to enjoy the situation.
43. Says or does something interesting.
44. Says negative things about self. (e.g., is self-critical; expresses feelings of inadequacy)
45. Displays ambition. (e.g., passionate discussion of career plans, course grades, opportunities to make money)
46. Blames others. (for anything)
47. Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization.
48. Expresses sexual interest. (e.g., acts attracted to someone present; expresses interest in dating or sexual matters in general)
49. Behaves in a cheerful manner.
50. Gives up when faced with obstacles. (Low placement implies unusual persistence.)
51. Behaves in a stereotypically masculine style or manner.

52. Offers advice.
53. Speaks fluently and expresses ideas well.
54. Emphasizes accomplishments of self, family or acquaintances. (Low placement = emphasizes failures of these individuals.)
55. Behaves in a competitive manner. (Low placement = cooperation.)
56. Speaks in a loud voice.
57. Speaks sarcastically. (e.g., says things (s)he does not mean; makes facetious comments that are not necessarily funny)
58. Makes or approaches physical contact with other(s). (of any sort, including sitting unusually close without touching) (Low placement = unusual avoidance of physical contact, such as large interpersonal distance.)
59. Engages in constant eye contact with someone. (Low placement = unusual lack of eye contact.)
60. Seems detached from the situation.
61. Speaks quickly. (Low placement = speaks slowly.)
62. Acts playful.
63. Other(s) seeks advice from P.
64. Concentrates on or works hard at a task.
65. Engages in physical activity. (e.g., works up a sweat) (Low placement = almost completely sedentary.)
66. Acts in a self-indulgent manner. (e.g., spending, eating, or drinking) (Low placement implies self-denial.)
67. Exhibits physical discomfort or pain. (High placement = excess of what seems proportionate. Low placement implies lack of these signs where expected.)
68. Behaves in a stereotypically feminine style or manner.

## “They Did Not See It Was For Our Hurt”

Sheila Frees

An undisputed belief is that the decimation of the Native American Indians was a result of disease and a loss of land attributed to their inability to understand the concept of exclusive possession. The story of *Heckewelder's Meadow* gives credence to this commonly held belief. After Heckewelder criticizes an Indian for allowing his horses to graze on his property, the Indian replies, “The grass that grows out of the earth is common to all” (Weslager 37). What has not been cited as a primary cause of the decimation of the Native American Indians is alcoholism. This may be a result of the public at large not fully understanding alcoholism as a disease so that history is not reflecting it as a primary cause. By making alcoholism inclusive in the decimation of the Native American Indian, it will broaden our understanding of their demise from being a strong and powerful people. This paper will collectively refer to the ten or eleven individual tribes (Schutt 9) that were native to the lands of the Delaware Valley of eastern Pennsylvania and most of New Jersey as the Delawares (Wissler 83).

An essential step must be taken in understanding how alcohol affected the Indians by examining the history of alcohol. The discovery of beer is documented to have appeared around 10,000 BCE on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. Wine's appearance is documented to have appeared between 9000 and 4000 BCE. Ancient Greeks are known to drink wine during their symposions where discourse about philosophy, nature, science and politics abounded. Wine drinking spread to both Italy and France as both countries had the climate suitable for viticulture. They believed that drinking wine that had not been watered down would lead them to become extremely violent or go mad, and the virtue of moderate drinking is widespread in ancient sources.

The process of distilling wine, thereby raising the alcohol content, occurred around the eighth century by the chemist Jabir ibn Hayyan. Rum had been discovered by the 1620's with a higher alcohol content than distilled wine (Standage 11,14, 47, 51, 57-9, 67,94, 107). Accompanying the history of the discovery of alcohol were the discoveries of both the positive and negative effects from imbibing.

Egyptian scribal training texts have the earliest passages of the disapproval of drunkenness (Standage 29). Around the thirteenth century distilled wine, or distilled spirits, was widely used for medicinal purposes and became known as the "water of life" and was prescribed for a litany of ailments from treating diseases of the brain to a protection against the plague (Standage 98-9). Fermentation meant that alcohol was safer to drink than the polluted water. Rumbullion is a word derived from English slang meaning "a brawl or violent commotion" as this would be the outcome of drinking rum to excess (Standage 108). William Penn's plan for his utopian city of Philadelphia originally banned alehouses and taverns. Colonial Philadelphians believed that excessive, habitual drinking was sinful (Thompson P 1, 21). Whether virtue or vice, the understanding that alcoholism as a disease was unknown.

In 2013 a study published in *The American Journal of Psychiatry* concludes that factors effecting the Native American Indians such as a lack of the genetic protective factors in metabolizing alcohol and a drug insensitivity or high tolerance to alcohol makes one more susceptible to becoming addicted (Ehlers et al). The devastation to one's life after being addicted to alcohol can clearly be seen in the world-wide recognized, 12-step guidebook for recovering alcoholics, *Alcoholics Anonymous*. In the "Doctor's Opinion" section of the book, physical alcohol cravings, mental obsession

over obtaining more alcohol, the utter inability to stop drinking even when one wants to, and uncharacteristic behaviors after one has gotten drunk are fully detailed. Personal stories detail how the most important thing became satisfying the alcoholic's "need to drink" at the expense of their families, homes, careers, and lives. Behaviors such as anger, violence towards others, volatile and unstable emotions are all chronicled (182-231). All of these behaviors are seen in the Indians and their relationship with alcohol. The seeds of destruction done through alcoholism are about to be sown with the Delawares.

Delaware Indian folklore gives an account of the Algonkians first encounter with the Dutch along the shoreline of Manhattan Island. The story of that first meeting tells that a glass with liquor was passed around for sharing amongst the two peoples. After having smelled the liquor, none of the members of the tribe and two sachems would partake of the peace offering. Chastising the others for disparaging this sign of peace, one of the tribe's warriors drank the liquor. He soon began to stagger around, and then "he fell to the ground in a sleep as though dead." The group was terrified, but shortly thereafter, the warrior awoke, jumped to his feet, and declared, "He had never been so happy before as after he had drunk the liquor." Seeing no harm had come to the warrior and his elation after consuming the liquor, the whole group started to drink, and everyone became intoxicated (Weslager 105-06). Liquor had crossed the great Atlantic Ocean and found its new home in America.

Before the arrival of the Dutch, the Delawares were a hunter-gather, agrarian society (Weslager 116). With the arrival of the Dutch, the Delaware's became hunters for furs to trade, rather than hunters for food. The immensity of the trade with the Dutch

was so massive that within twenty-five years, the population of the beaver had been driven to near extinction (Weslager 121). A shift in the lifestyle of the Indian has occurred due to trade, and it was only the beginning of the change that will happen with the introduction of alcohol to their society.

Dutch settlements in the area of the Delawares were exclusively based on trade, which meant that a direct, one-on-one contact needed to be established with the Indians. The Dutch had a huge coffer of trade goods backed by their native country to trade with, so trade was never hindered by lack of supply (Weidensaul 123). The Dutch were primarily interested in the fur trade so did not require large tracts of land to establish posts. Smaller tracts of land meant that the Dutch weren't encroaching on the Delaware's land so the Dutch did not appear as a threat to them (Weidensaul 122). Records indicate that all land conveyances up until 1684 included provisions for the Delawares to continue to hunt, fish, and farm (Schutt 32). Fur trade would be considered one that held great value so the goods to be exchanged had to be substantial in order to have fair trade. This motivation for trade will alter the very way of life for the Delawares.

In the 1759 book *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, one can ascertain how alcohol became central in the trade for furs. At a 1722 Philadelphia Council Meeting complaints were made by the Indians of the damage that was being done to their people because of alcohol and that the traders bring nothing to trade with except rum (11, 23). At a 1732 Treaty in Philadelphia it was clear that the Indians had become plagued with the obsession of getting more rum. When a complaint is lodged, the traders (also known as

rum carriers) responded by saying that, “The traders of all nations find the Indians so universally fond of rum that they will not deal without it” (31-2). At the Treaty of Carlisle in 1753 a speech from an Indian sachem complains again that the traders didn’t bring anything but “rum or flour” to trade with and “The rum ruins us” (75). The trade for furs has turned into a trade for rum. The problem with the Indians only wanting rum in trade for their furs was because other items of necessity, such as axes, food, and clothing, are no longer being traded. Without these necessities families are not being provided for. Not only had the trade of alcohol for furs become interchangeably entwined, but laws, statutes and punishments were made in the attempt to protect the Europeans from the debauchery of the Indians.

As early as a 1657 a trade agreement would force the settlers to trade openly with the Natives to resolve the problem of a difference in trade prices causing unfair competition for the Dutch (Weslager 128-9). This agreement meant that the Natives would have to come into the settlement of New Amstel. This also meant that the Natives were coming into New Amstel and getting drunk and disorderly. As complaints came in about Indians becoming “crazed” by drinking alcohol, a new ordinance to prohibit the Natives from drinking was passed (Weslager 131). In 1664 The Duke of York passed laws prohibiting traders to barter with rum, brandy or other strong liquors, but allowed licensed distributors to sell large quantities. This law was an attempt to take the sale or exchange of alcohol out of the hands of the traders and place it into the hands of licensed distributors. These distributors could only sell large quantities to the Indians, which effectively prohibited the Indians from drinking in the taverns of a town but did nothing to address the problem of Indians and alcohol (Weslager 138-9).

William Penn's Great Law of 1682 prohibited the sale of liquor, but a 1682 purchase of land involving thirteen sachems included rum and beer among the items paid for the conveyance (Weslager 162). In 1710 Conestoga residents complained of traders getting the Indians drunk and then cheating them in trade for their skins (Schutt 72). Neither fines nor punishment for those who sold the alcohol or fines and punishments for those Indians, who became drunk, stopped the drunkenness. Alcohol was an inherent part of the trade, and thousands of gallons of liquor still flowed to the Indians (Weslager 159). The Dutch and English's attempts to ban the sale of alcohol went unanswered. They weren't the only ones alarmed by drinking; the sachems themselves were alarmed.

By 1662 several Delaware sachems requested that the trade of alcohol be terminated because of the problems arising from drunkenness (Weslager 132). One sachem complained that "These whiskey sellers, when they have got the Indians in liquor, make them sell the very clothes off their backs" (Thompson C. 76). At a 1718 meeting in Philadelphia with three different tribes, a complaint was issued about Pennsylvania's failure to do anything about the problem with the Indians and alcohol (Schutt 71). By the 1760's Neolin, also known as the Delaware Prophet, was declaring that the only way to salvation for the Indians was by eschewing the ways of the white man, including liquor (Uttley 92). While trading furs for alcohol was having devastating effects on the Indian culture, alcohol had by then become a part of the culture of the interpreters, or go-betweens.

Appointed by the Six Nations as interpreter was Andrew Montour. Evidence of Montour's alcoholism can be found in the words of Conrad Weiser, who said of

Montour, “He abused me very much, cursed and swore, and asked pardon when he got sober, did the same again when he was drunk, again damned me more a hundred times” (Wiedensaul 263). Greater a man than Montour, is a Delaware named Teedyuscung, or the King of the Delawares.

Well documented is the alcoholism of the infamous Teedyuscung, interpreter for the Delawares. A lapsed Moravian, his reputation with his former sect stated that he was “unstable as water and like a reed shaken before the wind.” He vacillated between boasting calling himself the Delaware King to weeping and denigrating himself (Merrell 91). This behavior is consistent with a person under the influence of alcohol where volatile, swinging emotions are displayed. His ability to consume large amounts of rum without being drunk recalled by an English officer would speak of a high tolerance for alcohol (Weidensaul 355). During a 1757 treaty negotiation, it was reported that Teedyschung had been kept continuously drunk for “four or five” days straight up until the time he stood to speak before the council. At the time that he spoke, it seemed that he was “dark and confused” (Thompson C. 114). At the Easton Council of 1758, a staggering Teedyuscung, rum bottle in hand, called the Iroquois “fools” and declared himself “King of all the nations and of all the world” (Merrell 264). Initially, the intended purpose of plying an Indian go-between with alcohol would be to induce goodwill between. The unintended consequence of this purpose was that they turned a man into nothing more than a functional alcoholic. Destruction of a way-of-life and destruction of men of importance were two areas alcohol had affected, but the worst was yet to come when alcohol played a role in the loss of land.

As more and more Europeans came to America in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century for agricultural purposes, conflicts between the Europeans and Indians started to arise over land (Wissler 62). Among the goods received by the Indians for land conveyances was alcohol. In 1676, two thousand acres of land were sold for eight bottles of rum, buttons, and thread. This deed specifically excluded the Indians from any right of use for hunting, fishing or farming. This was highly uncommon and detrimental to the Indians as they would lose the means to provide food (Weslager 149). In 1692 a group of Delawares went before the Commissioners of Property complaining they had not been properly paid for land. While the Commissioners were looking into the matter, they served the Indians two dozen rolls and two gallons of rum to wash down the rolls. In this case, the Indians did leave with some goods, although not in the amount they had originally requested. By 1692 it was well established that the Indians had a problem with alcohol consumption. One can draw from this account that the purpose of giving the Indians such a prodigious amount of alcohol would be to negotiate a better settlement, which indeed the Commissioners did (Weslager 169-70). While these minor disagreements persisted, greater grievances over land not being properly paid for were on the horizon.

In 1723, a group of German settlers, known as the Palantines, arrived in the area known as the Tulpehocken. Arriving at the invitation of Governor William Keith, this land was the seat of the refugee settlement established by the Delaware sachem, Sassoonan. Not only was this land a refuge from the encroachment of white settlers, it was the most fertile land for the Delawares. Sassoonan, once a great sachem negotiating with William Penn, had become a chronic alcoholic. In 1732, Sassoonan

together with other sachems, deeded over the Tulpehocken land for various goods including twenty gallons of rum. A Shawnee sachem later said of the transaction, “they was dry and wanted to drink ye land away” (Weslager 184-5,201). The drive to either obtain more alcohol or being drunk while making the transaction is the only plausible answer to this transaction. Their only hope left to claiming any land was through their continuous insistence that the infamous “Walking Purchase” was a fraud.

This area in the forks of the Delaware remained a highly contentious issue between the Indians and two of William Penn’s sons, Thomas and John. The Penn brothers were deeply in debt which turned into pressure for them to have more land to sell (Schutt 84). Years of discontent on the part of the Indians needed to be resolved so that the Penn brother’s would have clear title. Rather than obtaining a fair resolution of the questionable land conveyance, the Penn’s continued the fraud by having an agent get the Iroquois to sign a document that stated that the Delawares had “no land remaining to them.” In 1742 many of the Six Nations sachems meet in Philadelphia with Governor Thomas. The Six Nations upheld the trickery of Penn and his cohorts and claimed the Delawares, who were subjugated to the Six Nations, had no right to sell land (Weslager 191). Being subjugated to the Iroquois, the Delawares were given no voice at the Philadelphia meeting (Weslager 191). Canasatego, an Iroquois sachem, said of the Delawares that they had been paid for the land long ago, and “it has gone through their guts” (Schutt 90). After the meeting had adjourned, Canasatego complained to the council that during the time the Iroquois had been there, they had not been given any liquor. The council obliged the Iroquois by giving them enough money to purchase twenty gallons of rum to take with them on their way home (Weslager

192). It would appear that the English were using the Indians well known thirst for liquor to get the outcome they had hoped for, clear title to precious land. This last land conveyance essentially left the Delawares without any home of their own, and destined to a life of wanderers.

At the Easton Peace Treaty of 1756, Teedyuscung had the opportunity of presenting the Delawares complaint to Governor William Denney (Weidensaul 357) concerning land he and other Delawares were living on in Wyoming, on the north branch of the Susquehanna River (Schutt 117). While a man being consumed by a horrendous disease such as alcoholism is difficult enough to witness, the true heartbreak of Teedyuscung's story is that he was the go-between, the interpreter, the man appointed to speak for the Six Nations, and he was a drunk. That the Six Nations never thought that it was unwise to have such a man represent them displays a blind eye as to how those on the receiving end of his speeches and requests would view him. Certainly, the English would have nothing but disdain for a drunk as they despised the debauchery accompanied by drunkenness. Lacking credibility meant that Teedyuscung's plea for his home went unheard. Ultimately, history tells of a great man who died, after consuming a bottle of rum, being burned to death in his home (Weidensaul 379).

There is a culmination of many things that come to a head with the Natives and alcohol. When alcohol first crossed the Great Atlantic, the Indians did not have the history of alcohol that the Europeans had nor any of their virtues for sobriety. They did not start out drinking that first initial weak beer of the Mesopotamians or watered down wine of the Greeks. The entire learning process on the effects of drinking using low

alcohol content drink was lost with the Indians. Their initial experience with alcohol was with high alcohol content rum. The history of alcohol has proven that those cultures that began with lower alcohol content drink learned to drink responsibly. Without this essential learning process, the Indians were virtually defenseless in fighting the effects of alcoholism as they certainly did not understand or know what they were dealing with; another disease from the white man.

To fully understand the decimation of the Delawares one must look beyond European diseases, the inability to understand land ownership, or wars and also include the disease of alcoholism. The original intent of the Europeans introducing alcohol was not to cause harm just the same as the original intent of the Europeans was not to inflict smallpox on the Indians. A sachem once lamented, “ ... and they were blind, they did not see it was for our hurt” (Wissler 58). While this holds true during those first years of trade, it soon became apparent that the Indians were crazed by alcohol and would trade anything to get it. The Europeans seized upon the Indians great thirst for alcohol to get what they wanted from the Indians; trade and land. How large of a role alcohol played in the Delawares ceding their rights to use of land can be witnessed through the accounts of Sassoonan and Teedyuscung. The sachem and the go-between are the men who are seeking to right injustices over land. They were either drunk or craving to be drunk, and what they were willing to trade for to quench those cravings was land. They had so damaged the reputation of the Indians that between 1778 and 1861 all forty-five treaties saw every claim rejected based upon the belief that the Indian's were a dishonest, ungrateful, and immoral group of people (Wissler 87).

Alcoholism was one of the many causes of the decimation of the Indians. To omit it is tantamount to complete denial.

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Purchasing Power: How the Erosion of Campaign Finance Law Subverts Democracy  
Wellington Mackey

Introduction

Democracy in America is under attack. Our political system is so flooded with money from special interest groups and rich donors that the voices of average citizens are being drowned out. The gradual loosening of campaign finance laws over the last four decades has made it increasingly easy for the wealthy and well-connected to influence politicians to enact public policies that are often injurious to their own constituents. Campaign donations instead of beneficial ideas have become the key to longevity on Capitol Hill, and lawmakers are now more beholden to those who write checks than to those who elected them in the first place. If this trend continues, American democracy is in danger of being transformed into something unrecognizable and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. And the ultimate fear of the founding fathers will be all but realized: a free society for a rich ruling class and for everybody else – servitude. This paper will track the history of campaign finance laws in America and will demonstrate how due to the relaxing of these laws the United States is nearing exactly this reality. It will also demonstrate that trends in increasingly large campaign contributions from the most affluent in society and their corporate proxies have almost uniformly matched trends in other political problems such as the increased gridlock in Washington and the consequential marginalization of the American Dream for working class families. Finally, it will present the concept of “running clean” through public financing of all elections; a simple solution to the problem of big-moneyed interests forcing their wills over politicians who are weakened by the prospects of losing their seats in Congress. This change is necessary if democracy is to be protected from this

onslaught of cash and pay-for-play favors. If not, American democracy will no longer be the shining beacon it once was. To other nations, still entrenched in the old ideas of authoritarian rule, America's regression will be viewed as an endorsement of a kind of global cynicism toward open democracy. It could foster an atmosphere that is antithetical to majority rule in which governments routinely ignore the will of their people, and adhere instead to the overtures of the tiny minority perched at the very top of the economic pyramid.

### Campaign Finance Laws 1900 - 1975: The Removal of Money from Politics

During the Gilded Age, between 1876 -1900, America was a Dickensian tale of two cities. The Industrial Revolution had transformed industries virtually overnight with the advent of fossil fuels and advances in technology. The tremendous economic windfalls which ensued, however, were concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy and powerful industrialists. Men like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller were experiencing their heyday at a time when most Americans were mired in poverty, and it was truly both the "best and worst of times" for those at opposite ends of the economic spectrum. These years, between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, brought with them a realignment of politics. The task of Reconstruction left members of Congress "preoccupied with issues that had little to do with the affairs of working people" (Saylor Foundation). The most influential individuals in national leadership were all in business, and many had made use of their vast fortunes to secure high offices such as state governorships and U.S. senate seats. To have considered the America of these times a functioning democracy was a stretch since Congress was absolutely

dominated by those with the most economic clout. The Saylor Foundation describes the atmosphere on Capitol Hill during these times this way:

The halls of Congress were filled with tobacco smoke and spittoons were everywhere. One disgusted observer noted that not only did the members chew and spit incessantly, but their aim was bad. The atmosphere on the floor was described as an infernal din. The Senate, whose seats were often auctioned off to the highest bidder, was known as a rich man's club where political favors were traded like horses and the needs of the people in the working class lay beyond the vision of those exalted legislators. (3)

During these times, campaign finance laws were non-existent. The lines separating members of Congress and their corporate patrons were not just blurred but absent altogether. Lawmakers would often even boast their allegiance to these interests in the public arena for all to see. For example, John Mitchell of Oregon who was elected to the Senate in 1873 openly flaunted his relationship with railroad magnate Ben Holladay declaring once: "Ben Holladay's politics are my politics and what Ben Holladay wants I want" (Shwantes 252).

The public's ire began to be awakened with a string of scandals in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first of which occurred during the presidential campaign of Theodore Roosevelt. After his election it was revealed that seventy-five percent of his campaign funds had been provided by oil and railroad companies. The public was disgusted at this attempt by deep-pocketed business interests to influence the outcome of a presidential election, and the voter backlash prompted Congress to pass the Tillman Act

of 1907 which was the first major campaign finance reform law. Amendments were made to the law in 1925 after yet another political scandal involving money from corporate donors was uncovered. The famed Teapot Dome Scandal was a bribery incident occurring between 1920 and 1923 during the administration of President Warren G. Harding. His Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall leased navy petroleum reserves at Teapot Dome in Wyoming and two other locations in California to private oil companies at low rates without competitive bidding. The lease terms were very favorable to the companies and the deal secretly made Fall a rich man. He received a no-interest loan of \$100,000 (about \$1.31 million today) and also received gifts totaling \$404,000 (about \$5.29 million today). Fall was convicted of bribery and sentenced to one year in prison, making him the first presidential cabinet member to go to prison for his actions in office.

The major political issues of this time period were also a reflection of the priorities of the ruling class. These were mostly focused on tariffs and currency reform, two issues that were of obvious interest to big business. America was a full-fledged plutocracy, unapologetically catering to the needs and wants of its corporate overlords. The destruction of this unhealthy alliance between Congress and big money was President Franklin Roosevelt's entire election platform. In a speech on the eve of the 1936 elections he trumpeted:

We had to struggle with the old enemies of peace-business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering. They had begun to consider the Government of the United States as a mere appendage to their own

affairs. We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob. (Krugman 59)

The campaign finance reform that was underway was intended to limit the influence of wealthy individuals and special interest groups on the outcomes of federal elections, regulate spending in campaigns for federal office, and deter abuses by mandating public disclosures of campaign finances. They were viewed widely as common sense measures that would strengthen the electoral process and democracy as a whole. This trend of tightening restrictions continued into 1947 with the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act which sought to prohibit unions from spending money to influence federal elections. In response to this law, the Congress of Industrial Organizations instituted a separate political fund that money could be funneled through to make expenditures backing their preferred candidates. It was a blatant end-around of the newly enacted campaign restrictions and gave birth to the first Political Action Committee or PAC.

In 1971, after corporate money and other corrupt funds surfaced in the Nixon re-election campaign, Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). This was the first comprehensive effort by the federal government to regulate campaign contributions and spending, and it was the foundation for the modern campaign rules of today. It set contribution limits, required disclosure of contributions and spending, and created a public financing apparatus for presidential elections. It proposed to further shore up the faults in the democratic process and to clean up elections by removing the influence of outside money. Unfortunately, it also had the effect of encouraging corporations to set up more and more political action committees.

## Campaign Finance Laws 1976 – Present: A Reversal of Progress

In January 1976, with the help of an ideologically divided Supreme Court, money made a comeback in American politics. A decision was handed down in a case brought by Senator James L. Buckley of New York against the Federal Election Commission. The complaint was that the Federal Election Campaign Act, which had been newly amended in 1974, was unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated First Amendment rights guaranteed under the constitution. This marked the first time that First Amendment rights had been invoked in a defense of campaign contributions made by individuals. The decision struck down key provisions in the campaign finance law that had been enacted only five years prior. The Supreme Court agreed with the plaintiff that limitations on expenditures by candidates and limitations on contributions that could be made from a candidate's personal funds was indeed a violation of their rights to free speech. This landmark case set forth enduring principles of campaign finance law and gave birth to the reductive phrase "money equals speech."

In 1979 American campaign finance laws were loosened even further when Congress passed amendments that would allow corporations, unions, and the wealthy to donate unlimited funds to the two major national party committees with one caveat: the funds had to be used for "party building" activities. This stipulation was ineffective because it left too much room for interpretation of what "party building" activities actually consisted of, and it opened up the flood gates to what politicians called "soft money". These were funds that could be used by party committees to bolster their candidate's electoral chances by paying for television and radio ads and hosting campaign trail events, but would not count toward the candidate's regulated campaign contribution

totals. These candidates could then claim publicly that their campaigns were “running clean,” free from obligations to special interest groups, and that they were running on big ideas and not big campaign slush funds. This splitting of hairs created an enormous loophole through which millions of dollars were funneled.

In October 1995 President Bill Clinton, up for reelection the following year, made a promise to the American people that he would not exceed the legal limit of \$37 million in the upcoming 1996 primary elections. *The Washington Post* later reported that this was a blatant misrepresentation of the facts. The report stated that “even as he signed the vow – which ultimately netted him \$13 million from U.S. taxpayers – the president was circumventing it” (Marcus). It turns out that on the very morning of the pronouncement, President Clinton had hosted an “intimate coffee” session for major donors to the Democratic National Committee. Under a plan signed off by Vice President Gore the DNC agreed to pump the money that was “bagged” during these events “directly into pro-Clinton advertising”. This allowed the president to spend an additional \$44 million on television ads, effectively breaking his promise and “obliterating the spending cap” he had imposed on his own campaign. In the decades following, these political sleight-of-hand techniques became more and more commonplace as candidates continued to promise to abide by the old rules, while concocting new ways to evade them. Money’s corrupting influence on American politics was becoming more apparent as the erosion of campaign finance laws accelerated.

In 2002, after numerous instances of campaign finance abuses, Senators Russ Feingold and John McCain introduced a bill that would shut off these soft money activities and bar the “sham issue ads” that were being produced by independent

groups. The bill passed with bipartisan support and was narrowly upheld in a 5-4 ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court a year later. However, in 2007 the Supreme Court, with two new justices, reconsidered the McCain-Feingold limits imposed on issue ads and eventually ruled that this corporate and union money was permissible.

Finally in 2010, after almost a century of debate surrounding campaign finance laws, the Supreme Court lifted the last remaining levies that held back the flood of cash waiting to flow into the American electoral system. In a bombshell 5-4 ruling the century-old ban on unlimited corporate money was deemed unconstitutional. The decision came in a case brought by Citizens United and solidified the legal argument that corporations were indeed people and were entitled to First Amendment protections. This ruling has fundamentally changed the way candidates are elected in America, and prompted immediate protests from advocacy and watchdog groups. In an unprecedented direct public engagement of the Supreme Court justices by a sitting president of the United States, President Obama stated during his 2010 State of the Union Address that he believed that this ruling would “open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limits in our elections” (NBC News). The destruction of the essential legal partition erected between politics and special interests was now complete and the message was clear, democracy was now outfitted with something it never had before – a price tag.

#### Effects of the Reversal on Good Governance

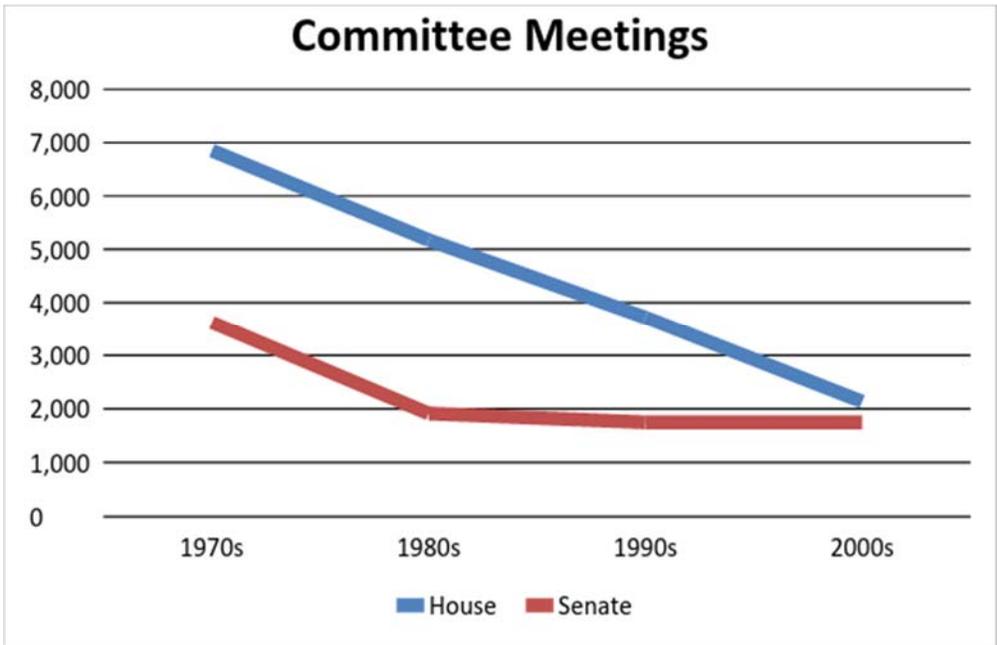
Within the realm of problems facing America - and there remains a myriad of issues - there is perhaps none so pressing as campaign finance reform. There is no more direct determinant to how efficient government works than how that government is

elected, yet this issue remains on the back-burner of political concerns. There are those who claim that campaign finance is a non-issue, and that money spent in elections does not influence the way elected officials govern. Most of these individuals clamor for statistics. They want cold, hard numbers which prove that campaign contributions are responsible for changing political results and legislative decisions, or that people that give exorbitantly to particular candidates or causes expect something in return. The basic economic question as to whether these campaign contributions are consumption or investment items was answered in a study conducted by political scientist Sanford Gordon. He found that executives were more likely to contribute to political candidates when their salaries were closely tied to firm profitability: the higher the sensitivity, the higher the likelihood of contribution (1057). Similarly, Atif Mian and his colleagues uncovered that voting patterns on the 2008 Emergency Economic Stabilization Act were strongly predicted by the amount of campaign contributions from the financial services industry (4-5). These statistical relationships can often be nuanced, making them more difficult to reveal and because of this, there are those that remain skeptical about the effects of what political writer Lawrence Lessig describes as an “economy of influence” (7). However, as we will see, there are other, more obvious byproducts of porous campaign laws that should raise doubts even in the minds of the staunchest advocates preserving the status quo.

If there is anything a politician of this era knows it's that the campaigning never ends. Office-holders in the U.S. Congress have never been so preoccupied with the filling and refilling of their campaign coffers. In an op-ed penned by Senator Fritz Hollings after his retirement from the Senate he admitted:

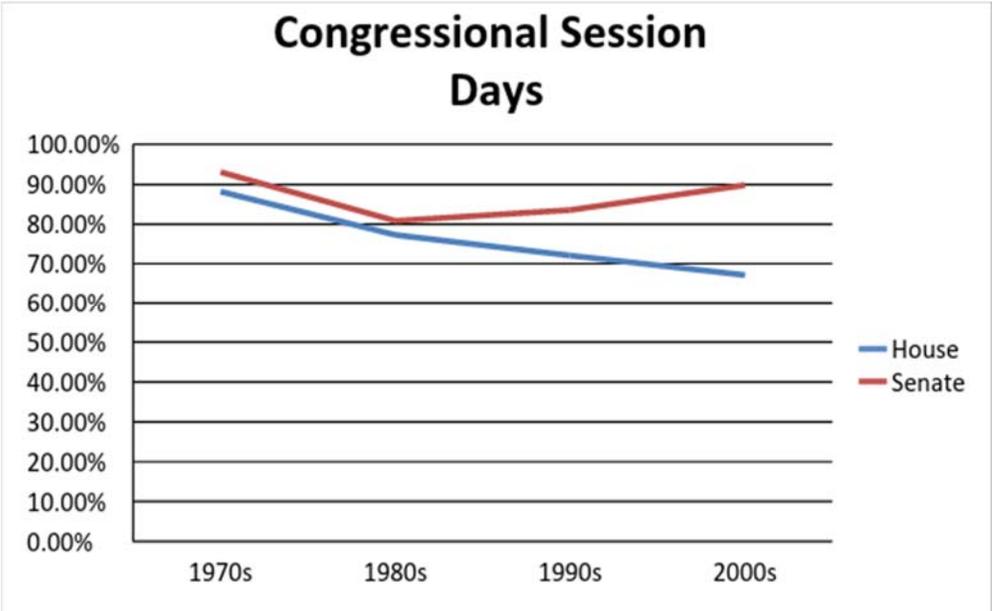
I had to collect \$30,000 a week, each and every week, for six years. I could have raised \$3 million in South Carolina. But to get \$8.5 million I had to travel to New York, Boston, Chicago, Florida, California, Texas and elsewhere. During every break Congress took, I had to be out hustling money. And when I was in Washington, or back home, my mind was still on money. (18)

Congress, as intended by the framers of the Constitution, was meant to be a deliberative body whose major objective would be to vet legislation and pass meaningful and effective laws that enhance the Republic. Instead, it has become a perpetual telethon where members spend the bulk of their time “hitting up” donors for campaign contributions. The numbers support this shift in focus. Lessig states that: “between 1983 and 1997 the total number of non-appropriations oversight committee meetings fell from 782 to 287 in the House, and from 429 to 175 in the Senate” (138). The total amount of committee meetings also experienced a sharp decline during each decade since the 1970s (see fig.1)



(Fig. 1)

The number of days that the House has been in session also declined over the same period (see fig. 2)



(Fig. 2)

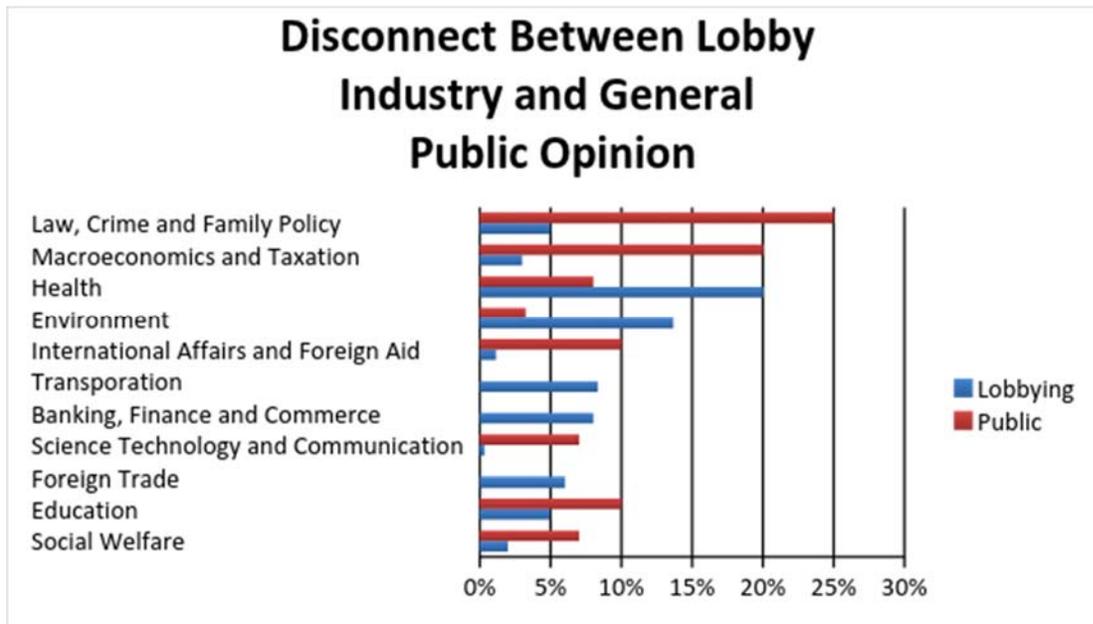
This bears out Senator Hollings' claims that members are now spending more time fundraising than legislating. And he is not the only former member of Congress to speak out on this issue. Former House representative Lee Hamilton of Indiana notes:

[T]he House has developed atrocious habits, [including] the fact that members only spend two or three days a week in Washington, [a] breakdown in the deliberative process that guarantees that all legislation is carefully scrutinized, and all voices heard...the exclusion of the minority party, [and] failing to live up to its historic role of conducting oversight of the Executive Branch. (Hamilton)

Raising money for reelection campaigns has become the major distraction for lawmakers on Capitol Hill. It leaves them with very little time to complete other duties, such as reading important bills before voting on them. This dereliction of duty is a direct consequence of the money culture which now pervades Washington.

Campaign finance rules, as constituted, also lead to a distortion of the problems facing America. Representative government works best when elected officials are in tune with the will of their constituency. Far too often nowadays there seems to be a complete disconnect between the majority will of the people and the legislative goals lawmakers actually pursue. It is not mere coincidence that the concerns of special interest lobbyists are often front and center on the House and Senate agendas, while issues that Americans feel are more pressing and affect their lives in more meaningful ways are pushed to the side to languish in obscurity. The polling data below (see fig.3) exhibits this powerful contrast. It shows the percentage of lobbying cases compared to

the average response to the Gallup poll question “What is the most important problem facing the country?”



(Fig. 3)

This distortion of legislative priorities is one of the major reasons Americans have the sense that Congress does not work for them. In many instances, this foreboding is accurate. This is not to say that members of Congress are overtly selling their services to the highest bidder - that would, of course, arouse the interest of more than just political scientists - but it does suggest that lawmakers spend more time on issues that concern their biggest donors than they do on what the majority of Americans see as looming issues. The politics of “majoritarianism” has historically worked better for average low-income citizens who are unable to afford hordes of lobbyists to woo lawmakers. When the “organizational bias of interest-group politics” weighs down the scales of social justice it “exacerbates inequities in society”. (143)

Finally, even the most ardent skeptics of the corrosive effects that run-away money has on American politics must agree that over the last few decades, since campaign finance laws have been systematically dismantled, trust of the citizenry in their elected government has sunk to an all-time low. When asked whether they believed government was focused on the benefit of a few big interests, sixty-nine percent responded that it was, and just twenty-nine percent said that it was run for the benefit of all. In 1964 those numbers were reversed (Lessig 167). This lack of trust has real consequences. Primarily, it is the cause of frustration within the electorate which leads to many voters neglecting to exercise their democratic privileges. Mark Warren put it this way:

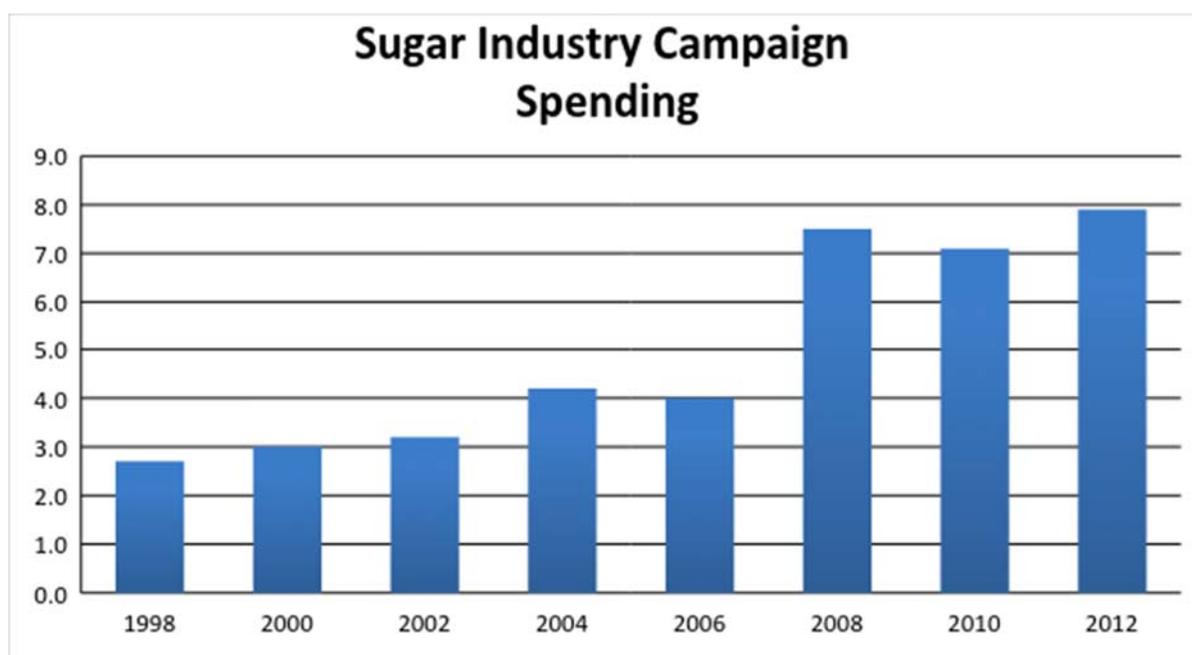
If low trust instead indicates disaffection from the institutions that manage distrust, then the kind of distrust necessary for a democracy to work – engaged monitoring of political officials – is replaced by disengagement, undermining the transformative capacities of democratic institutions. (160, 165)

If a voter truly believes that lobbyists with mounds of cash control Capitol Hill then he or she is far less likely to be engaged in the political process, far more likely to become disaffected by what they view to be a charade, and also far more likely to become a part of the problem. This has disastrous effects on the efficacy of government and contributes to the gridlock in Washington. The vast majority of voters who throw their hands in disgust and abandon the electoral system belong to the “moderate core of America”. This leaves only the voices of extremists on either side of the aisle to shout out their disagreements and in turn has led to political paralysis in the nation’s Capital.

## Harm to Citizens: Deal Sweeteners

One of the most striking examples of how campaign contributions have skewed politics and actually harmed the lives of millions is in the food industry. America is currently in the throes of an obesity epidemic, as obesity-related illnesses like Type-2 diabetes afflict adults and children at an alarming rate. The most obvious reason for this is the change in Americans' diets. Consumption of artificially sweetened and processed foods has multiplied exponentially over the past three decades, while at the same time consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables has seen a steady decrease since the 1980s. There are a whole host of reasons for this, but the one that stands out in particular is the fact that eating sugary and processed foods is simply cheaper than maintaining a healthier diet. The reason for this is economic in nature. The American agricultural industry is a quintessential example of the inefficiencies that governmental market interventions tend to engender. Free-market purists are usually shocked to discover the extent to which the U.S. government manipulates agricultural markets through the use of subsidies which artificially prop up the prices of commodity crops. One commodity that receives large amounts of these subsidies is the sugar market which inflates its market price. Producers in turn flock to substitutes like high fructose corn syrup. It is estimated that approximately 40 percent of supermarket items contain high fructose corn syrup, and this number is projected to grow dramatically in coming years. The increased use of artificial sweeteners in foods has been linked to the obesity increase in America. In 1980 no American had ever tasted high fructose corn syrup, now its use is prevalent. The subsidies that have created this economic quagmire are relics of Great Depression economics and have no sound economic basis for existing

today, yet they do. The reason is simple: campaign contributions. Congress has legislated tariffs to protect domestic sugar producers and undermine international imports. These tariffs are equal to billions of dollars in giveaways to large conglomerates with terrible consequences for the American consumer in both wallet and well-being. The campaign spending by the sugar industry over the past two decades is exorbitant and growing:



(Fig. 4)

These subsidies are seemingly off limits for politicians who want to remain in office. Presidential campaigns begin in Iowa, an epicenter of the exploding American farming industry; introducing legislation to change this status quo is tantamount to political suicide. This just exemplifies how important the issue of campaign finance reform is to the average American. Ironically, it is Congress' addiction to "sweeteners" that has left its constituents more obese, more sick, and less economically well off.

### Solution: Running Clean

After a slew of campaign finance scandals in the 1990's residents of Maine became fed up and called it quits on exclusively privately financed elections. State residents opted instead to create an avenue for candidates that wanted to run and govern free from obligation to special interest groups. A new campaign finance system was installed based on the Maine Clean Election Act (MCEA) and the way it works is simple: would-be candidates collect a minimum of two hundred, \$5 donations from their prospective constituents. This minimal level of backing triggers public support mechanisms from the State. The funds for this initiative is not taken from the State budget, but from a pool comprised of traffic ticket surcharges and fines for petty crimes. At this time these "clean candidates" agree to forgo all other contributions from either private individuals or their own personal funds. Candidates who opt out of this Clean Election Program must submit to limits on the size of contributions they may accept as well as detailed reporting requirements. In addition, "clean candidates" who are outspent by their privately funded counterparts also receive "rescue funds" to match their opponents. This transparent approach to funding elections has benefited State residents. "Clean candidates" remain unfettered from the invisible constraints of lobbyist groups and corporate influence, allowing them to vote their conscience on critical issues. As an added benefit, these candidates often spend much more time on the ground doing the footwork of traditional campaigning. This gives them an uncharacteristically close connection with the voters they hope to influence through big ideas rather than expensive negative campaign ads. It has given way to a new crop of

politicians whose primary concerns mirror that of their constituents, and the Maine State legislature has reaped the rewards of it.

Many states are now being pressured to adopt Maine's election model as their own, and there have been whispers of adopting these standards to national elections. It has the potential to fundamentally transform the way candidates are elected to government and open the doors of Congress to individuals with a fresh perspective and new ideas. Predictably, it has faced enormous opposition from the usual suspects: big money interests. Advocates of unlimited privately financed campaigns are pushing back against this trend. Their favored argument is its unnecessary limits to free speech. Case after case is being brought before the Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of these programs. Why would anyone want to defend a system that is so obviously broken? The answer is that it works all too well for a select few, and so spending a few million dollars to perpetuate a status quo that secures billions in future profits is not only a good way to do business, in their biased view it is the American way to do business.

### Conclusion

Democracy was meant to give visibility to the unseen, voice to the unheard, and power to the weak. It was meant to push humankind beyond the reaches of the unjust, callous, and often cruel rule of the monarchs, nobles, and robber barons of antiquity. It was also meant to create societies in which unearned labels such as "high born" or "low born" would illicit laughter rather than flaccid compliance. However, democracy is as fragile as it is transformative. It is at the mercy of its environment and, like a fresh flower which must be painstakingly maintained, democracy must be watered with the sweat and tears of those who fight ceaselessly to defend it. Its petals, from time to time, will be

sprinkled with the blood of martyrs who have laid upon its time-worn altar the ultimate sacrifice.

The beautiful characteristics which make democracy so precious are what make plutocracy so inferior. It has been the general consensus in democratic political theory that the influence of the rich should be held in check. After all, the very essence of democracy is the transformative power of majority rule. It is an evolution of social equity which affords every citizen, regardless of birth or economic station, an equal say in predetermining their political destiny. Democracy and plutocracy represent two divergent paths and only the former can lead us to a more perfect society. And so it follows, that in order for one to flourish the other must be eliminated as a choice. The most effective means of lowering the gates of access upon the plutocratic mindset has been to restrict the use of the plutocrats' most helpful tool of persuasion – money. American campaign finance law, though never perfect, was once a means of accomplishing that end. It had always been assumed, and with good reason, that big money political contributions by those with the means to make them would lead to a corrupting of the democratic process and a subversion of the very principles upon which it was so carefully built; that it would devolve representative government to a kind of quid-pro-quo market place where what matters is not the majority will of a politician's constituents, or even the genuine good of the nation as a whole, but the self-aggrandizing wishes of his or her largest contributors. Now America has a chance to change course. Doing so will reinvigorate the dream of a government not just by the people, but for them also.

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## The Incidence of Traumatic Brain Injury and its Impact on the Adult and Juvenile Brain

Madonna Enwe

A head injury can be any damage of the scalp, skull or brain and it can range from being mild to fatal. According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (2003), traumatic brain injury (TBI) is caused by a blow, bump or jolt to the head, or a penetrating injury that disrupts the normal functioning of the brain. It is quickly becoming one of the leading causes of death among people of varying ages and countries in the world. It has been conservatively estimated that 1.7 million new cases of TBI occur in the United States each year, with more than 52,000 deaths and 70,000–90,000 patients developing long-term disability (Gale, 2007). These data indicate that the annual incidence of TBI exceeds the combined rates of other neurological diagnoses such as multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's disease, and Alzheimer's disease (Faul, 2010). TBI is a contributing factor to a third (30.5%) of all injury-related deaths in the United States. It is known to affect more than 1.4 million people each year but there are many cases that go untreated (Faul, 2010). The incidence of TBI also ranges from mild TBI to severe TBI. One important fact about a brain injury is that it affects each person differently. No two injuries can have the same effect because different parts of the brain can be affected each time.

### **Mild Brain Injury**

Mild traumatic brain injury (mTBI), also known as a concussion is one of the most common neurological disorders. The causes of this injury can be from traffic accidents, sport injuries, firearms and workplace accidents (Gale, 2007). In the United States, this is more prominent among combat veterans, and athletes both young and old. The most common sports that cause TBI are American football, hockey, boxing, soccer, and professional wrestling (Roberts, 2009). Compared to severe TBI, mild TBI is more challenging to diagnose and this is

because the signs of having such a disease are subtle and difficult to identify (Greenwald, B. D., Ambrose, A. F., & Armstrong, G. P. 2012). Due to this, most athletes are sent back to continue playing and it is only after they have had multiple concussions that the brain injury is identified. Repeated concussions have also ended the careers of a number of professional football players. Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy (CTE) is a neurodegenerative disorder that occurs as a consequence of repetitive brain trauma or concussions during contact sports and military participation (Roberts, 2009).

Mild TBI is usually caused by an impact or jolt to the head. This causes a front, sideways, and backward movement of the brain, making it to stretch and cause some chemical changes to the brain including stress to brain tissue and associated vascular and neural tissue (Greenwald, 2012). These chemical changes make the brain more sensitive to additional injury until it becomes fully recovered. (CDC). A concussion however is not only caused by an impact on the head, but also to any other part of the body from which force is transported to the head (Hessen, E., Nestvold, K., & Anderson, V. (2007). According to the Center for Disease and Control (CDC, 2003), in every age group, mTBI rates are higher for males than for females. Males aged 0 to 4 years have the highest rates for TBI-related emergency department visits, hospitalizations, and deaths combined (CDC). Long-term consequences include a heightened risk of dementia and epilepsy (Derakhshanfar, H., Amini, A., Hatamabadi, H., & Alimohamadi, H. 2013).

### **Closed Head Injury**

The most common type of brain injury now is the closed head injury. This usually occurs when the brain is injured in the absence of a bullet, knife or any sharp object entering the brain (Gale, 2007). This typically occurs in sports, accidents, or after a serious fall. The brain is

encased in a bony skull and a triplet of membranes collectively called meninges and made up of the dura mater, arachnoid matter and the pia mater. In addition, the brain floats in a clear liquid called cerebrospinal fluid (CSF), which provides a modest cushion against the effects of blunt-force trauma to the skull (Jenkins, 2102). These protective pieces prevent damage from minor falls or being hit in the head but because the brain's biological barriers have not had time to respond to selective pressures, they do little to protect the brain from impacts from contact sports such as boxing, football and wrestling or from falls from riding horseback or skiing a serious fall or a high-speed car accident (Gibb, 2013). Concussions typically result from blows to the head or from the head hitting a hard surface or being shaken or spun (CDC, 2003). In response to such forces, the brain may smash against the skull, popping blood vessels and bruising brain tissue (Faul, 2010). Sometimes the impact causes the brain to bounce off one side of the skull and back into the other, injuring the brain at the site of the impact and on the opposite side (Gale, 2007). When brain structures move relative to one another and to the skull, tissue may stretch or even shear. Axons are normally elastic, but when rapidly elongated they become brittle and weak (Derakhshanfar, 2013). Often an axon swells and tears, killing the neuron.

The movements can also cause a neuron to release toxic levels of neurotransmitters, damaging other neurons. This process sparks further degeneration of axons as well as programmed cell death, throughout the cerebrum (UT Southwestern, 2007). Such problems with the axons may underlie many of the persistent cognitive problems experienced by victims of mild TBI (Mayer R., Andrew et al, 2013). Neurons damaged by trauma can become electronically unstable and thereby induce a type of neuronal static in small brain regions that, though too small to show up on an electroencephalogram (EEG), can cause illusions, memory gaps and mood swings (Greenwald, 2013).

## **Effect on an Immature Brain**

In the United States and probably in other western countries too, collisions during sports or falling down while doing a sport are the primary cause of TBI in children. In other countries where athletics is not very popular among children, such as less developed countries, the main cause of TBI is motor vehicle and pedestrian accidents (Udoh, David, and Adebolajo Adeyemo, 2013). It is also very common among children from poorer backgrounds because they are more likely to be selling items to people while walking in the streets (Udoh, 2013). An investigation revealed that more than half of the patients who died in a Pediatric Intensive Care Unit had an acute brain injury. In most of these cases, brain injury was considered to be the proximate reason of death (Alimohamadi, H. 2013). A major limitation to existing data on sports-related concussions in youth is a lack of research on the incidence of such injuries in nonacademic settings, such as in intramural and club sports, and for athletes younger than high school age (National Academy Press, 2013).

It is an obvious fact the developing brain will respond differently from the mature brain in an event of a brain injury. It had been thought that children had better outcomes than adults following traumatic brain injury (Gale, 2007). Despite earlier research, it has been noticed that the immature brain is more vulnerable to injury than the adult brain (Mayer R., Andrew et al, 2013). According to research done by some doctors in Nigeria, children, especially those less than two years of age, are at higher risk of intracranial injury and skull fractures because of their thinner and more pliable skulls. This is particularly true of the parietal and temporal bones, but not necessarily the frontal bone (Udoh, 2013).

It has also been demonstrated that younger children especially those younger than four years of age, actually have worse outcomes (Derakhshanfar, 2013). It is usually children with

only mild or moderate injuries who can suffer from problems that develop with motor, behavior, learning, memory and other higher-level functions (Ho, J., Epps, A., Parry, L., Poole, M., & Lah, S. (2011). Factors that account for these differences include the relative size of the head compared to the rest of the body, brain water content, vasculature, degree of myelination, and shape of the skull (Lah, 2012). Younger patients typically have decreased cervical muscle strength and tone which can lead to an increased magnitude of force delivered to the skull bones compared to the older patients (Hessen, E., Nestvold, K., & Anderson, V. (2007). This means that younger children will sustain head injuries and skull fractures at much lower energy mechanisms than older children and adults.

Brain cells communicate with each other through synapses, which are dynamic points of contact between cells where chemicals called neurotransmitters are transferred. One fact that can account for the increased effect in children is the that around the age of two, synapses are formed at a faster rate than any other time in their lives. At age two or three, the brain has double the number of synapses an adult has. (Hessen, E., Nestvold, K., & Anderson, V. (2007). This production of synapses is followed by a prolonged period of synaptic pruning that, based on an individual's experiences, eliminates weaker synaptic contacts while retaining and strengthening the stronger connections (National Academic Press, 2003).

Grey and white matter are two major components of the central nervous system (CNS), which includes the brain and the spinal cord. Grey matter is associated with processing and cognition, while white matter is involved in coordinating communication between different brain regions (Jenkins, 2012). Based on studies using MRI, white matter tends to grow at a constant rate throughout childhood and adolescence, but the grey matter grows more during adulthood.

Concussions and other head injuries can result in changes to the integrity of grey and white matter (National Academic Press, 2013).

The cortical areas and the hippocampus are known to be damaged in traumatic brain injury. Researchers at the Texas Children's Hospital, Houston, U.S, published an article in June 2007 saying that cerebellar atrophy or degeneration occurs in children after repeated mild to severe brain injuries. When the cerebellum is disrupted, it results in significant cognitive and behavioral consequences.

Incomplete myelination of the brain tissue may put the developing brain at greater risk for injury (Roberts, 2013). Relative to adults, children demonstrate more widespread and prolonged cerebral swelling and increased metabolic sensitivities following a head injury, and these physiological changes may result in more apparent, severe and persistent symptoms (Grenwald, 2013). There is currently a lack of data to determine whether there are variations in concussion rates across the pediatric age spectrum.

Traumatic brain injuries in children are common and sometimes are powerful in threatening life and are leading causes of acquired disability and death. According to research carried out in many parts of the world, traumatic brain injury has a great impact on public health as it is the cause of the highest number of emergency room visits (Georgoff, P., Meghan, S., Mizra, K., Sonnad, S. S., & Stein, S. C. (2010). Intracranial Pressure (IP) occurs when there is a rise in pressure inside the skull which is caused by an increase in cerebrospinal fluid pressure, bleeding within the brain or swelling of the brain (Derakhshanfar, H., Amini, A., Hatamabadi, H., & Alimohamadi, H. 2013). The different types of care provided to children with TBI include repeated neurological evaluations conducted every 15 minutes to check what sections of the brain are affected. A Computed Tomography Scan of the brain is also taken. CT scans are very

popular, but not all facilities are able to afford the instruments needed, so most of them turn to Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI). MRIs are used more frequently also because of its high sensitivity to detecting changes in the brain. Recently, an electroencephalogram (EEG) is used in TBI patients who are in a coma, to evaluate the site of damage and determine some functional outcomes (Hojjat Derakhshanfa, 2013).

### **After the traumatic brain injury**

After the incidence of a traumatic brain injury, most patients are likely to suffer from post-traumatic amnesia (Ho, J., Epps, A., Parry, L., Poole, M., & Lah, S. 2011). Post-traumatic amnesia involves the loss of memory of things that happened before or after the incident. This usually happens when the hippocampus is being affected by the impact on the brain. The hippocampus is sensitive to repetitive injury which may account for memory disturbance seen after a concussion. The hippocampus is important for learning and memory because it helps us to convert short term memory to more permanent memory and for recalling spatial relationships in the world around us (Jenkins and Tortura, 2012). TBI has also been shown to have systemic consequences for several organs, leading to diseases that can occur after the injury including; pneumonia, cardiovascular disorders, autonomic abnormalities, intestinal dysfunction, and multi-system organ failure. Several areas of intestinal dysfunction following TBI have been described, including stomach ulceration and gastritis. (Wolf, P. et al. (2009). Long-term consequences also include a heightened risk of dementia and epilepsy (Derakhshanfar, H., Amini, A., Hatamabadi, H., & Alimohamadi, H. 2013).

### **Effect on memory and behavior.**

Memory problems that interfere with everyday living are commonly noticed in children who have suffered a traumatic brain injury. After assessing everyday memory, verbal memory, attention and behavior in 15 children, researchers Joanna Ho, Adrienne Epps, Louise Parry, Miriam Poole, and Suncica Lah, concluded that these memory problems might be related but not exceptionally to impaired attention and behavioral difficulties (Ho, J., Epps, A., Parry, L., Poole, M., & Lah, S. 2011).

Adolescence is also a period of brain development which is marked by an increase in risky behaviors and addiction. The prefrontal cortex is important in executive decision making, the regulation of emotions, and the assessment of risk and reward (Robbin Gibb, Bryan Kolb, Ian Whishaw, 2005). Protracted development of the prefrontal cortex may contribute to an increase in risk-taking behaviors in adolescence (National Academic Press, 2013). Such behaviors may include those that result in increased risk of injury.

The pituitary gland is responsible for hormonal production essential for normal reproductive, cognitive, social, and emotional maturation. Among adults with mild, moderate, and severe TBI, between 28 and 69 percent showed pituitary dysfunction between 3 months and 23 years post injury (National Academic Press, 2013). Case studies of children with moderate to severe brain injuries and clinical studies of such children have reported acute and persistent pituitary dysfunction. Among pediatric patients with mild to moderate TBI, 42 percent were found to have significantly lower than normal growth hormone levels, with the effect seen predominantly in boys. (National Academic Press, 2013).

### **Long-term consequences of TBI**

Approximately 80% of all head injuries are classified as mild (Gale, 2007). It is common for patients to suffer acute cognitive problems, but most patients recover completely after mTBI within 3 months (Greenwald, B. D., Ambrose, A. F., & Armstrong, G. P. (2012). However, there appears to be a group of patients who continue to experience cognitive and neurological symptoms long after sustaining their injury which could lead to deficits in academic achievements and interpersonal relationships (Mayer, 2012). Typical complaints will include post-concussive symptoms including headache, fatigue, dizziness, depression, anxiety, irritability and problems with concentration and memory (Robbin Gibb, Bryan Kolb, Ian Whishaw, 2005). The cause of this syndrome is uncertain but is suggested to have both biological and psychological causes. The first published research that examined very long-term neuropsychological outcome after mild pediatric and adult traumatic brain injury (TBI) was carried out in 2007 by Erick Hessen, Knut Nestvold, and Vicki Anderson. From their findings, they concluded that children sustaining complicated mild TBI may be more vulnerable to the development of chronic mild neuropsychological dysfunction than adults sustaining similar head injuries. The research was carried out with the assessment of one hundred and nineteen patients using a comprehensive neuropsychological test battery. Of these patients, 45 were pediatric TBI and 74 were adult TBI (Hessen, E., Nestvold, K., & Anderson, V. 2007). Thus, the alterations in brain development induced by injury are age-dependent and result in very different behavioral outcomes.

### **Possible treatments**

Traumatic brain injury that interrupts the migration of neurons seems to have greater negative consequences on the developing brain than does injury that disrupts dendritic outgrowth and synapse formation (Alimohamadi, H. 2013).

Dr.Pam Okada, an associate professor at the University of Texas, Southwestern says that “In head injuries where the skull remains intact there is little room for swelling, this causes diminished blood flow resulting in brain damage. Cooling the body may reduce the swelling and possibly prevent continuing damage. If this therapy proves effective, it would be a major breakthrough in the treatment of traumatic brain injuries.” (UT Southwestern, 2007). The brain also tries to repair itself after injury, and scientists are trying to learn more about those repair processes in hopes of boosting them with medications. They are developing treatments to be given during the first hours after a TBI, designed to limit any ongoing injury. A future approach might involve the implantation of neural stem cells, immature cells that can give rise to different types of mature cells in the central nervous system, to repair or replace damaged brain tissue (Benoit, Jean-Pierre, et al. 2010).

### **Conclusion**

In summary, traumatic brain injury even though it is usually ignored in its early stages can cause long lasting cognitive abnormalities that can affect the life of someone forever. Traumatic brain injury does not have the same effects on any two individuals and studies have shown that the immature brain is more susceptible than the adult brain to injury when it involves a mild TBI. The fact a series of blows or an injury to the brain can cause so many neuropsychiatric effects, is scary and is definitely a call for concern. It is hard now to easily find a cure for some of these disorders but hopefully more progress will be made to aid people suffering from them.

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Compassion  
Nathan Christie

### Abstract

Compassion is a necessary component of life that is composed of recognizing, feeling, and alleviating human suffering. There have been several sociological predictors of compassion studied, however the most prevalent is social class. It has been found through research that those who have higher socioeconomic statuses show less compassion than those with lower socioeconomic statuses. The purpose of this research design was to examine whether or not there is an association between social class and compassion in a local sample of participants by conducting a three part survey. The results of the survey suggest that there is not an association between social class and compassion and that those of lower class do not show more compassion than their higher class counterparts as it has been previously suggested.

The Dalai Lama has written: "Love and compassion are necessities, not luxuries. Without them humanity cannot survive" (*The Art of Happiness*). Academic research offers support for this claim. Seppala, Rossomando, and Doty (2013), for instance, reported that developing compassion can lead to an increase in social connectedness (p. 429). Positives that have been associated with social connectedness include "psychological and physical health benefits as well as longevity" (Seppala, Rossomando, & Doty, 2013, p. 412). Consequently, it was found that through compassion intervention training programs, individuals were able to increase their level of social connectedness and prosocial behavior, which provided benefits to their overall health and well being (2013, p. 430). In addition, Reddy et al. (2013) found that cognitive behavioral compassion training (CBCT) could be used effectively for maltreated adolescents in foster care units. CBCT effectively improved the adolescents in regards to their depression, stress and anger management, anxiety, trust, and social connections (Reddy et al, 2013). In medical environments, compassionate treatment can help patients overcome their individual concerns. Harvard University's medical program contains a class specifically designed to teach their medical students compassion, which was shown to help their clients improve during intense instances of suffering (Lessons in compassion, 2001). The question addressed by this paper, however, is not whether compassion is beneficial, but why some people are more likely to express compassion toward others.

### **Components of Compassion**

Compassion can be conceptualized as involving three components (Addiss, 2013). The first component, cognitive awareness, is the process of recognizing that human

suffering exists. The second component, emotional resonance, involves a physiological response to suffering and an understanding of what suffering feels like for that individual. Goleman (TedTalks, 2007) explains the physiology underlying this process: mirror neurons that are found in the brain are stimulated when we see individuals suffering, which generates a comparable feeling of suffering in the observer. The third component addressed by Addiss (2013) is action. Halifax (TedxTalks, 2011) similarly explained that those who have compassion have three characteristics: they can "see clearly into the nature of suffering..., recognize that [they] are not separate from the suffering, and aspire... to engage in activities that transform suffering." Elizabeth Pommier (2010) similarly defined compassion as "being touched by the suffering of others, opening one's awareness to others' pain and not avoiding or disconnecting from it, so that feelings of kindness towards others and the desire to alleviate their suffering emerge" (p.19).

Halifax (2011) believes that compassion is an innate human characteristic but argues it must be "activated" by certain personal experiences that enable individuals to exhibit compassion. If it is true that compassion must be "activated" by personal experiences and surrounding oneself with human suffering; it makes sense that there are certain sociological predictors including gender, ethnicity, religious activity, and more specifically for this study, socioeconomic status, that enable some individuals to show higher levels of compassion than others.

### **Social Class and Compassion**

If feelings of empathy need to be activated by experiences of suffering, it would make sense, from a sociological point of view, that social class would be related to

compassion. People who have high SES have access to privilege, power and control. They are, therefore, less likely to have experienced deprivation or hardship that causes suffering. On the other hand, individuals of a low SES, who experience psychological and physical health problems, limited educational opportunities, poverty, and disconnected families (American Psychological Association, 2014), are more likely to have experienced suffering, enabling them to feel compassion for others.

Even if a low SES person has not experienced personal suffering, she/he is more likely to live near others who have suffered, since there is intense residential segregation between those who are extremely wealthy and those that are poor. For example, an income map of Brooklyn reveals that in 1,045 neighboring households, 83% made under 30,000 and 10% made between 30,000 and 49,999. It was found that 0% of those households made between 100,000 and 149,000 and 200,000 and up. Moving northward to a section of Manhattan the map reveals that out of 1,673 households, 52% made 200,000 and up, 11% made between 150,000 and 199,000, and 12% made between 100,000 and 149,000. Only 7% of those households made under 30,000 or between 30,000 and 49,999 combined (Bloch, 2014). Ultimately, this provides an illustration that people with high SES are not only grouped together, but are unlikely to have regular contact with people of low SES. As a result, they are removed from extreme cases of environmental suffering which can stimulate compassion (Halifax, 2011).

Research has, indeed, indicated that one's social class affects one's level of compassion. In one study, Stellar and others (2012) found that levels of compassion could be measured using physiological tests. They asked university students to watch a

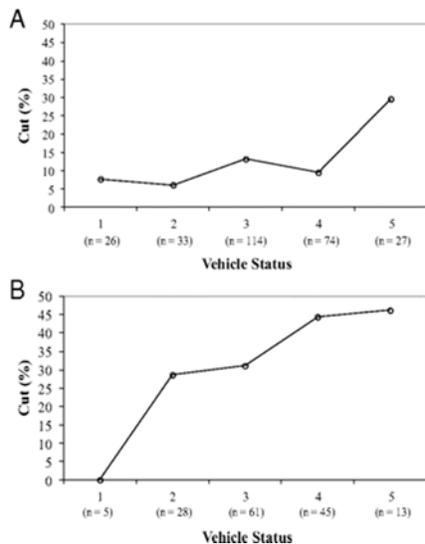
video featuring a child with cancer. Their heart rates were monitored throughout the entirety of the video and those who showed a decrease in heart rate during the video were said to show more compassion, since there is an association between heart rate and compassion. They found that those of lower social classes showed a greater decrease in heart rate during the video relative to their higher class counterparts. The same study also measured participants' self-reported levels of compassion through a scaled questionnaire. They asked questions regarding amusement, awe, contentment, joy, love, pride, and compassion. The researchers (Stellar, et al., 2012) found that, "participants who reported lower levels of social class on [their] seven level measure of class identification reported higher levels of the trait like tendency to feel compassion" (p.452). In another portion of the study, social class was found to be associated with showing more compassion during a competitive job interview. Lower social class participants recognized the emotions of their interview partners more accurately than their higher social class counterparts (Stellar et al., 2012).

Another study (Kraus et al., 2012) found that "lower income individuals consistently gave a higher proportion of their annual income to charity" than their higher class counterparts (p. 557). This finding was supported when participants played a game involving a ten point system. At the end of the game participants could retrieve cash in correspondence with the amount of points they had remaining. During the course of the game however, participants could choose whether to give some of their points away to unknown contestants, or keep the points for themselves. Piff and others (2010) found that lower class participants donated more of their points to contestants than their higher class counterparts. In the same study a separate group of participants were

asked to envision themselves on a ladder representing their social class. They found that those who represented themselves as lower social class spent a higher percentage of their annual income on charitable causes than participants who associated themselves with an upper social class (Piff et al., 2010).

In another study, Piff and others (2014) conducted a series of tests observing the differences between prosocial behavior and social class. They observed two different scenarios involving pedestrians and vehicles (Figure 1). In the first study, it was observed who was likely to cut off other drivers at a four way intersection. The level of social status was based on the make and model of cars driven. It was concluded that higher social class drivers were more likely to cut off other vehicles (Figure 1A). In the second part of the study, they observed who complied with California state law which requires drivers to yield to crossing pedestrians at a cross walk. As the level of social status increased, the percentage of vehicles who did not stop for the pedestrian also increased (Figure 1B). All of the cars from the lowest status complied with California state law and stopped for pedestrians.

Figure 1:



In each of the aforementioned studies, individuals of lower social class showed more generosity, prosocial behavior, recognition of emotional distress, and motivation to alleviate suffering than their upper class counterparts. However, many of these studies were in laboratory settings where participants might have acted differently than they would have in their natural environment. Those studies that were in a natural environment, such as the crosswalk study, could have been influenced by those collecting data. For instance, the pedestrian may have noticed a certain make and model of a car and therefore approached the crosswalk differently based on his knowledge of what the study was examining. In one example, it appeared as if the pedestrian approached the crosswalk much slower when a BMW was coming than when an old car was approaching. Naturally, the driver of the BMW would continue driving by if the pedestrian was not fully at the crosswalk, while the lower class driver who had ample time to see the pedestrian in the crosswalk would stop. Despite these limitations, the findings of previous research lead to the hypothesis that those of higher social class show less compassion than their lower social class counterparts.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

A convenience sample of thirty participants (17 male and 13 female), approached in local outdoor shopping centers, malls, and schools volunteered to complete a three part written survey designed to measure participants' compassion. After the three part survey was completed participants recorded their demographical information. The average age of participants was 36. The sample was composed of 70% white, 10%

black, 13.3% Hispanic, 0.03% Asian, and 0.03% who identified with another ethnicity. Eighteen reported they had a belief in a supreme being, three were atheist, and three agnostic. There were five who did not report their religious beliefs. The highest levels of education completed by participants were 13.3 % high school diploma, 26.7 % some college, 10 % Associate's degree, 26.7 % Bachelor's degree, and 23.3 % Master's degree. The median estimated income for participants was between \$35,001 and \$50,000.

## **Procedure**

To determine any correlation between social class (independent variable) and compassion (dependent variable), this study was divided into three parts; each part administering compassion in a different way. In the first part of the survey, participants were asked to read two short paragraphs about two different individuals undergoing suffering. The first paragraph described a child suffering from extreme poverty and all of the consequences that followed. Participants had the option of selecting a response to the paragraph from the following list in order from least compassionate to most compassionate: (1) I don't care (2) Everybody suffers to some extent (3) I am not really affected by it (4) I am bothered, but I can't help (5) I am deeply concerned and would like to help the cause. The second paragraph involved a student who was forced to drop out of college to take additional jobs to support his family with medical expenses which would prevent the student from returning to college and making enough money to support himself in his future. Once again, participants could choose a response based on the following: (1) I don't care (2) The student should have worked harder in school

(3) Sometimes life is not fair (4) The student deserves financial assistance to continue his college education (5) I would be willing to donate money to the family so the student can return to college. This part was designed to observe which social classes were attempting to alleviate suffering based on their responses.

In part two of the survey, charitable compassion was measured when participants were asked to distribute 100,000 dollars that they were hypothetically given. The funds could be distributed in any amount to a list of various specified charities, or participants could keep as much of it as they wanted for their personal funds. Participants reported how much they would give to each listed organization, and how much they decided to keep for themselves.

In part three of the survey, participants carefully read twenty-four statements, and indicated for each one how closely the statement related to their personal feelings and behaviors based on a scale where a 1 represented almost never and a 5 represented almost always. Elisabeth Pommpier (2010) created the compassion scale after extensive research on compassion, and determined it to have both validity and reliability. There were six subscales within the compassion scale which included kindness, indifference, common humanity, separation, mindfulness, and disengagement. The negative subscale categories were reverse scored to prevent participants from placing numbers carelessly throughout the survey.

### **Measurements**

Social class, which was the independent variable of this study, was measured by combining each participant's education and estimated income. Income was based on the following seven categories: (1) under \$12,000 (2) \$12,001-25,000 (3) \$25,001-

35,000 (4) \$35,001-50,000 (5) \$50,001-75,000 (6) \$75,001-100,000 (7) Above \$100,000. Education was recorded using the following seven categories: (1) less than high school diploma (2) high school diploma (3) some college (4) associate's degree (5) bachelor's degree (6) master's degree (7) doctorate degree. To obtain a complete social class score for each participant, a numerical value was assigned to each category and the two numbers were multiplied. Therefore, a participant whose highest level of education was less than a high school diploma and had an income less than \$12,000 would have a total social class score of 1 (1x1). A participant with a doctorate making above \$100,000 would have a social class score of 49 (7x7). So the products of participants' educational value assignment and estimated income value assignment gave them their overall social class score.

Compassion, which was the dependent variable of this study, was measured differently for each part of the survey. In part one, a numerical value was assigned to each response in accordance with its level of compassion. The first response listed (I don't care) received a value of one and the last response listed for each short paragraph received a value of five. To calculate the percentage that each participant gave to charity in part two, the amount they gave away was divided by 100,000 dollars. So if a participant gave 25,000 dollars to charities, they simply gave away 25 % of the money. Part three involved obtaining an overall compassion score for the participants. However, before an overall compassion score could be calculated, certain numbers of Pommier's (2011) survey had to be inverted before the numbers could be added (1 = 5 and 4 = 2). Once all of the reversed subscale questions were inverted, the sum of the numbers for

each participant was gathered, which gave each participant an overall compassion score.

## Results and Discussion

### Part One: Compassion Through Alleviating Suffering

#### Summary statistics of social class scores:

Column	n	Mean	Variance	Std. dev.	Std. err.	Median	Range	Min	Max	Q1	Q3
Social Class	30	17.6	139.1	11.8	2.2	17	40	2	42	6	25

The provided statistics table summarizes the results for all of the social classes measured when combining level of education and estimated income. The lowest social class recorded was a 2 and the highest was a 42. The median social class score was 17. There was one unusual data value (42) that lay outside two standard deviations from the mean. There were no outliers amongst the data set.

For the first paragraph about the child suffering with poverty, of the thirty participants, 50 % responded with a compassion level of four, 47 % provided the most compassionate response of five, and 3 % responded with level three compassion. Of the participants who responded with a level five compassion response, 57 % had social class scores below 17 and 43 % had scores above 17, which was the median social class score. The participant who responded with level three compassion had a social class score below 17. In the second paragraph about the suffering college student, 86 % responded with level four compassion, 6 % with level five compassion, and 6 % with

level three compassion. Both the participants who responded with level five compassion had social class scores above 17. There was one participant above and one participant below a social score of 17 who responded with a compassion level of three. Based on the response results, there is insufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that individuals of lower social class respond more compassionately than their higher class counterparts for part one of the survey. Table 1 summarizes the results of responses for the poverty paragraph and Table 2 summarizes the college student paragraph response results.

**Table 1: Frequency table results for Poverty response**

Poverty response	Frequency	Relative Frequency
3	1	0.033
4	15	0.500
5	14	0.467

**Table 2: Frequency table results for College response**

College response	Frequency	Relative Frequency
3	2	0.067
4	26	0.867
5	2	0.067

## **Part Two: Charity**

To determine whether an association between social class and charity exists within the sample, a linear correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) was found by comparing the percentages that participants gave to charity with their social class scores. Once the linear correlation coefficient was found, there were two methods used which confirmed that there was no association between social class scores and percentages given to charity.

Pearson's Critical Value Table A-6 (Triola, 2011) revealed that in order for the data to show a correlation, the  $r$  value had to be greater than 0.361. It was calculated that the actual correlation coefficient of the data was -0.002. Since -0.002 ( $r$ ) is less than 0.361 (critical value), there is not a linear correlation. The alternative method was a hypothesis p-value test shown thereafter:

1.  $H_0: p = 0$  (no linear correlation)
2.  $H_1: p \neq 0$
3. Two Tailed LinReg T-Test
4. p-value = 0.9902
5.  $0.9902 > .05$  (Fail to reject null)
6. There is insufficient evidence to support the claim of a linear correlation between the participant's social class scores and percentages they gave to charity.

A scatterplot (Figure 2), which was designed also confirms that there is not a linear correlation because the data points are spread throughout the graph. Had there been a linear correlation, the graph would have depicted a straight line pattern. Since the scatterplot, Pearson's A-6 table, and the p-value test all confirm that there is not a linear correlation, a linear regression equation cannot be used to predict the percentages that participants would give to charity with a given social class score. The coefficient of determination ( $r^2$ ) which is used to explain the linear relationship between the x and y axis, supports a non-linear correlation because  $r^2$  was found to be 0 %. Therefore, there is no association between social class and charity-based compassion, and part two does not support the hypothesis that lower social class individuals show more compassion through charity than their higher class counterparts.

### Simple linear regression results:

Dependent Variable: % given

Independent Variable: Social Class

% given = 67.527422 - 0.0072399088 Social Class

Sample size: 30

R (correlation coefficient) = -0.002

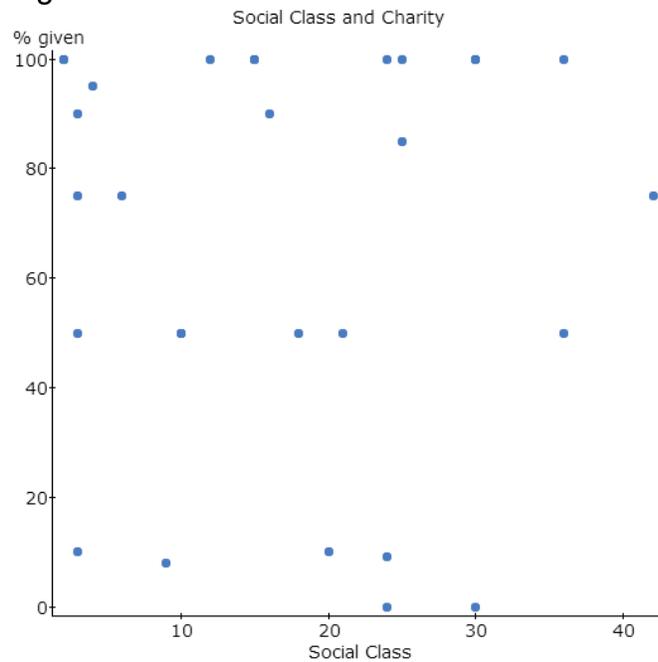
R-sq = 0.000

Estimate of error standard deviation: 37.02

### Parameter estimates:

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Err.	Alternative	DF	T-Stat	P-Value
Intercept	67.53	12.28	$\neq 0$	28	5.50	<0.0001
Slope	-0.007	0.58	$\neq 0$	28	-0.01	0.9902

Figure 2:



### Part Three: Compassion Scale

Using the same method as part two, to determine whether an association between social class and compassion scores exists within the sample, a linear correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) was found. Once the linear correlation coefficient was found, the same two methods were used again to verify that there was no association between social

class scores and compassion scores. Pearson's Critical Value Table A-6 (Triola, 2011) revealed that in order for the data to show a correlation, the  $r$  value had to be greater than 0.361. It was calculated that the actual correlation coefficient of the data was 0.144; well shy of the critical value. Since 0.144 ( $r$ ) is less than 0.361 (critical value), there is not a linear correlation. The alternative method was a hypothesis  $p$ -value test shown thereafter:

1.  $H_0: p = 0$  (no linear correlation)
2.  $H_1: p \neq 0$
3. Two Tailed LinReg T-Test
4.  $p$ -value = 0.447
5.  $0.447 > .05$  (Fail to reject null)
6. There is insufficient evidence to support the claim of a linear correlation between the participant's social class scores and compassion scores.

A second scatterplot (Figure 3) was created to verify that there is not a linear correlation because the points are spread all over the graph and do not reflect a straight line pattern which would indicate a linear correlation. Since the scatterplot, Pearson's A-6 table, and the  $p$ -value test all confirm that there is not a linear correlation between social class scores and compassion scores, a linear regression equation cannot be used to predict compassion scores with a given social class score. The coefficient of determination ( $r^2$ ) represents the percentage that the  $y$ -axis (compassion score) can be explained by the  $x$ -axis (social class score). Only 2.1 % of participant's compassion scores can be explained by their social class. That means nearly 98 % can be explained by other lurking variables. Therefore, part three of the survey does not support the

hypothesis that individuals of lower social class show more compassion than their higher social class counterparts.

**Simple linear regression results:**

Dependent Variable: Compassion Score

Independent Variable: Social Class

Compassion Score = 92.297382 + 0.16681543 Social Class

Sample size: 30

R (correlation coefficient) = 0.144

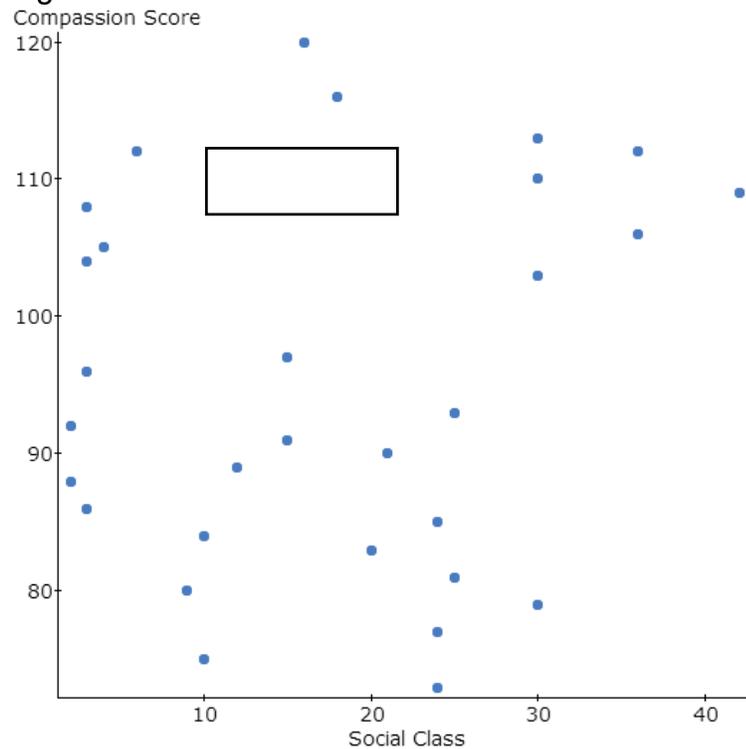
R-sq = 0.021

Estimate of error standard deviation: 13.7

**Parameter estimates:**

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Err.	Alternative	DF	T-Stat	P-Value
Intercept	92.3	4.6	≠ 0	28	20.2	<0.0001
Slope	0.17	0.21	≠ 0	28	0.8	0.447

**Figure 3:**



**Study limitations and future directions**

Several limitations of this study could have affected the results which led to the conclusion that the original hypothesis which stated that lower social class individuals

show more compassion than their higher class counterparts was not supported. The relatively low sample size made it difficult to make conclusions about the general population. The study was also a voluntary response survey. Individuals who chose to participate in the study could have had a predisposition to showing compassion, which skewed the results in favor of compassionate participants. Therefore, most participants, regardless of their socioeconomic status, demonstrated compassionate responses for each part of the survey. Even though previous studies (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012; Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010; Piff, Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton, & Keltner, 2014; Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, & Keltner, 2012) show that higher class individuals show less compassion, the ones that agreed to participate in this study could be the exceptions. Another limitation of this survey involved the idea that participants responded with answers and decisions that would be pleasing to the one administering the survey. Therefore, instead of choosing answers reflecting their true attitudes, it seemed likely that participants made decisions based on what was morally acceptable. For instance, it is unlikely that if thirty people were given 100,000 dollars that nearly 37 % would give it all away, which was true for this study. Equally astonishing was the finding that 80 % of the participants gave 50 % or more of the 100,000 dollars to charity. Although a promising finding about prosocial behavior, it seems improbable to realistically have that many people give such a significant amount to charity and keep so little for themselves.

Future studies may benefit from collecting surveys in an alternative format. The mere presence of the survey conductor may influence the recipient of the survey to answer in a particular way. Online versions of the survey sent over email may allow participants to

feel more comfortable to answer honestly. It would also provide a larger sample size in a given time frame rather than spending hours asking strangers to volunteer their time. In addition, it may be advantageous to extensively study additional factors that affect compassion including gender, ethnicity, and religion. Although there is documentation (Mercadillo, et al. 2011) about how women show compassion differently than men through brain imaging, empirical evidence revealing that women show greater compassion than men is limited. One study that could be beneficial would be to determine whether levels of compassion can easily be altered in participants who originally do not show strong levels of compassion. Knowing that there could be ways to effectively alter levels of compassion would prove to be a valuable study.

### **General Conclusion**

Although other studies (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012; Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010; Piff, Stancatoa, Côtéb, Mendoza-Dentona, & Keltnera, 2014; Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, & Keltner, 2012) supported the hypothesis that lower social class individuals showed more compassion than their higher class counterparts, not a single portion of the survey showed an association between social class and compassion. It could be that the sample was not sufficient or that the study design had flaws that prevented the hypothesis from being supported, but this study provides rare findings that contradict the normal conclusion that individuals of higher social class lack compassion.

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## Counterfeit Medicines

Yael Tsitohay

### Acronyms

ACTs: Artemisinin-based Combination Therapies

CI: Criminal Investigation

CTI: Confederation of Tanzania Industries

EU: European Union

IGOs: Intergovernmental Organizations

IMPACT: International Medical Products Anti-Counterfeiting Taskforce

IFPMA: International Federation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association

INTERPOL: International Criminal Police Organization

IP: International Property

IPN: International Policy Network

LDCs: Less Developed Countries

MAS: Medical Authentication System

NAFDAC: Nigerian Food and Drug Agency

NGOs: Non-governmental Organizations

TFDA: Tanzanian Food and Drug Authority

TRIPS: Agreement on Trade Related Aspects and on Intellectual Property Rights.

WHO: World Health Organization

WCO: World Customs Organizations

**“While dying from a disease might be inevitable, dying from a medicine should never be” (Bates 1).**

In 1995, after 60,000 people had been “inoculated” by an anti-meningitis vaccine in Niger, 2500 patients died subsequent to the “inoculation.” The vaccines were a donation from the Nigerian government to its neighbor country Niger. It was found out later on that the real vaccines were altered with fake ones before they arrived at their destination. The fake vaccines had no active ingredients and caused many to lose their lives. (Bates 66)

In August 2002, a deadly counterfeit of the anti-malarial medicine Halfan was discovered in Kumasi, Ghana. Halfan, an anti-malarial syrup for children and made by the “British drug Giant GlaxoSmithKline (GSK)” (Cockburn) is considered as the “lifesaver” for 90% of the children under 5 years old suffering from malaria in Ghana. In this case, the counterfeit Halfan has been diluted to 40% of its original strength.

In 2005 in Zimbabwe, Lucy, a “thirty-year-old mother of two,” (Bates xxi) passed away after her health deteriorated subsequent to taking life-long HIV medicines. The HIV medicines prescribed by her doctor were intended to help her recover; however, her life “slowly slipped away [from her] as though she were not being treated” (Bates xxii) because the HIV medicines were substandard due to inadequate transportation conditions, and thus, were ineffective. Lucy was only one of the many patients who were victims of this substandard HIV drugs in Zimbabwe.

In 2008 in Nigeria, “84 children between the ages of 2 months and seven years” (Bates 19) died because of a baby-teething syrup contaminated with Diethylene Glycol or DEG, a highly toxic chemical. The NAFDAC identified the source of the contamination to be “an unlicensed local chemical dealer who had sold DEG to a pharmaceutical manufacturer” (Bates 20).

These are only a few among the many deadly cases related to counterfeit medicines. Counterfeit medicines constitute a global crisis that involves international laws and property rights violation worldwide. According to an article published in *Africa Health* in May 2011, approximately “10% of drugs worldwide are counterfeit, contaminated, or fake” (Counterfeit Drugs: Africa's Silent Public Health Crisis 11). The trade of counterfeit medicines causes problems on the international level because first,

it is illegal and is classified as a “pharmaceutical crime” according to the INTERPOL, as outlined in the following excerpt:

Pharmaceutical crime involves the manufacture, trade and distribution of fake, stolen or illicit medicines and medical devices. It encompasses the counterfeiting and falsification of medical products, their packaging and associated documentation, as well as theft, fraud, illicit diversion, smuggling, trafficking, the illegal trade of medical products and the money laundering associated with it.  
(INTERPOL)

Adding to the fact that their trade is illicit, counterfeit medicines also violate intellectual property rights as outlined by the TRIPS agreement, which “[grants] inventors the exclusive rights to prevent others from making, using or selling their invention for a limited period of time” (Dounis 723). The TRIPS agreement also requires country members to “acquire a license for a product from the patentee before the product can be made or used within a country” (Dounis 723). However, counterfeit medicines are made without any license, once again violating the TRIPS agreement. Furthermore, in a globalized economy, fake medicines generate profit loss for the companies producing the actual authentic drugs because their patented medicines are being imitated and sold worldwide in an illegal trade system where the crime perpetrators reap the profits instead.

However, the violation of intellectual property rights and the loss of profits become rather insignificant when placed next to the soul crime posed by the trade of counterfeit medicines: a crime against humanity. Counterfeit medicines pose threatening health risks because they may lack, or contain insufficient necessary

ingredients, or even toxic substances. The consequences of administering counterfeit medicines to patients can be dangerous, ranging from the formation of “drug-resistant pathogens” (Dounis 733) to death. Particularly, Less Developed Countries (LDCs) are more vulnerable to the health crisis resulting from the trade of counterfeit medicines. According to a research report published by the International Policy Network (IPN) in 2009, “approximately 700,000 deaths from malaria and tuberculosis are attributed to fake drugs” (Harris, Stevens, et al. 4). In addition, it has been reported by the World Health Organization (WHO) that fake medicines make up “25 percent of the total medicine supply in [LDCs]” (Harris, Stevens, et al. 4), and that around “100,000 deaths a year in Africa are linked to counterfeit medicines” (Nuhu). As we can see, the trade of counterfeit medicines constitutes a complex network that, in addition to violating international trade laws and property rights, puts the lives of many at stake. In this research, I decided to take an in-depth look at the issue of counterfeit medicines in three specific LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa and how each one of them has addressed the issue. Furthermore, I am going to analyze the ways that global actors, including IGOs and NGOs, have addressed the issue; and finally, I will provide recommendations on what could be done to fight this crime against humanity.

Before delving into our research, let me define counterfeit medicines. “Counterfeit medicines” is rather a generalized terminology. Before 1992, fake medicines were classified under four categories: falsely labeled, spurious, substandard and counterfeit. A falsely labeled medicine is one containing the wrong information about the product on the label with regards to chemical composition, side effects, dosage, etc. A spurious medicine is “a drug on the contrary to the label information, which contains no active

ingredient, or insufficient amount of active ingredients” (Gopakumar and Shashikant 4). A substandard medicine is a low-quality drug that may be due to “poor manufacturing practices, poor transportation technique, or poor storage facilities” (Gopakumar and Shashikant 5). Finally, the word “counterfeit” refers to the “context of trademark violation and very often refers to literal copying of registered trademark” (Gopakumar and Shashikant 5). However, after a joint conference between the WHO and the IFPMA in 1992 in Geneva, a new definition of counterfeit medicines merged as follows:

A counterfeit medicine is one which is deliberately and fraudulently mislabeled with respect to identity and/or source. Counterfeiting can apply to both branded and generic products and counterfeit products may include products with the correct ingredients or with the wrong ingredients, without active ingredients, with insufficient (inadequate quantities of) active ingredient(s) or with fake packaging.  
(WHO)

This new definition brings falsely labeled and spurious medicines under one category, which is counterfeit medicine. Hence, throughout this paper, I will use the terminology “counterfeit medicines/drugs,” or “fake medicines/drugs” interchangeably according to this new definition.

LDCs are the main targets and victims of counterfeit medicines. In sub-Saharan Africa in particular, factors such as the governments’ lack of capacity to regulate trades, political instability, the lack of “political will to curb the distribution of fake goods” (Irin 25), and the high inflation all contribute to a poor and inadequate healthcare system where the distribution of drugs are loosely controlled, or simply uncontrolled. Furthermore, a large fraction of the public is unaware of the existence of fake drugs.

Hence, many poor people in African countries, unable to afford “costly authentic medications” (Akunyili 26), resort to buying cheap alternatives without knowing the deadly consequences of their purchase. It was reported, “30-50% of all prescriptions and over-the-counter medicines sold to consumers [in Africa] were fake” (Baku 20). Counterfeit medicines are ubiquitous in sub-Saharan Africa, where they circulate through many local markets in the most populated cities and threaten the lives of many. It is tragic, indeed, that many developing countries in Africa, where the poorest people of the world live below the poverty line, are the victims of the abhorrent pharmaceutical and humanitarian crime brought forth by the manufacturers and traders of counterfeit medicines. In the following case studies, I will examine how Nigeria, Tanzania and Ghana have dealt with the issue.

My first case study is on Nigeria. Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa, with a population of approximately 170 million on an area of nearly 924,000 sq m. Approximately “100 million Nigerians live below the poverty line” (Baku 20). As a populated country with more than half of the population living below the poverty line, Nigeria is one of the top targets of the trade of counterfeit medicines for more than a decade. In 1990, “a study conducted for a pharmaceutical firm in Lagos, Nigeria [...] by Adeoye Lambo, a former deputy director of the WHO, found that an average of 54% of drugs in major pharmacies were fake” (Bates 61). The problem of counterfeit medicines in Nigeria is still present and ubiquitous today. According to a report by the *African Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology* in 2012, “13 brand of ACT artesunate plus amodiaquine, sampled by the Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry and Faculty of Pharmacy at the University of Lagos, contained only 15.4% of these ingredient”s (Baku

20). ACTs are anti-malarial drugs that consist of combining Artemisinin-based drugs with other drug compound from different class. In the case previously mentioned, the combination consisted of artesunate and amodiaquine, which were found to be insufficient in the 13 brand tested. Diluted Artemisinin can lead patients to develop immunity to the Artemisinin and form drug-resistant pathogens that can lead to serious, even fatal consequences for the patient. To address the issue of counterfeit medicines in its own country, the Nigerian Government has taken several measures. Among these measures were executed by the NAFDAC, a Nigerian governmental agency. The NAFDAC uses several strategies in order to fight counterfeit medicines. First and foremost, the NAFDAC engages “the public through local and national media and at educational events” (Akunyili 26) in order to educate public about the existence and the danger of counterfeit medicines. It has conducted awareness campaigns that discourage the public from buying uncertified medications. Moreover, the NAFDAC prosecutes of those who perpetuate the crime of producing and selling counterfeit drugs, and applies a “stringent quality assurance policy when investigating sources of medicines and products to be included in a supplier database” (20). It also conducts inspections of “manufacturing plants in producing countries” (Akunyili 26), including China, India and Egypt, and certify the drugs produced before allowing the latter to be exported to Nigeria. Another nifty strategy of the NAFDAC in cooperation with the mPedigree to protect Nigerian consumers is a platform that allows for an SMS-based identification of the propriety of medicines once consumers purchase them. It consists of forwarding a pin number in the back of the medication by using a code in order to confirm the validity of the medication. Finally, the NAFDAC also “engages in

coordinated surveillance operations at markets and retail outlets” (Akunyili 26) in order to control the trade of goods and detect any suspected counterfeit medicines.

Subsequent to these measures, Nigeria has become known as the most successful sub-Saharan country at fighting counterfeit medicines.

My second case study is Tanzania. Located in Eastern Africa between Kenya and Mozambique, Tanzania is home to a population of 48,261,942, with 36 percent living below the poverty line (World Factbook). Despite its overall economic growth, Tanzania is still one of the world’s poorest countries, making it vulnerable to fake medicines. According to the Confederation of Tanzania Industries (CTI) , about 15 to 20 percent of all merchandise circulating in Tanzania is counterfeit, including fake medicines. As an instance, in 2009, the CTI has discovered a batch of anti-malarial capsules, which only contained wheat flour (Irin). In October 2008, WHO, INTERPOL and local officials tested drugs that were sold on the streets of some of the major cities in Tanzania, including Dar es Salaam. They searched “nearly 200 pharmacies and illegal markets, confiscated more than 100 different fake medical products, and closed down 22 businesses” (Irin). This search was noted to be the first INTERPOL-led operation in Africa under the WHO’s IMPACT program, which I will discuss further later on. In addition, on October 2013, the INTERPOL and Tanzanian security organs, including the Criminal Investigation (CI) conducted a project consisting of searching and seizing fake and substandard drugs in Tanzanian local markets located in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Mara, Geita, Mbeya, Arusha and Dodoma. Subsequent to this project, the team “[has] seized 273 different types of drugs traded illegally in the local market” (Rugonzibwa). Following this search and seizure, the Director of the CI

mentioned that 42 charges have been filed against the discovered illegal distributor of these fake and substandard drugs, and investigations were still continued. Other programs established by the Tanzanian Food and Drug Authority (TFDA) include “Pharmacovigilance Training Manuals for Healthcare Professionals” (Nuhu).

My last case of study is Ghana. Located in Western Africa, Ghana is home to about 25 million population. 28.5% of the population lives under the poverty line. According to the research I have done, the Ghanaian government, unlike its counterpart in Nigeria and Tanzania, is rather reluctant to actively engage in the fight against fake drugs that are ubiquitous in the country. It was difficult to find facts and statistics related to counterfeit medicines in Ghana in particular because the Ghanaian government has not invested much into the fight against counterfeit medicines in its country. However, there are a few private organizations in Ghana that have attempted to tackle the problem. Among these organizations is the Ghana-based mPedigree Network, located in the capital Accra. The mPedigree Network itself is a global organization that fights against counterfeit medicines through the use of mobile and mweb technologies. It has its branches in various African countries, as well as in some Asian countries. Among the mPedigree Network’s strategies include an SMS-based identification of drug’s authenticity called Medical Authentication System (MAS) implemented in 2009, which was also implemented in Nigeria as I mentioned earlier in the paper. Subsequent to a thorough research, I concluded that Ghana has not taken other significant steps toward fighting counterfeit medicines.

After seeing how each country has addressed the issue, let us analyze the steps taken by these three countries in Africa and see their effectiveness, as well as their

shortcomings. Based on my research on these three case studies, Nigeria is the most active country on the fight against counterfeit medicines. Not only is the Nigerian government playing an active role of control and testing through the NAFDAC, but it also informs and teaches its citizens about the danger of counterfeit medicines. Following Nigeria is Tanzania thanks to its willingness to work with the INTERPOL to crack down its black markets of fake medicines. On the other hand, Ghana, like many other LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa, is almost unwilling to address the issue. But why would Ghana and the rest be unwilling to address such a crucial issue that puts the lives of their population at stake? One possible answer to this question is that they are not fully aware of the danger of counterfeit medicine: they do not perceive it as a real threat and thus, do not prioritize it. In addition, most LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa have poor or mediocre economies and are classified as among the poorest countries in the world, with more than 50% of the population living on “less than \$1.25 a day” according to the World Bank Development Indicators. Looking at their poor economic situation, we can justify their unwillingness to invest in measures for fighting against counterfeit medicines. The effective measures toward fighting counterfeit medicines can be very costly because they require a series of steps and actions. For instance, in order to strengthen the control of medicine supply, among the measures needed are the “[recruitment] of expert procurement staff, specialized training in procurement techniques, and quality and assurance control” (Abbott and Dukes 124). These are only examples of steps that can be taken to address the issue, and of course, there are many other effective measures that can be costly. From my research, I found out that LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa import the majority of their drugs; yet, most of them “lack

the funding and facilities to inspect their foreign sources of supply and assure the quality of all supplies as they arrive or pass through the distribution chain.” (Abbott and Dukes 124). This lack of funding and facilities leads to unwillingness to cooperate in the fight against counterfeit medicines in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, a major flaw on the ways that these three countries in Africa tackle the problem is their lack of unity. Each of these countries is taking individual and domestic measures rather than cooperating with neighboring countries that are also victims of counterfeit medicines. Although Nigeria has exhibited a progress in the fight against counterfeit medicines, many of its neighboring countries are still plagued with fake drugs in circulation. Hence, Nigeria’s slight progress does not mean it is completely immune to the problem; instead, it is still highly vulnerable to the smuggling of fake medicines from its neighboring countries. As we can see, although the steps that have been taken by these three countries proved promising, they are not enough to fully combat counterfeit medicines.

So how do we solve the problem of counterfeit medicines in these most affected countries? We can see that these sub-Saharan African countries, despite their attempt at tackling the problem, are not able to fully solve the problem on their own. Hence, the problem needs an international attention from global actors like IGOs, NGOs and developed countries. From my research, I found out that a few IGOs have indeed taken measures that include the creation of regulations and legislations related to the global crisis of counterfeit medicine. Among these IGOs is the European Union (EU), which, in 2003, created and enforced its regulation No. 1383 concerning the control of trades that cross the borders of its country members. Particularly, EU’s regulation No. 1383

consists of seizing goods that are suspected counterfeit, pirated, or infringing intellectual property rights. This suspension under regulation 1383 indicates a step toward preventing counterfeit goods, including medicines, from being traded illegally. Another measure by the EU is the implementation of a program called MEDI-FAKE, which “[targets] customs control on illegal medicines entering the EU (Dounis 735). Both of these programs by the EU are steps toward fighting against counterfeit medicines. However, they are only done on a domestic scale relative to the EU members: these programs only address illegal medicines that enter the EU borders and do not solve the problems of counterfeit medicines in sub-Saharan Africa’s LDCs. Therefore, these actions only benefit those who live in the European Union country members and cannot be qualified as global measures.

In addition to the EU, the World Customs Organization (WCO) is another IGO that has taken a step toward addressing the global issue of counterfeit medicines. In 2007, WCO launched an initiative called SECURE, whose goal is “to promote improved border enforcement of intellectual property rights” (SECURE) and to provide standards and procedures “that will prove effective in a coordinated global effort to suppress the illicit trade in goods that violate intellectual property rights” (SECURE). On a similar note, the G-8 members (Germany, France, the UK, Italy, Japan, the US, Canada and Russia) also emphasize the “strengthening of [Intellectual Property] IP enforcement to deal with counterfeits.” (Gopakumar and Sashikant 13). In fact, “one of the key motives for launching this [SECURE] initiative was the priority given by the G-8 countries to countering IP infringement” (Gopakumar and Shashikant 13). The G-8 members’ strong will to protect IP rights and the WCO’s SECURE initiative both represent measures

toward addressing the intellectual property rights violation by counterfeit medicines. However, from my research, I have come to realize that the main motive behind these efforts is to shield the mighty producers of drugs in powerful developed countries rather than addressing the life-threatening nature of counterfeit medicines, especially in poor countries with high vulnerability. In addition, in today's globalized economy, "the patent-based system is profit oriented, not public oriented" (Abbott and Dukes 32). The G-8 members' desire to protect their IP rights is mainly due to their concerns about profit making: the G-8 members want to protect the profits they make from their pharmaceutical industries, and therefore, push for an IP rights protections on the part of IGOs. Having economic and military strength, leadership, and talented population, the G-8 members are using their power capacity to protect and further their national interests. As a result, IGOs like the WCO mentioned earlier are influenced by these powerful countries and tend to launch initiatives that satisfy the latter's wants, almost as if the IGOs are carrying orders. That being said, I am not arguing that the protection of IP rights is unnecessary. Quite the contrary, I think that enforcement of IP rights protection is a significant step toward the global fight against counterfeit medicines. However, I am saying that the motives behind these kinds of initiatives are morally poor because they emphasize property rights and profits more than lives. Wealthy countries are too concentrated on pursuing their national interests that they fail to analyze the gravity of counterfeit medicines from a moral and humanitarian perspective.

As we have seen throughout most of this paper, countries and global actors have tried to address the issue of counterfeit medicines in different ways. Each of their measures presented both positive aspects on one side and flaws on the other. In order

to correct these flaws, I believe that a global cooperation and effort on behalf of countries, wealthy or poor, and on behalf of international organizations should take place. I would like to propose three recommendations that I based on the in-depth research and analysis I have done.

The first solution I recommend is that the LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa should unite and cooperate in the fight against counterfeit medicines. As I have mentioned earlier, I believe that one of the flaws in the ways that the three LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa have addressed the problem is their reclusive approach, where they only applied the measures within their respective countries. Instead, the countries should join hands and assess the gravity of the issue as a whole. Countries like Nigeria that have been made significant progress in the fight against counterfeit medicines should play a role in encouraging their reluctant neighboring countries to be willing to address the issue as a group. The solutions that Nigeria and Tanzania have implemented on their own were already showing a progressive success; and I believe that the effectiveness of these solutions would increase even more if the countries were to work together and share their approaches with one another. For instance, the fight against counterfeit medicines in sub-Saharan Africa would be more effective if, as opposed to only one or two countries, each sub-Saharan African country established agreed-upon regulations regarding the control of medicine supply and trade. This way, it would be more difficult for the crime perpetrators to circulate the drugs within Africa because each country would already have agreed on strict controls on their borders. I acknowledge that it might not be so realistic to expect all countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to realize on their

own that they should come together and cooperate, since they have not done so in the past until now. But a part of my second solution will address this.

The second solution I recommend is that IGOs should play a more active role in the fight against fake medicines worldwide. This needs to start with a global “agreement on the severity of the offense” (Bate 3). IGOs need to actively inform all its country members and partners about the severity and gravity of counterfeit medicines, especially in the LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, I believe that IGOs like the UN and the WHO should play a role in uniting the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in their fight toward counterfeit medicines. These LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa do not necessarily realize the need to join hands and address the issue of fake medicines. Hence, these IGOs should play the role of mediator between these African countries by informing the latter on the importance of their cooperation towards the fight against life-threatening fake medicines. From my research, I found out that the WHO has been already working on a similar solution through its launching of the International Medical Products Anti-Counterfeiting Taskforce or IMPACT program in 2006. The IMPACT program is an initiative with a goal of building “coordinated networks across and between countries in order to halt the production, trading and selling of fake medicines around the globe” (WHO). Amongst the tactics delineated by this program include raising global public awareness on the harmful effects of counterfeit medicines, as depicted in the following excerpt from the WHO:

Patients and consumers are the primary victims of counterfeit medicines. In order to protect them from the harmful effects of counterfeit medicines it is necessary to provide them with appropriate information and education on the consequences

of counterfeit medicines [...] Posters, brochures, radio and television programs are useful means for disseminating messages and advice.

Other IGOs like the UN and the World Bank should follow the example of WHO's IMPACT and establish similar programs that would raise global awareness on the severity of the threats brought forth by counterfeit medicines and that would entail countries to join efforts in solving the problem. These programs would place the consumers' and patients' health above property rights. Upon being exposed to this information, the LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa would realize the life-threatening risks that counterfeit medicines impose on their population and would want to look for solutions and cooperation with other neighboring countries. Furthermore, other IGOs like the INTERPOL should increase their cooperation with the local polices and the departments of pharmaceutical chemistry in each of the LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa when cracking down unlicensed drug suppliers and vendors, and when conducting drug testing on the medicines that are sold in the streets and markets throughout many of these countries.

Finally, my last recommendation is to call for a moral reflection on the part of wealthy and powerful countries. Like Thomas Pogge in his article "Human Rights and Global Health, A Research Program," I believe that a moral reflection is crucial when addressing any issues, especially one like counterfeit medicines, which represent a heavy humanitarian facet to it. Again, through the help of IGOs, wealthy countries should be informed about the gravity of fake medicines, especially in LDCs. Furthermore, IGOs like the UN should call upon its powerful members to take moral responsibility and help the LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa. Rich countries should realize that more important than their loss of profit is the life-threatening crime against humanity

caused by the illicit trading of counterfeit medicines. Hence, some of the possible ways for wealthy countries to help the LDCs would be to send intellectual or financial supports that would contribute toward the fight against counterfeit medicines. Intellectual supports could be in the form of trainings in the field of pharmaceutical testing and control, or similar measures.

I will conclude this paper by noting my observations and overall thoughts on my research on counterfeit medicines. First, I believe that the worldwide prevalence of counterfeit medicines is partly a product of globalization. Through globalization, it has been possible to exchange ideas and use technological and scientific advancements to produce life-saving medicines. Through globalization came the increase in transportation and the thriving of global trade, allowing these medicines to be shipped from one country to another and to save the lives of many patients around the world. Globalization, despite the uneven repartition of its benefits, has in general allowed relative development and interaction around the world, which can be seen as its positive effects. Nevertheless, globalization is multifaceted, and thus also presents a negative side to it. In the case of counterfeit medicines, their global trade has caused many to lose their lives. Poor countries, concentrated in the sub-Saharan African region, are the main victims of such deadly cure. From a humanitarian perspective, counterfeit medicines constitute a crime against humanity by violating human rights. We know that health is a crucial part of life, the fundamental human right; and with the right to health is the right to access good quality medicines and adequate treatments. Accelerated by the phenomenon of globalization, the trade of counterfeit medicines threatens these basic human rights by putting the lives of many victims, especially in LDCs, at stake.

However, when we think about the possible solutions to tackle this global crisis caused by counterfeit medicines, we come to the realization that globalization is also the solution to combatting counterfeit medicines. That is, in order to effectively combat the issue of counterfeit medicines especially in poor countries, there needs to be a global cooperation among countries and international organizations. And this global cooperation is the very core of globalization. It seems rather peculiar, but my research has led me to conclude that globalization is the problem and the solution to itself.

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# Understanding Deaf Psychosis: Schizophrenia's Prevalence and Manifestation in the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Population

Rachel Lee

## Abstract

In the past 60 years, the psychological field has begun to understand the prevalence, manifestation, and possible treatments for mental disorders in individuals who are deaf or hard-of-hearing. Because the psychological field has widely recognized that schizophrenia is a highly debilitating mental illness, this paper aimed to examine the prevalence and symptomology of schizophrenia in individuals with audiological deafness. A review of the few relevant studies conducted in the past suggested that the prevalence of schizophrenia for both hearing and deaf inpatients has hovered around 20% (Haskins, 2004; Landsberger & Diaz, 2010). Furthermore, while the general consensus has been that overall schizophrenia has manifested similarly in both deaf and hearing inpatients, researchers have identified a few critical differences (Evans & Elliott, 1981; Horton & Silverstein, 2011a). Despite this general awareness that there are differences in symptomology, the psychological community has not developed accepted criterion for the diagnosis of schizophrenia in individuals who are deaf. In light of this fact, this paper proposed an inchoate model for the manifestation of schizophrenia in individuals with audiological deafness. The model's symptomology includes (a) problems with displaying appropriate affect, (b) disorientation and delusions, (c) distressing hallucinations, (d) negative symptoms and motor problems, and (e) a marked decrease in functional ability. The model's purpose is to function as a foundation for future research that will aid in the refinement of the proposed

symptomology and for experiments that will suggest treatment methods tailored to the deaf and hard-of-hearing population.

### **Understanding Deaf Psychosis: Schizophrenia's Prevalence and Manifestation in the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Population**

Individuals who are deaf or hard-of-hearing constitute a unique group that the psychological and psychiatric field has historically ignored (Landsberger & Diaz, 2010). Although there has been an increase of research into the mental states of psychiatric inpatients who are deaf or hard-of-hearing, the psychological field still lacks an adequate knowledge base concerning mental illnesses in deaf individuals. When considered in light of the fact that all literature has pointed to evidence that the incidence of psychiatric illness has remained the same regardless of a person's hearing status (Haskins, 2004; Landsberger & Diaz, 2010; Vernon & Daigle-King, 1999), a grim portrait is painted: Mental health professionals have had only a vague idea of how to adequately assess and treat the deaf population and, as a result, the many deaf individuals who suffer from mental illnesses have lived their lives untreated. In order to help these individuals, the psychiatric field must expand its comprehension concerning the manifestation and treatment of mental illnesses in deaf individuals.

In alignment with this concern, the researcher elected to thoroughly examine the prevalence and symptomology of one of the most debilitating and persistent psychiatric disorders, schizophrenia. The expectation is that this paper will serve as a framework for research that will aid in the creation and refinement of a model for the understanding and treatment of schizophrenia in deaf individuals. Furthermore, the researcher hopes that this paper will encourage others to construct theoretical models for other psychiatric

illnesses afflicting the deaf and hard-of-hearing population in order to guide and promote culturally sensitive treatment methods.

### **Defining the Term *Deaf***

The term *deaf* has assumed a variety of meanings within both English and American Sign Language (ASL). In the English vernacular, the term *deaf* has referred to individuals who have retained a wide range of hearing sensitivity, including bilateral profound deafness, unilateral deafness, and the ability to hear some sounds in each ear. Similarly, in ASL, the term *deaf* has referred to individuals with a myriad of hearing sensitivities, but unlike English, use of the term in ASL has highlighted cultural differences.

In ASL, the capitalization of the term *deaf* has denoted whether or not an individual has both utilized ASL and engaged in a flourishing *Deaf* (with an uppercase *D*) culture—one with its own schools, traditions, and norms. In alignment with such usage of the term, individuals have referred to themselves as *culturally Deaf* despite their level of audiological sensitivity as long as they have been fluent in ASL and have lived immersed in Deaf culture (Moore & Levitan, 2007, p. 310). On the other hand, individuals with severe deafness who have relied on lip-reading and vocalizing have often referred to themselves as *oral-deaf* or *culturally hard-of-hearing* (Moore & Levitan, 2007, pp. 310-317). The ASL community has not labeled such individuals as *Deaf* because the individuals have not embraced the *Deaf* language and culture (Moore & Levitan, 2007, pp. 310-317). The ASL community further distinguishes other individuals who have possessed varying amounts of audiological deafness and who have not been fluent in any language by simply referring to them as *deaf*. For simplicity's sake, in this

research, the term *deaf* referred to all individuals with audiological deafness, regardless of cultural affiliation.

It is important, however, for mental health professionals to understand the terminology outlined above. In keeping with the American Psychological Association's (2002) ethical principle of justice, professionals also need to comprehend that deaf Americans constitute a highly eclectic group that represents all nationalities, religions, languages, educational levels, and audiological sensitivities. Comprehension of the variability among deaf Americans is critical to professionals in the mental health fields because these factors all have contributed to the manifestation, assessment, and treatment of the various psychological disorders that occur in the deaf population. For instance, individuals who became deaf prior to formal language acquisition may not have had a strong grasp of any language if their parents did not ensure that they were exposed to signed language at an early age. Without at least an elementary-level comprehension of any language, a large amount of knowledge—both through formal and informal education—will be unavailable to these individuals. Attempting to communicate with, diagnose and treat those without more than an elementary-level comprehension of a language and very little education has presented enormous challenges, as has diagnosing and treating individuals who may be fluent in ASL, but who have still possessed different cultural values and diverse life experiences.

Because so few professionals in the past and present have been equipped to accurately assess and treat deaf individuals, there has been a paucity of psychological literature regarding the prevalence, manifestation, and treatment of mental illness in individuals who are deaf.

## **Prevalence of Psychiatric Disorders Among Deaf Individuals**

Between 1929 and 1999, researchers conducted only 10 studies with the purpose of describing the population of psychiatric inpatients who happened to be deaf. Vernon and Daigle-King (1999) presented a thorough review of these 10 studies. Their published literature review illuminated how the reported prevalence of schizophrenia among inpatients has decreased at the same time that the rate of psychotic disorder not otherwise specified (NOS) has grown (Vernon & Daigle-King, 1999). While researchers must be cognizant of the limited generalizability of the estimates reported in each study, the overall pattern has revealed how diagnosis of unidentifiable cases has changed throughout time.

The recorded change in the rate of schizophrenia over time most likely occurred because, historically, psychiatrists elected to purposefully misdiagnose individuals with schizophrenia when language barriers, educational deficiencies, and cultural differences complicated assessment (Landsberger & Diaz, 2010; Vernon & Daigle-King, 1999). Today, as the body of knowledge regarding Deaf culture has begun to grow, research has indicated more similar rates of schizophrenia for both the deaf and hearing inpatient populations (Landsberger & Diaz, 2010). These estimates have currently hovered around only 20% (Haskins, 2004; Landsberger & Diaz, 2010) as compared to earlier decades, when research projected that schizophrenia's prevalence among deaf inpatients was about 50% (as cited in Vernon & Daigle-King, 1999). Part of the change in the estimated prevalence of schizophrenia has most certainly occurred as a result of the increase in the understanding of Deaf culture and language, which has aided overcoming some barriers that complicated diagnosis. Increased knowledge, however,

cannot account for all of this change. Even today, clinicians still give ambiguous diagnoses as a result of the general lack of knowledge concerning mental illnesses in deaf individuals. Thus, it has appeared that instead of using schizophrenia for difficult diagnoses, unidentifiable cases have tended to receive a label of psychosis NOS, the current rates of which Landsberger and Diaz (2010) reported to hover around 38%.

Overall, while knowledge of ASL and Deaf culture has increased, diagnostic patterns have begun shifting to better reflect the true prevalence of schizophrenia and other disorders among the deaf population. The psychiatric community must remember, however, that because there has been a general lack of research in regards to the mental health of individuals who happened to be deaf, as Landsberger and Diaz (2010) emphasized, “recent and reliable estimates of the number of deaf and hard-of-hearing people with psychiatric problems are [still] currently unavailable” (p. 196).

### **The Manifestation of Schizophrenia in Deaf Individuals**

#### **Empirical Identification of Schizophrenic Symptomology**

A general lack of research has limited not only knowledge concerning the prevalence of schizophrenia among deaf psychiatric inpatients, but also knowledge concerning the manifestation of schizophrenia in deaf individuals. Although a few studies over the past 60 years attempted to identify the exact symptomology of schizophrenia in individuals who happened to be deaf, the studies’ relatively small sample sizes have made generalizing results difficult. In reviewing two of the most thorough studies, however, one can draw some general conclusions. Specifically, in examining the research of both Evans and Elliot (1981) and Horton and Silverstein (2011a), it became obvious that four symptom clusters—problems with affect;

disorientation; hallucinations; and motor or volition problems—have been strong indicators of schizophrenia in individuals who are deaf.

In 1981, Evans and Elliott conducted one of the earliest studies into the symptomology of schizophrenia in deaf individuals. Through their study of 13 severely and profoundly deaf individuals, Evans and Elliott (1981) found the following symptoms of schizophrenia most common in their sample: (a) a blurred comprehension of where oneself and the rest of the world begins, (b) irrational beliefs, (c) nonsensical or strange explanations, (d) hallucinations, (e) a loss of connection with reality, (f) a lack of emotional expression or incongruous emotions, and (g) indecisiveness. Evans and Elliott (1981) further asserted that these six symptoms were unique to deaf individuals with schizophrenia; they were not common traits within the Deaf culture. On the other hand, Evans and Elliott (1981) found certain characteristics—such as (a) reduced self-awareness, (b) emotional capriciousness, (c) a marked lack of details when communicating, (d) difficulty with interpersonal connections, (e) ambiguity, and (f) apraxia—to be common among both non-psychiatric deaf individuals and among deaf individuals with schizophrenia. Because Evans and Elliott's (1981) *secondary symptoms* occurred without the presence of schizophrenia, clinicians should not formulate a diagnosis based on the presence of these alone.

Thirty years later, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) expanded upon Evans and Elliott's (1981) original work. Over a period of two years, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) examined the manifestation of schizophrenia in 34 prelingually and profoundly deaf individuals (the *main sample*). During the same time period in which they investigated symptomology, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) also tested and controlled for

confounding factors, including linguistic abilities, cognition, social cognition, and functionality. In addition, they chose to assess a matched hearing group (the *control sample*) of 31 individuals who were also diagnosed with schizophrenia or schizoaffective disorder.

Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) study identified five primary symptom clusters for their two samples. The clusters, which were drawn from the symptoms listed in the 24-Item Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale (Ventura, Nuechterlein, Subotnik, & Gilbert, 1995), included (a) confusion and hallucinations, (b) negative symptoms, (c) bizarre thinking and delusions, (d) affective disturbances, and (e) activity-related symptoms (Horton & Silverstein, 2011a). Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) analysis revealed that all individuals in both the main and control samples obtained high scores on two or more of the identified clusters. Furthermore, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) found that the control sample of hearing individuals tended to score highest on the affective disturbances and the confusion clusters whereas the main sample of deaf individuals tended to score highest on the negative symptoms, confusion, and activity-related symptom clusters.

In Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) study, individuals who happened to be deaf scored equally high or higher on the confusion symptomology cluster as the control counterparts did. Increased linguistic ability correlated with a decrease in confusion symptoms for deaf individuals, however (Horton & Silverstein, 2011a), and in light of this evidence, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) proposed that the high level of confusion symptoms among the deaf population may have had more to do with linguistic ability than with actual manifestation of schizophrenia. Supporting this hypothesis, Horton and

Silverstein's (2011a) study further revealed that confusion symptomology correlated significantly with functional outcome, cognitive, and social cognitive results for the control sample of hearing individuals, but not for the main sample. Despite the possibly confounding variable of linguistic ability, Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) study provided evidence that confusion could be a hallmark symptom cluster of schizophrenia in individuals who are deaf.

In addition to having provided an in-depth examination of the manifestation of disorganized symptoms in individuals who happened to be deaf, Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) study also illuminated several critical differences between the main sample of deaf individuals living with schizophrenia and the control sample of hearing individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia. Chief among the critical differences Horton and Silverstein (2011a) identified was the finding that attentiveness was a marker symptom of schizophrenia among the hearing population but not among the deaf population. Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) analysis also revealed that although negative symptoms and activity-related symptoms were the clusters that had a close correlation with outcome measures for the main sample of deaf individuals, they were not significant clusters for the control sample.

Conclusively, Horton and Silverstein (2011a) claimed that differences most definitely do exist between the manifestation of schizophrenia in the control sample of hearing individuals and the manifestation of schizophrenia in main sample. They also believed that this finding would hold true when generalized (Horton & Silverstein, 2011a). Similarly, Evans and Elliott (1981) found that the criteria utilized to identify

schizophrenia in hearing individuals were not entirely accurate when applied to individuals who were deaf.

The combined results of Evans and Elliott's (1981) study and Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) study have shed light on what a theoretical model of schizophrenia for deaf individuals might include. Namely, the symptoms that both studies recorded in common—problems with affect; disorientation presented by loss of ego boundaries and delusions; hallucinations; and motor or volition problems—form the basis for a rough theoretical model. In addition to the empirical evidence that schizophrenic symptomology has differed between the hearing and the deaf populations, several other papers focused on defining how certain schizophrenic symptoms may manifest in deaf individuals.

### **Focused Research into the Manifestation of Thought Disorder**

Horton and Silverstein's (2011a) research showed that the symptom cluster of confusion, commonly referred to as "thought disorder," was not significantly correlated to functional outcome or other variables associated with Schizophrenia for the main sample of individuals who happened to be deaf. As such, thought disorder is not an accurate indicator of schizophrenia among the deaf population. Believing that the low correlation regarding thought disorder was related to verbal assessments, Horton and Silverstein (2011b) investigated the issue again. Testing the same samples as in their previous study, Horton and Silverstein (2011b) used the Ebbinghaus illusion (a nonverbal test) to assess whether schizophrenia affected perceptual-whole processing, which constitutes part of a person's organized thinking.

In the end, Horton and Silverstein's (2011b) experiment verified their past results. When analyzing and comparing the scores of deaf and hearing individuals with schizophrenia, Horton and Silverstein (2011b) discovered that the deaf individuals demonstrated better perceptual-whole processing than their hearing counterparts. Horton and Silverstein's (2011b) results held true even when they only considered the scores of deaf and hearing subjects who presented disorganized. Yet not all deaf individuals retained perfect perceptual-whole processing: The deaf individuals who presented disorganized symptoms were less likely to utilize perceptual-whole processing than deaf individuals without disorganized symptomology (Horton & Silverstein, 2011b). This pattern suggested, as Horton and Silverstein (2011b) pointed out, that the use of sign language in deaf individuals could result in stronger perceptual abilities prior to schizophrenia's onset. If this were true, then comparing outright Ebbinghaus illusion scores from hearing and deaf individuals could lead to misinterpretation. Because there were no control scores from a group of deaf individuals without psychiatric issues with which to compare the scores of deaf individuals who were diagnosed with schizophrenia, Horton and Silverstein's (2011b) findings were inconclusive.

Whether thought disorder has been rare in the deaf population or not, however, it still has occurred. As such, more research into the manifestation of thought disorders in individuals who are deaf is necessary.

### **Focused Research into the Manifestation of Hallucinations**

Although research indicated that thought disorder has been a rare symptom of schizophrenia for deaf individuals, symptoms such as delusions and hallucinations have

been common among deaf individuals with schizophrenia (Evans & Elliott, 1981; Horton & Silverstein, 2011a). Due to linguistic and cultural barriers, however, there has been much debate concerning the true nature of hallucinations experienced by individuals who happened to be deaf. As such, one of the most researched questions in regards to bizarre symptomology in individuals who happened to be deaf has been whether or not deaf individuals can “hear voices.”

Throughout the literature, various researchers assumed both sides of the auditory hallucination debate: some asserted that deaf individuals do hear voices while others stated that the phenomenon is impossible (Atkinson, 2006; Critchley, Denmark, Warren, & Wilson, 1981; Paijmans, Cromwell, & Austen, 2006). In a 2006 theory expansion, neuropsychologist Atkinson cited that, overall, a larger percent of deaf individuals than hearing individuals reported visual hallucinations and that about 50% of deaf individuals with schizophrenia claimed to have auditory hallucinations. Despite the overwhelming amount of reports of auditory hallucinations in deaf individuals, skeptics have pointed out that linguistic and cultural barriers prevented accurate assessment of the true nature of hallucinations in deaf individuals (Paijmans, Cromwell & Austen, 2006).

Individuals who are deaf, and thus who have various experiences with sound, may have different conceptualizations of “hearing voices” than the majority of the hearing population (Paijmans, Cromwell & Austen, 2006; Atkinson, 2006). Furthermore, ASL and English are not easily translated from one to the other; signs are not simply “English words acted out” (Landsberger & Diaz, 2010; McCay & Miller, 2001). In fact, no sign in ASL exists for the concept of hallucination (Glickman, 2007; McCay & Miller,

2001). Therefore, interpreters, especially those who lack sufficient training in mental health interpreting (McCay & Miller, 2001; Morgan & Vernon, 1994), must attempt to explain the concept of auditory hallucinations to the clients (Glickman, 2007). When faced with a question that one did not understand and for which a person did not have a frame of reference, some deaf individuals may have simply given a vague, affirmative answer in order to please the assessing professional (Glickman, 2007).

The significance of these linguistic and cultural barriers to accurately assessing whether or not a deaf individual with schizophrenia experiences auditory hallucinations led several individuals, including Glickman (2007), to advise professionals to look for physical signs of hallucinations in addition to self-reports. Furthermore, as researchers Paijmans, Cromwell, and Austen (2006) emphasized, assisting an individual who feels distressed by an experience is more critical than identifying the true nature of hallucinations (p.47).

### **Conclusions**

Although the manifestation of schizophrenia in individuals who are deaf is similar to that of individuals with fully hearing capabilities, critical differences do exist. In order to develop a model specific to the symptomology of schizophrenia in deaf individuals, researchers will need to conduct more research with larger sample sizes. Furthermore, a starting block is essential. Based on past research, the researcher has proposed a rough theoretical model consisting of the following symptomology: (a) problems with displaying appropriate affect; (b) disorientation presented by a loss of ego boundaries and the presence of delusions (those unrelated to Deaf Culture); (c) distressing

hallucinations (modality inconsequential); (d) negative symptoms and motor problems; and (e) a marked decrease in functional ability.

Improvements to this theory and to the psychiatric field's current knowledge base of the manifestation of other mental illnesses will be crucial to serving a large amount of people who have traditionally suffered due to misdiagnoses and a lack of adequately trained professionals. Creating working theoretical models of symptomology will be simply a small part of the necessary change, however. Research into effective diagnostic and treatment techniques for all individuals who are deaf—despite communication modality—will be equally important. Change will also need to come from within the entire psychiatric community: Educating the mental health professionals in both Deaf Culture and in ASL will be critical to the provision of better care as well as the initiation of more research.

Improving upon the current body of knowledge concerning mental illnesses in deaf individuals is not going to be easy; much research and time is essential. The more the body of knowledge expands and theories develop, however, the better equipped the psychiatric community will be not only to serve those who are deaf but also to serve the general population with new cross-cultural treatments and diagnostic techniques.

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From Greeks to “Grape” to Mozart: Istanbul’s Globalized Culture as Reflected through Art  
(Based on a Study of *My Name is Red*)

Catherine Baker

Orhan Pamuk’s novel *My Name is Red* highlights any number of fascinating insights and concepts about the world of 1591 Istanbul. His primary thesis revolves around the convergence of worldviews at a tumultuous period for the Ottoman Empire, and argues that this clash of traditions and beliefs was the source of turmoil and conflict; namely the conflict of ideas, and beliefs, and characters. But though the main idea of his storyline centers on opposition and dichotomy, his historical observations paint a collective portrait of unity. Indeed, the world he portrays in his novel is a society where people of different beliefs and cultures cooperate with one another, and the city itself is rife with artistic genius and intellectual marvels.

Art fuels the conflict at the center of the story, but it also reflects the various and sundry visions of the people who shaped the city in which the story takes place. Art permeates the city’s culture, and it has sometimes influenced the decisions of the various powers that have had authority over the city. The city’s artistic culture has at times spurred the ire of those who attempted to destroy its art, and conversely awed and inspired its new rulers to strive for even greater heights of magnificence. It has stood as a testament to all the various peoples and cultures that have encountered the city and interacted within it, and its influence has been found in such diverse places as Russia, Serbia, Rome, Naples and Venice (Sherrard 22), and even in one of Mozart’s operas. The art of Istanbul reflects its cosmopolitan nature as a global city that was primarily fashioned by vision: the literal visions of those who created its art, and the metaphorical visions of those who impacted and were impacted by the city.

## **Pamuk's Vision of Istanbul on the Verge of Change**

Originally published in Turkey, both the author's native country and the setting for his novel, *My Name is Red* was written by Nobel prize-winning author Orhan Pamuk and published in 1998 under the name *Benim Adim Kirmizi*. The book focuses on a murder mystery in late 16<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul, in which the main characters race against time to identify the killer of one of the illustrators of a highly controversial book. Various subplots include the attempts of the hapless main character Black to woo Shekure, the daughter of the lead illustrator; the conflict between the deeply orthodox Muslim culture and the mindsets of the various characters, and the rise of the European artistic styles that might or might not contradict the tenets of Islam; and the murderer's haunting internal struggle with his own guilt and fear.

Ultimately, though, Pamuk's novel comes down to the central idea of the turmoil created in Istanbul and the Muslim world when the vision of the West, with the emergence of new worldviews and artistic styles from Europe, met the vision of the East, with its conservative Islamic traditions and the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the entire plot is triggered by the murder of an illustrator who fears retribution from the government for being involved in the creation of paintings that are potentially controversial and irreligious. And all throughout the novel characters' thoughts and decisions are motivated by the dilemma of whether art produced in the European style is an affront to Allah and the Muslim faith.

The central issue at stake is the Muslim vision of art, for according to the Islamic tradition, all art and painting is meant to merely relate a story, or a theme, or a virtue (Owies 19, Pamuk 25-26). There is no such thing as "art for art's sake" in the Muslim

world; all paintings are without nuance, without depth, without differentiation in faces, and without any main subject (Pamuk 25). The art is an extrapolation of God's perspective, for in the Islamic religion, God views all people equally. In addition, art is meant to glorify God, not the subject and not the artist (Madden 423, Pamuk 23). Indeed, Muslim artists refrain from even signing their work, and no artist has his own distinct style (Pamuk 58, 60).

This becomes an issue in the story (and also historically) when the Islamic world is exposed to the European style, which emphasizes perspective, realism, centralized subjects with nuanced faces, and above all, credit for the artist (Pamuk 26). The "Frankish" style is an instant controversy, for after all, the glorification no longer goes to God, but to the subject and the artist (Pamuk 26, 58). The aspect of humility is no longer present; and since humility is one of the fundamental tenets of Islam (indeed, the very name Muslim means "one who submits" (Strayer 415)), many in the story view the European style and its sense of placement and esteem as a contradiction to their faith.

The aspect of different perspectives and visions is expounded on even further when Pamuk gives an unconventional chapter from the point of view of a coin. The coin gives its unique perspective on the changing vision of wealth in the world, having traveled from Europe to the Ottoman Empire, and having been exchanged in all manners from cheating to violence, only to reveal that it is in fact counterfeit. Through its story, the coin reveals that more and more people in the conservative Islamic Ottoman Empire are adopting the commercially-motivated vision of the West, and will do anything in the pursuit of wealth.

From the anxious indecisiveness and internal monologues of characters wrestling with this dilemma, to the actions of these same characters motivated by both fear of their government and their own personal religious guilt, Pamuk paints a picture of a society and the individuals residing therein caught in a struggle between the West's secular finances and individualism, and deeply held Muslim philosophies, and a desperate effort to protect Ottoman society from the seduction of wealth and the corruption of greed. The characters (and the city) are effectively at a crossroads between different visions that influence the actions of those within the city; the vision of the West and the pursuit of money, and the vision of the East and Islamic conservatism.

Pamuk won a Nobel Prize in 2006 for his historical fiction about his home country of Turkey (Newsmakers). He was raised in a secular home in Istanbul, he has been a visiting professor at Columbia University since 2006, and he is a member of the American Academy for Arts and Literature (Newsmakers). However, Pamuk's primary interest is relating themes of history presented in his works of fiction, and "is not interested in history with a capital H" (Goknar 34). Thus, in his novel *My Name is Red*, Pamuk uses broad facts and intricate historical details in order to convey a theme of Turkish history that largely reflected that of his own time period (Goknar 34).

The world of *My Name is Red* is so vividly portrayed that at times it seems a character in its own right. Yet, Pamuk does not explain the background and history of Istanbul, or make any attempts to describe how the culture at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century had risen to such heights of intellectual and artistic grandeur. The question of Istanbul's development (both as a city, and as a culture of religious tolerance and academic and aesthetic genius) remains unanswered by the novel.

The historical record, on the other hand, states that there were several major factors that contributed to Istanbul's culture at the time of the novel – not the least of which was its ancient Greek and Byzantine heritage. The city's inception dates back to the second millennium BCE; and, as such, it had well over 3500 years of history, art, architecture, religion, trade and political intrigue influencing its culture by 1591 (Inman 17). From the vast diversity of its population to its grand architecture and intellectual achievements, Istanbul was built upon the traditions, accomplishments, and visions of the Greeks, the Romans, and then further embellished by the Ottoman Empire (Burke, Inman 17, Leroux 100).

### **Visions of a City: Byzantium to Constantinople**

The city was originally founded around 667 BCE by Byzas (Sherrard 31), a Greek who had brought hundreds from Athens, Megara, and other overcrowded city states in order to create his own colony on the waterfront to the northwest of what is now present-day Turkey (Inman 17, Sherrard 31). Immediately the concept of vision came into play, for before his departure from Megara, an oracle had conveyed to Byzas that he would arrive at a land "opposite the blind" (Ayyildiz 16, Sherrard 31). When Byzas beheld the beauty of the land, he promptly concluded that the previous settlers on the opposite side of the river must have been blind not to take advantage of the resources where he and his companions now found themselves (Ayyildiz 16, Sherrard 31). Byzas established his city on a peninsula flanked on three sides: by the Sea of Marmara, by the entrance to the Bosphorus, and by the body of water known as the Golden Horn (Ayyildiz 5). In addition to having natural defenses, the land was also a perfect location for trade (Sherrard 31).

However, the city's prime location as a port (Leroux 98) ensured that it was repeatedly conquered, assimilated, and/or subsumed by various empires and political entities, including nearby city states and the Persian Empire (Inman 17). It was called Byzantion in those days (Inman 17), until it was sacked and brought under the control of the Roman Empire under Septimus Severus in 196 CE (Arnott 52). Severus had a vision of the city serving Rome's purposes and reinforcing Roman ideals; thus, he destroyed the city and rebuilt it (Arnott 52), and it was later renamed Byzantium (Leroux 98). However, remnants of the Greek vision remained even after the conquest by the Romans, preserved in such art as the statue of Aphrodite from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Leroux 99), or the gilded bronze horses that stood in the city until the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Sherrard 22).

In the year 330 CE, after Emperor Diocletian had split the Roman Empire, Emperor Constantine declared Byzantium his new capital (Sherrard 35), and the city became known as Constantinople (Inman 18, Leroux 98). Constantine's own vision was to make his capital into a new Rome, and as such, he set about transforming it into a place of Roman culture (Sherrard 33). He imported the Palladium (the wooden statue of Pallas Athena) from the city of Rome (Sherrard 33), along with many other works of Roman art, and decreed that his imperial buildings be constructed with Roman architecture (Sherrard 34). When the Western Empire fell to the Vandals a short time later in 476 CE, the Eastern Empire carried on the Roman legacy with Constantinople as its capital, and came to be known as the Byzantine Empire (Inman 18, Leroux 98).

Constantinople flourished under centuries of intellectual and artistic genius, and at the height of this renaissance Emperor Justinian commissioned a great number of

architectural marvels (Sherrard 35). His vision was of a magnificent place that was wondrous to behold, and among the achievements that made this vision a reality was the completion of the Hagia Sophia (Inman 18), the construction of which had already been begun under the orders of Constantine (Sherrard 34). One awestruck spectator, Fulk of Chartres, is quoted as saying in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, “how stately, how fair...how many palaces...how many works of art, marvelous to behold...it would be wearisome to tell of the abundance of all good things” (Sherrard 36). It was the center of Byzantine Christian culture, and religion and art permeated the city (Leroux 100).

However, the innovation and cultural genius of the city and the empire was not kept within the confines of Byzantine territory, but rather extended to other nations, inspiring them to reflect its magnificence. The city of Venice, for example, was constructed as a Byzantine city, mimicking its architecture and churches and artwork, and realizing the European vision of Byzantine culture (Sherrard 22). “[The Byzantines] developed a style of religious art and architecture that influenced every nation they encountered” (Sherrard 22).

One of the most prevalent forms of art was that of Christian religious paintings and mosaics. These artistic works created during the time of Justinian were directly inspired by the old Hellenistic wall paintings in their style and their treatment of landscapes (Haussig 88), but their purpose transcended that of mere spectacle or temporary awe. These religious pieces, or icons, were meant to impart spiritual themes and messages (Haussig 89, Strayer 507), such as the mosaic of Christ and the Empress Zoe in the Hagia Sophia. Over time this form of religious art became more

and more a source of veneration, and drifted from the previous Greek influence (Haussig 90).

However, in spite of its artistic and cultural flourishing, the city did have its periods of turmoil and intolerance even during the age of the Byzantine Empire (Inman 22). During the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, many supported the practice of iconoclasm, or the destroying of religious icons because of the controversy of portraying the divine on a tangible image (Strayer 508). Although this controversy was quite similar to the one surrounding the Islamic view of the European style of art in *My Name is Red*, the icons in question were actually created in a manner not unlike Islamic paintings: without perspective, or nuance, and strictly for religious purposes (Strayer 507). Nonetheless, the Iconoclast vision of religion and art perceived the icons as idols and/or graven images to be worshipped in place of God, and made no provision for the vision that saw the icons as mere aids toward the worship of God (Strayer 508). And thus, Iconoclasm persisted in the city for over a century, resulting in the destruction of many works of art (Strayer 508).

The centuries following the iconoclastic periods were quite brutal for Constantinople and its culture. During the fourth Crusade in 1204 CE (Arnott 73), the city was sacked in a bloody clash between the Venetian Roman Catholics and the Byzantine Eastern Orthodox Christians (Sherrard 165, Strayer 474). These Venetian Crusaders were motivated by (among other reasons) their vision of the wealth to be found in the city, and the “economic advantages” to be obtained by the conquest of Constantinople (Sherrard 165). The result was utter devastation for the city, and ruin and looting for its buildings and many of the art pieces that had survived the Iconoclast

controversy (Sherrard 165, Strayer 474). Indeed, it was during this Crusade that the gilded bronze Greek horses, which had stood in the city since the days of old Byzantium, were taken to Western Europe (Arnott 73, Sherrard 23); and this served as yet another example of the vision of the city extending to other cultures. The city recovered from the sack, but then a series of civil wars in the 14<sup>th</sup> century created a state of chaos (Inman 21-24). Several emperors and royal families alternately displaced each other; and while the political squabbles for the throne were being fought, the unity of the city and the empire faded (Inman 21-24).

It was around this time that Turkic-speaking peoples came south from central Asia, picked up the Islamic religion in what is today the Middle East (Strayer 361), and continued up into Anatolia (Strayer 430). The culture and language of these people eventually dominated Anatolia, creating yet another link between modern-day Turkey and Asia; indeed, the word for “grape” in Turkish, *üzüm*, is the same as the word used by ethnically Turkic-speaking people in western China, known as Uighurs (Figueiredo). Consolidating under Osman in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, they founded the Ottoman Empire in northeastern Anatolia (Imber 3) and promptly began seizing all the Byzantine lands (Imber 4). Since most of the populace was Muslim by this time as opposed to the former Christian majority (Imber 4), the overtaking of the lands occurred over a series of short decades, until before long all that remained of the once great Byzantine empire were a few small outposts, and Constantinople itself (Inman 23). On May 29, 1453, the city finally fell to Mehmed II, “the Conqueror” (Leroux 93, Imber 26, Inman 24).

### **The Integrated Vision: Byzantine and Ottoman Culture**

Although Mehmed II brought with him his Muslim faith, and promptly established an Islamic government with shari'ah courts in each province of the empire (Barkey 11, 12), he was awed and impressed by the sheer marvel that was the city of Constantinople (Leroux 100), which stood as a testament to the wonders of Greece, Rome, and Byzantine Christianity (Inman 24). He renamed the city Istanbul, and, inspired by the already astounding architecture and artistic achievements, sought to raise it to even greater heights of glory (Inman 24, Leroux 100) to suit his own vision of the grand capital of his Ottoman Empire. Mehmed had (both officially and unofficially) become the ultimate religious leader of the city, with his fellow Muslims hailing him as a prophesied hero from the Quran, the Greek Orthodox Christians subordinate to the lackey he had appointed as Patriarch, and the entirety of the empire worshiping him as the conqueror of the last remnant of old Rome (Imber 26). The vision of imperial Rome still lingered and was transferred to the new rulers (Imber 26); thus, no one questioned Mehmed's decision or efforts to add to the city's already impressive wonders and establish gardens, mosques, agoras, fountains, manuscript workshops and libraries (Inman 24, Imber 133, Leroux 98), and transform his capital into a "city of the Book" (Leroux 100) for those who believed in the Old Testament.

Thus, the artistic, intellectual, and architectural achievements of Byzantine Christian Constantinople were viewed with awe and rapture by the Ottomans (Imber 133). The grand palaces and churches, such as the Hagia Sophia, were converted to mosques (Leroux 94); the paintings and icons, once viewed as heretical by the iconoclasts who had destroyed many of them (Strayer 508), were accepted by the Muslims, who saw them as yet another form of glorifying God. Indeed, since the

religious art of the Byzantine Christians had been created in the same style as Islamic art, with the emphasis on the divine and the imparting of virtuous themes and messages and stories, the Ottomans retained the paintings and mosaics even within the very churches they converted to mosques (such as the Hagia Sophia, to which the Ottomans also added Arabic inscriptions of the Islamic names of God) (Ayyildiz 39). The vibrant, brilliant culture of Constantinople was not destroyed by the Ottomans; on the contrary, it was assimilated into the new Ottoman culture of Istanbul, and further developed and taken in new directions by the Muslims (Leroux 100-101).

Islam already carried with it a heavy emphasis on literacy, since its members must necessarily read the Quran in the original Arabic (Burke 178) and draw up contracts for marriage and shari'ah law (Barkey 12). The flourishing of culture also prompted the creation of multiple illustration workshops for the painting of religious Islamic art, such as the one featured in Pamuk's *My Name is Red*. Thus, with the new emergence of libraries and workshops (Inman 24, Leroux 101) and Muslim majority of the populace (Imber 4), literacy and culture spread throughout the city (Burke 178). It was a major factor in the unity and cooperation between peoples of all three monotheistic traditions (Burke 178), and provided a new medium of communication and exchange of ideas (Burke 176).

However, the primary reason for the extraordinary tolerance between the peoples of all races, cultures and beliefs in Istanbul was the government itself (Barkey 14). Although the Ottoman Empire claimed Islam as its state religion (Inman 23), and mandated that its subjects respect the religion and do nothing to publicly violate any of its tenets, it was nonintrusive of the religious lives and beliefs on non-Muslim citizens

(Barkey 16). Since the city's very location as a port with easy access to the Mediterranean ensured a plethora of various peoples and cultures and sharing of ideas and worldviews, and indeed, had since the bygone days of the old colony of Byzantium, (Leroux 98), the government necessarily had to accommodate the diversity of its subjects (Barkey 16). This resulted in a mixing of peoples of all the monotheistic traditions, with Christians and Jews and Muslims alike sharing the same religious buildings for worship (Barkey 13), exchanging notions and concepts in the libraries (Burke 178, 180), and cooperating as a cohesive unit (Barkey 16).

And yet, despite the tolerance and cooperation, Christians and Jews were considered legally inferior to Muslims, to the extent that riding horses and building taller houses than Muslims (Barkey 16) and even carrying swords (Strayer 431) were forbidden for them. Non-Muslims were dubbed *dhimmi*s (people of the book) (Strayer 420), and they were required to pay a *jizya* tax (Strayer 421). In addition, social mobility itself was significantly easier for Muslims (Strayer 421), as they could rise to positions of higher power within the state. Even in the routines of daily life, *dhimmi*s had to make gestures of deference to Muslims, such as making way for them to pass on the street (Barkey 16). The Ottomans may have accepted and been inspired by Christian art, and welcomed non-Muslims into their empire; but they also imposed their vision of a hierarchy of belief, with Islam at the top and all other religions subordinate to it (Barkey 16).

### **Vienna and Istanbul: Mozart's Vision**

The Ottomans made two attempts to conquer the city of Vienna, in 1529 and in 1683 (Strayer 646). Every time they went to war, their Janissary band played music

(Strayer 578) to instill fear in the hearts of their enemies (Bowles 532), and the strains of the music from the Janissary bands would linger in the minds of those who heard it (Bowles 538). The Ottomans failed both times to claim the city of Vienna (Strayer 646), but the music of the Janissary bands remained in memory (Bowles 538, Cantrell 42) as a testament to the “terror of the Turk” (Strayer 646).

Centuries later, in 1782, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart penned an opera entitled “The Abduction from the Seraglio,” in which the female love interest of the protagonist is kidnapped from Venice and taken to a Turkish harem (NPR). In order to portray the fantastic imagining of the European vision of the Turks (Cantrell 42), Mozart used the instruments and strains of music from the Janissary band that had persisted in Europe for so long as a reminder of the Ottoman sieges (Bowles, Cantrell 42). Thus, Mozart’s usage of “Janissary music” served as a testament to the ways in which the visions of Istanbul (in this instance, through music) extended not only to different locations, but lingered through the centuries to shape the visions of future generations (Bowles, Cantrell 42).

### **Conclusion**

The world of Pamuk’s novel is one that contains a great deal of conflict, strife, and unrest even in this city that had endured through the centuries by embracing the visions of many different peoples and cultures who passed through and stayed. An artist is murdered for fear of government retribution; a tavern storyteller is killed for allegedly corrupting minds with his poignant tales; and through all the intrigue and scandal, a Jewish merchant woman peddles her wares in a society which is friendly toward her, but prevents her from rising any higher. It does not contradict the historical

record; rather, it compliments and provides a detailed basis for the broader view of Istanbul's culture. The influence of thousands of years of Greek, Roman, Byzantine Christian, and hundreds of other traditions which had passed through from all over the world lingered in Istanbul's culture, forming and shaping it into the world of strange cooperation and artistic genius portrayed in the novel. The city of Pamuk's world is the product of myriad visions which created its history, and fashioned it into the strange and wondrous place depicted in *My Name is Red*.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Copper is perhaps the most widespread heavy metal used in the industries, from food additives to metal-mechanic factories. Conventional techniques eliminate copper at high costs and generate side-products that need to be taken care of. This work suggests the use of a raw material such as chai teabags (CT) and alginate beads (AB) as candidates for the removal of copper from solutions. Batch experiments were carried out to maximize the adsorption of copper (II) ions. Effects such as acidity, salinity, adsorbent dose, metal concentration, crowding, time, presence of organic molecules and other heavy metals and desorption were explored. Experimental data shows that the maximum adsorption is reached at pH 5 for AB and 6 for CT. The maximum adsorption of copper on CT is achieved with 150mg and decreases with the presence of salts, crowding agents, organic molecules and other heavy metals. Conversely, AB presents a higher adsorption under the same conditions. Isotherm modeling according to the theories of Langmuir, Freundlich, Dubinin-Radushkevich and Temkin indicate that AB is able to adsorb up to 80 mg of copper ions per gram of adsorbent, whereas CT only adsorbs 16 mg of the metal per gram. Desorption experiments propose mild acidic conditions to recover the metal and reuse the adsorbent in consecutive cycles. Finally, instrumental and classical analysis were used to determine the specific surface area, thermogravimetric analysis, and scanning electron microscopy indicating that both adsorbents are promising cost-efficient materials for the selective recovery and treatment of metal ions from wastewaters.

Keywords: Alginate beads, Chai Tea, Copper (II), Adsorption, Isotherm, Equilibrium.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Heavy metals pose invisible, yet viable, threat to environment and human health as they easily accumulate in the body of organisms and transfer to other organisms through the food chain. They are hazardous especially because they are non-degradable by any method regardless of their chemical composition. In the past few decades, human activity has drastically changed the degree of accumulation of heavy metals in aqueous systems [1]. In sea water, the threat of heavy metals has been be inconspicuous because of their negligible concentration, but human activity is changing the circumstance by rapidly increasing their concentration. For instance, the difference in the concentration of lead in polluted and unpolluted regions reaches up to twenty-times that of the latter due to human influence [2]. While some types of heavy metals such as iron and zinc are clearly essential and almost non-toxic and others such as cadmium and lead are known for their extreme toxicity. Most of heavy metals lay somewhere in the middle of the spectrum and their toxicity is determined by their concentration [3].

Copper, along with lead, mercury and chromium, is classified as a heavy metal. It is also one of the most widely available and extensively controlled materials in public water supplies. Because of its wide availability, it easily gets into aqueous systems through the wearing away of plumbing systems (pipes, wires, etc) and natural deposits [4]. Although a small amount of copper of around thousand micrograms per day [5] is necessary for people's health, an excess of copper can induce adverse health effects, such as nausea, diarrhea, vomiting, and stomach cramps [6]. Because of its damaging health effects, the EPA has set a regulation for the MCLG (maximum contaminant level goals) for copper in drinking water to be 1.3 ppm [4].

For many years, numerous attempts have been made to remediate heavy metals from public water supplies. Some of the conventional methods that have been used are activated sludge, chemical precipitation, reverse osmosis, and ion exchange [7]. Although these methods have been proven to be effective in removing heavy metals from aqueous systems, they are often very expensive to be used to cleanse the entire water supply. An alternate method that can be used is bioremediation, in which a biological absorbent, composed of either living (bioaccumulation) or a recently living organism (biosorption), is used to passively uptake materials in water [8,9]. Biosorption shares very similar fundamental basis with ion exchange in a sense that the two methods both are reversible and utilize solid particles that contain ions that exchange themselves for ions in water [7]. Alginate gel bead (AB) is a type of biosorbent that is constantly growing in popularity. They are made of alginate, which is a polysaccharide that is mainly generated by brown algae<sup>10</sup>. Alginate is chemically composed of block-wise pattern of G-blocks ( $\alpha$ -L-guluronic acid) and M-blocks ( $\beta$ -D-mannuronic acid) in a random sequence [10]. Because of alginate's negative charge as a polymer, it is viscous and can be forged into a gel; using this property, alginate gel beads can be formed by encapsulating calcium ions, which are very low toxic, with alginate [11].

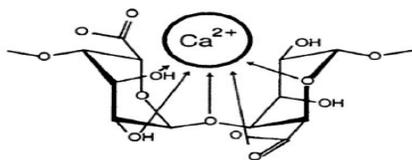


Figure 1: Chemical interaction of calcium and alginate to create alginate bead [11]

The comparison of alginate beads (AB) with chai tea leaves (CT) for the adsorption of divalent copper tested under the same experimental conditions. Chai tea leaf (CT) is a type of biosorbent that is commonly found in everyday life, as it is sold in stores and is

available in households for consumption. In contrast to its wide availability and low cost, it has the potential to behave as a distinguished adsorbent. As a biosorbent, any leaf is formed by polysaccharides such as cellulose which constitutes one of the most abundant biopolymers in nature. The presence of poly alcohols, amines, carboxyl groups and other functional groups are potential adsorption sites of contaminants.

The goal of this project envisions the adsorption comparison of two biopolymers a raw material such as spent chai tea and a more elaborated, yet low-cost, adsorbent such as alginate beads that derives from inexpensive marine algae.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

### *2.1 Reagents and Solutions*

Stock solution of copper (II) ions (1000 ppm) was prepared by dissolving  $\text{Cu}(\text{NO}_3)_2 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O}$  (reagent grade, Fisher Scientific) in deionized water. By diluting the stock solution in water, copper solutions of various concentrations were prepared. After obtaining desired concentrations, the solutions were adjusted to desired pH values using a pH-meter (Accumet AB, Fisher Scientific) and titrated with 0.1 M NaOH and 0.1 M HCl solutions, prior to the contact with the adsorbent.

### *2.2 Preparation of the Chai Tea Leaves (CT)*

Commercially available chai teabags were purchased from a local market. Teabags were soaked in boiling hot water to eliminate residues of color, smell and taste. Final rinses were done with distilled boiling water to remove the presence of ions such as sodium and chloride. Teabags were then taken into an oven at no more than 60°C for overnight drying. Next day, teabags were cut open, crushed and stored in plastic containers until their use in adsorption experiments and characterization.

### *2.3 Preparation of the Alginate Gel Beads (AB)*

To produce alginate gel beads, sodium alginate and calcium chloride (reagent grade, Fisher Scientific) solutions had to be prepared. Alginate solution was made by dissolving 4.5 grams of sodium alginate in 150ml of deionized water on a hot plate at 60°C under magnetic stirring. Throughout the dissolution, more deionized water was added to end up with 200ml of alginate solution. A calcium chloride (CaCl<sub>2</sub>) solution was prepared by dissolving 33.3g of calcium chloride in 1.5L of deionized water with a stirring magnet. Later, the alginate solution was put into calcium chloride solution drop wise using a peristaltic pump to produce the alginate beads. (Figure 1) Throughout this process, a stirring magnet continuously agitated the calcium chloride to prevent the cluttering of immature alginate beads. Once all the alginate beads have been prepared, they were exhaustively rinsed with distilled water. Finally, alginate gel beads were suspended in distilled water in a glass bottle and stored in the refrigerator at 4°C.

### *2.4 Mass Ratio of the Alginate Gel Beads*

Prior adsorption experiments, the wet/dry mass ratio of alginate beads had to be obtained. To do so, the masses of the wet beads were recorded and then placed in an oven overnight at 60°C for drying. The masses of the dry beads were taken and compared to those of the wet beads. A calibration curve was constructed and a linear equation correlated the wet and dry masses.

### *2.5 Adsorption Experiments*

Batch experiments were carried out at room temperature by mixing variable masses of CT and AB with known concentrations of copper (II) solutions at adjusted initial pH in 50mL tubes. The mass of the adsorbent, the concentration of copper solution, and the pH level of the solution were determined by experiments. The suspensions were then put in incubator shaker (New Brunswick Scientific Model C24) to be kept under orbital agitation at 250 ppm for 24 hours. Copper adsorption by both adsorbents was obtained by comparison of the initial of final copper concentrations after the adsorption. Copper concentrations were determined by UV-vis spectrophotometry using the zincon method at 600nm wavelength [12]. A blue-colored complex is produced by mixing the copper

solutions with an equimolar number of moles of zincon (analytical grade, Sigma-aldrich) at pH 5. These analyses were carried out using an automatized microplate reader (Synergy4, Biotek).

#### *2.5.1 Effect of Initial solution pH*

Copper solutions of 50mL and 50 ppm were titrated so that their initial pH levels reached whole values between 2 and 7. Each solution was separately mixed with 25mg of alginate beads and 50mg of chai tealeaves.

#### *2.5.2 Effect of Mass of the Adsorbent*

Using the optimum pH level determined from the previous experiment, variable masses of AB and CT were mixed with 50ppm copper solution. The dry mass of AB ranged from 25mg to 200mg. The mass of CT ranged from 10mg to 200mg.

#### *2.5.3 Effect of Concentration of the Copper Solution*

The optimum pH level and the optimum mass of the adsorbent were applied in this experiment. Varying concentrations of Cu (II) solution, ranging from 40ppm to 250 ppm were added to the alginate beads and chai tea leaves.

#### *2.5.4 Effect of Salt Present in the Solution*

Taking into account the optimum pH level, mass of adsorbent, and concentration of copper, three different types of salt with varying concentration were mixed with the copper solution to observe the effect of salinity in adsorption. NaCl, NaNO<sub>3</sub> and Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub> were added to the solution in concentrations ranging from 25mM to 100mM. The solutions containing copper and salt were then mixed with the adsorbents.

#### *2.5.5 Effect of Crowding, Presence of other Heavy Metal and Artificial Dye*

In order to reflect a more realistic condition of public water supply, the influence of other materials in water on the uptake of copper was explored. Upholding the optimum values for adsorption, a crowding agent called Ficoll 400 (reagent grade, Sigma-Aldrich) was added to the copper solution. The concentration of Ficoll ranged from 1% to 8% of the solution. Likewise, the presence of other contaminants like lead (II) ions and an artificial

dye, Basic Yellow 57 (BY57), were also added in separate experiments to study their effect on the adsorption and selectivity of the adsorbents towards copper (II).

### 2.6 Desorption Experiments

Desorption experiments were carried out to explore the possibility of recycling the adsorbents through extracting copper from them. The optimum masses of copper containing adsorbents were collected in test tubes and submerged in solutions of H<sub>2</sub>O, 0.1 M HCl, 0.1 M NaOH, 0.1 M NaCl, 0.1M Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub>, 30%v/v EtOH, and 30%v/v Acetone. The samples were placed in an temperature-controlled shaker at 250rpm for 24 hours. These samples were also measured using the zincon method at 600nm wavelength.

### 2.7 Data Analysis

The amount of adsorbed copper on alginate beads and chai tealeaves was expressed as Adsorption Capacity (*q*, mg of copper per gram of dry adsorbent) and calculated as shown in Equation (1):

$$q = \frac{(C_i - C_{eq}) * V}{m} \quad q = \frac{(C_i - C_{eq}) * V}{m} \quad (1)$$

where *C<sub>i</sub>* and *C<sub>eq</sub>* are the initial and final concentrations of copper (II) ions in mg/L, respectively. *V* represents the volume of treated solution in L and *m* is the mass of the dry adsorbents.

An alternative adsorption indicator is Adsorption Percentage (%ADS) and Desorption Percentage (%DES). Final and initial copper (II) concentrations are compared and expressed as a percentage as displayed in Equation (2):

$$\%ADS = \frac{(C_i - C_{eq}) * 100}{C_i} \quad \%ADS = \frac{(C_i - C_{eq}) * 100}{C_i} \quad (2)$$

### 2.8 Characterization of the Adsorbents

The specific surface area and porosities of both adsorbents were measured using the combined approaches of the methylene blue and iodine numbers. This method is commonly used in highly porous adsorbents (i.e. activated carbon) [13].

Thermal stability of CT and presence of volatile impurities were analyzed by thermogravimetric studies using a STA 1600 analyzer (Linseis) at a heating rate of 5°C/min up to 600°C.

Finally, a Tabletop Scanning Electron Microscope (TEM3000, Hitachi) was selected to elucidate the surface texture and morphology of the adsorbents. No gold coating was needed to observe the surfaces.

### **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### *3.1. Characterization of the Adsorbents*

Surface area and porosity experiments were carried out for both adsorbents. The surface area uses the symmetry of methylene blue for its adsorption and the monolayer saturation of the material's surface. On the other hand, iodine number takes advantage of the molecular iodine adsorption to determine the pore volume of the adsorbents. For our purposes, these methods are convenient, as they resemble the real appearance of the adsorbent in the wet state. An alternative method includes the adsorption of nitrogen gas (BET method) but it is done in dry conditions. As our adsorbents swell in solution, the methylene blue and iodine methods are the most appropriate. The results indicate that AB and CT have a surface area of 228 and 231m<sup>2</sup>/g, respectively. Both adsorbents report a very similar surface area, but still smaller than activated carbon (in the range of 200 - 2000m<sup>2</sup>/g) [13]. It is important to consider that AB contains a larger intraparticle surface area that cannot be observed by these methods. The Total Pore Volumes for AB and CT were also determined and resulted on 0.14 and 0.53cm<sup>3</sup>/g, respectively. These values can be compared to activated carbon, which reports volumes around 0.2 and 1cm<sup>3</sup>/g. As expected, AB shows a smaller pore volume due to its high porosity and the formation of the egg-box [14].

Figure 2: Thermogravimetric analysis of CT adsorbent

Thermogravimetric analysis was also carried out to CT sample. This analysis was done to determine the thermal stability and presence of volatile compounds on the adsorbent. Figure 2 shows the TGA for CT. From the results, it can be observed that an initial water loss is produced up to 100°C. Then, the adsorbent is stable up to 250°C where starts decreasing in mass, losing up to 12% at 550°C. These results are in agree with the biological nature of CT, formed basically by leaves and organic compounds that decompose at relatively high temperatures. However, it is important that CT shows thermal stability up to 250°C. Other adsorbents, such as marine algae display lower stability, losing around 10% mass at the same temperature [15]. Due to the high water content of the beads, AB was not studied by TGA. We expected a large water loss that could hide important thermal data.

Finally, Scanning Electron Microscopy was utilized to explore the texture and morphology of the adsorbents AB and CT. Figure 3 shows different views and zooms of both adsorbents. As expected, AB displays a very smooth surface with small hills. We suspect that those valleys are formed during the gelification process and belong to the pore formation for intraparticle diffusion. Conversely, CT presents a completely different surface, very heterogeneous. This agrees with the vegetal origin of CT. Fibers, pores and vessels can be observed on the surface. It is believed that these pores and rough surface are optimum for housing contaminants and preventing their disengagement from the adsorption sites.

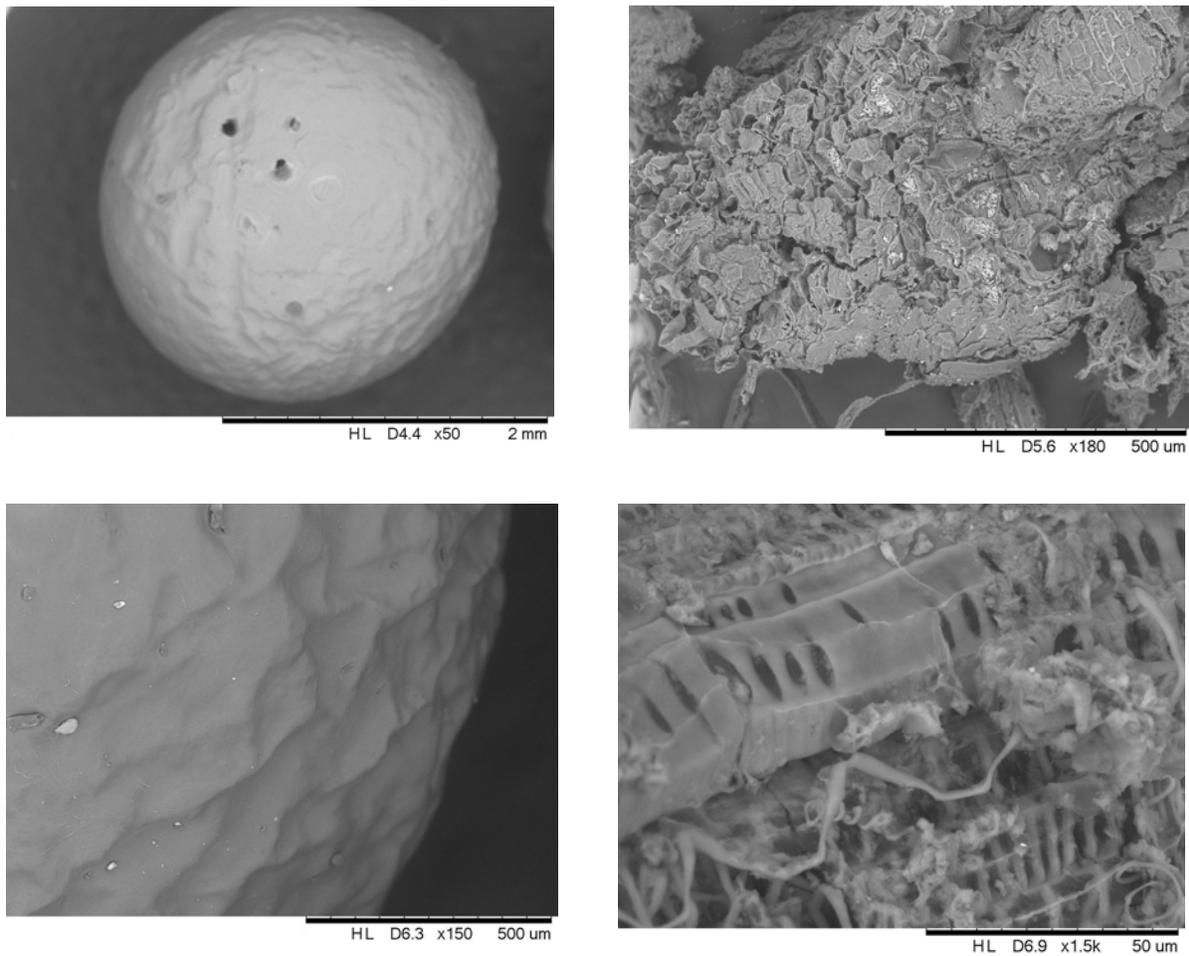


Figure 3: Scanning Electron Micrographs of AB (left top and bottom) and CT (right top and bottom) and different zooms.

### 3.2 Effect of the pH

The presence of different species of an ionizable substance in solution is directly attached to the pH of a solution. This is the case of metal ions such as copper. Heavy metals have the properties of forming complex ions with water molecule or hydroxyl ions depending on their solution availability. This availability is associated with the pH [16]. The adsorbents also possess ionizable groups, mainly weak acids and bases such as carboxyl, amine and sulfonic groups. The charge of these groups also depends strongly

on the pH. The pH dependence of the adsorption of copper was explored at different initial pH. As observed in Figure 4, the adsorption of copper (II) ions increases with the pH for both adsorbents. At this point, we can also observe the higher adsorption of AB compared to CT. We believe this difference is due to the number of active sites on these adsorbents. AB is entirely made of polyalginic acid, which has demonstrated a high affinity towards pollutants [16]. In the case of CT, the presence of other structures and organic functionalities such as lignin, inactive polysaccharides, proteins and other structures compounds might decrease the adsorption capacity of CT.

Figure 4 also shows the low adsorption of copper ions at low pH. This could be explained by the competition of active sites at higher hydronium ions concentration. These  $H_3O^+$  ions are smaller and easily adsorbed even in very small cavities. They are also harder acids and therefore better adsorbates compared to larger ions like heavy metals. A maximum adsorption at pH 5 and 6 was determined for AB and CT, respectively. Solutions, at pH values higher than 7, were not studied due to the precipitation of copper hydroxide,  $Cu(OH)_2$ .

The adsorption, at slightly acidic values, can be explained by the chemical properties of the adsorbents. AB is formed by alginic acid which has a  $pK_a$  value around 3 [16]. This means that at pH higher than 3, the surface of AB is negatively charged. This negative charge can potentially undergo electrostatic interactions with the copper (II) cations. CT leaves should also possess ionizable groups, as the adsorption with the pH. Most of the ligno-cellulosic materials contain high content of modified cellulose. Amongst them, carboxylic acid and aminoacids are the most important. These groups are also readily ionizable and able to interact with cations by electrostatic forces.

Figure 4: Effect of the initial solution pH on the adsorption of Copper (II) ions on AB and CT

### 3.3 Effect of Adsorbent Mass

Figure 5 shows the mass effect of both adsorbents on the adsorption of Cu(II) ions. As observed in the graph, the adsorption increases with the adsorbent dose. However, after a given mass, the adsorption remains stable. The results indicate that 75mg of dry AB and 150mg of CT are the minimum masses of adsorbents that maximize the adsorption of divalent copper. Addition of more adsorbent does not cause substantial increments in the removal of the metal. It might sound contradictory, because it is reasonable that more adsorbent would remove more pollutant. Other researches have also observed this problem [17,18]. They mention that the formation of adsorbent aggregates could be preventing the removal of more pollutant. The proximity of adsorbent particles creates aggregates and therefore reduction of the active surface area for the adsorption. It is important to mention that adsorption of divalent copper on CT has a stronger dependence on mass, compared to AB. The alginate beads adsorb the metal in a constant manner. However CT multiplies by five its adsorption at higher masses. This corroborates the heterogeneity of CT, as the adsorption sites are not too close each other, the increase in mass causes a higher adsorption. In the case of AB, the higher population of alginates promotes repulsion at higher masses.

Figure 5: Effect of the adsorbent mass on the adsorption of Copper (II) ions on AB and CT

### 3.4 Effect of Copper(II) Concentration and Isotherm Models

Biosorption data of single-metal systems are usually fitted by various mathematical theories. These theories are purely empirical, derived from adsorption models and originally developed for different systems on the base of assumptions that are quite simplistic for biological cases. These models have been widely applied since they are simple, give a good description of experimental data in a large range of fixed operating conditions, and are characterized by a limited number of adjustable parameters. These parameters have a physical meaning and predict the adsorption in ideal and equilibrium conditions. Another advantage of these models is the simple mathematical treatment to process the data with the linearization of the equations. The isotherms for both adsorbents at room temperature are shown in Figure 6. The results indicate saturation curves with leveled off adsorptions at high metal concentrations. The adsorption by AB is greatly higher than CT (more than 3-fold), however CT reaches saturation at lower concentrations of copper(II). Isotherm models of Langmuir, Freundlich, Dubinin-Radushkevich and Temkin were fitted to these experimental results. Important equilibrium parameters were obtained to describe and predict the optimum conditions of the process as well as some thermodynamic data. The statistics software Origin v8.0 was utilized to do the simulations and fitting. Linear regression was used for these models.  $R^2$  Correlation coefficients and p-values demonstrate the statistical validity.

Figure 6: Effect of the Initial Copper(II) concentration on the adsorption of Copper (II) ions on AB and CT

Langmuir theory assumes uniform adsorption energy on the surface of the adsorbents, where the interactions of adsorbed particles are restricted. The equation of the Langmuir Isotherm is calculated as follows (Equation 3):

$$q = \frac{q_{max} \times b \times C_{eq}}{1 + b \times C_{eq}} \quad (3)$$

where  $q_{max}$  (mg/g) and  $b$  (L/mg) are the Langmuir constants related to the maximum adsorption capacity and to the adsorption energy, respectively. The constant  $q_{max}$  represents the total number of available adsorption sites for an adsorbent. For instance a high  $q_{max}$  indicates the maximum adsorption that can be attained by a given adsorbent. The constant  $b$  is crucial for the comparison of adsorption efficiency between two different adsorbents under the same experimental conditions. The higher the  $b$  constant, the fastest the equilibrium is reached by an adsorbent. This implies a high adsorbent/metal affinity and therefore more efficient. An ideal adsorbent should have the combination of a high  $q_{max}$  and also a high  $b$  value. The corresponding calculated Langmuir constants  $q_{max}$  and  $b$  are shown in Table 1. Linearization and fitting of the results indicate a maximum adsorption capacity of 79.9 and 16.3 mg/g for AB and CT, respectively. These results agree with the abundance of alginate groups in AB that have a good affinity towards divalent ions. However,  $b$  constant shows a higher adsorbent/metal affinity for CT. Other adsorbents like marine seaweed show  $q_{max}$  between 42 and 62 mg/g under similar experimental conditions [17]. Therefore, AB demonstrates to be a better adsorbent than raw materials like seaweeds. CT presents a relatively lower adsorption capacity due to the presence of other inactive biomaterials. However, it shows an interesting adsorption, considering the low cost of its preparation.

Table 1: Equilibrium constants and Parameters for the Adsorption of Cu(II) ions onto AB and CT

Adsorption Isotherm	Parameters	AB	CT
<b>Langmuir</b>	$q_{\max}$ (mg/g)	79.87	16.28
	b (L/mg)	0.0162	0.045
	p-value	< 0.0001	< 0.0001
	$R^2$	0.984	0.930
<b>Freundlich</b>	$k_F$ (L/g)	2.045	3.142
	N	1.349	3.199
	p-value	0.00062	< 0.0001
	$R^2$	0.959	0.982
<b>Dubinin-Radushkevich</b>	$q_{DR}$ (mg/g)	46.84	14.59
	$B \times 10^{-4}$ (mol <sup>2</sup> .J <sup>2</sup> )	0.235	0.892
	E (J/mol)	146	75
	p-value	< 0.0001	0.00186
	$R^2$	0.969	0.823
<b>Temkin</b>	$a_T$	0.291	0.406
	$b_T \times 10^{-4}$ (J/mol)	0.312	1.104
	p-value	0.00055	< 0.0001
	$R^2$	0.924	0.987

Adsorption of Cu(II) was also fitted with the Freundlich equation, expressed in Equation (4):

$$q = k_F \times C_{e,q}^{1/n} \quad (4)$$

where  $k_F$  and  $1/n$  are the Freundlich constants related to the adsorption capacity and the adsorption intensity, respectively. The calculated Freundlich constants are also shown in Table 1. AB and CT have  $k_F$  values of 2 and 3, respectively. This parameter and the  $n$  value indicate the more favorable adsorption of Cu(II) onto CT compared to AB. Dubinin-Radushkevich (D-R) and Temkin isotherms are other models that are commonly used in biosorption. The importance of D-R isotherm resides on the determination of the Energy of Adsorption (E). AB and CT report E values of 146 and 75 J/mol. These adsorption energies are associated with weak attraction forces, such as Van der Waals, hydrogen bonding and dipole-dipole interactions. This is understandable, since the main component of alginate and chai tealeaves are structural polysaccharides, like cellulose and polyhydroxylated carbohydrates. This energy also describes the small importance of negatively charge alginates on the adsorption of divalent copper. The adsorption is mainly driven by molecular and no electrostatic forces.

Temkin model takes into account indirect adsorbate-adsorbate interactions on adsorption isotherms. This model reports a higher binding constant of CT compared to AB. On the other hand, the  $b_T$  constant confirms the weakness of the adsorbate/adsorbent interaction for both adsorbents.

### *3.5 Effect of Salt Presence in the Solution*

Adsorption of ionic compounds like divalent copper is strongly affected by the electrostatic environment of the solutions. Charge screening could determine the inhibition of the adsorption by formation of undesired electrostatic interactions with external ions. In this experiment, salts like NaCl, NaNO<sub>3</sub> and Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub> were used to explore the effect of salinity on the adsorption. The relevance of this effect resides on the potential use of this adsorbent in high-salt solutions that are contaminated with copper ions (i.e. seawater). Figure 7 shows the effect of salinity of the adsorption of copper (II) ions. From the results, all the salts used in this experiment had a negative effect on the adsorption of divalent

copper for both adsorbents. The charge screening for both, anions and cations, plays an important role on the adsorption. However, important differences can be observed with the salts. AB shows a small negative effect with NaCl and NaNO<sub>3</sub>, whereas a drastic decrease in adsorption with Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub>. This can be explained by the presence of Ca(II) ions. These ions are responsible for the egg-box formation and gelification of alginic acid.

Figure 7: Effect of the Salt Presence on the adsorption of Copper (II) ions on AB (left) and CT (right).

Alginic acid has a strong affinity towards calcium ions and therefore will prefer this ion in the presence of other divalent cations. Therefore, copper (II) can be displaced by Ca(II) and the adsorption decreases to almost zero. Conversely, CT is strongly affected by all salts. However, Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub> also inhibits the a zero value. It could be suspected that isoelectronic ions are better adsorbed with smaller atomic radii, due to the acid strength. Ca(II) is a stronger acid because it has a +2 charge in a smaller ionic volume. Copper (II) ions also have a +2 charge but in a larger ionic radii. This phenomenon, known as polarizability, is responsible for the higher Lewis acidity of calcium (II). For instance, Ca(NO<sub>3</sub>)<sub>2</sub> can be used as a good desorbing solution.

### *3.6 Effect of Crowding, Presence of other Heavy Metal and Artificial Dye*

In real conditions, adsorption is actually more difficult due to the presence of other compounds such as organic materials, particles in suspension, presence of other ions and other potential adsorbates that could be dissolved in the solution with the target pollutant (copper ions). In this experiment, copper (II) was placed in contact with other

substances like polysaccharides (Ficoll, a crowding agent), lead (II) ions and basic yellow 57 (hair dye). The results are displayed in Figures 8 and 9. The crowding effect shows a divergent effect on AB and CT. CT, as expected was negatively affected by the presence of Ficoll. The purpose of Ficoll is to prevent the approach of the pollutant to the adsorption sites. Surprisingly, AB adsorbs more Cu(II) at increasing Ficoll concentrations. We believe this is due to the similarity of Ficoll (a polyhydroxylated compound) and alginate, also a polyhydroxylated compound. As there is no substantial difference between the structures AB and Ficoll, the adsorption is not decreased. CT has other components such as lignin, fibers and proteins that might be blocked by the crowding agent. Heavy metal and Artificial Dye presence also shows the same effect. It increases metal adsorption in AB and decreases in CT. In the case of CT, it can be understood as the competition of active sites between both Pb (II) and BY57 with Cu (II) ions. For BY57 and lead (II) ions, 25ppm is enough to inhibit the adsorption of copper onto CT. On the other hand, AB increases the copper adsorption with increasing concentrations of Pb (II) and BY57.

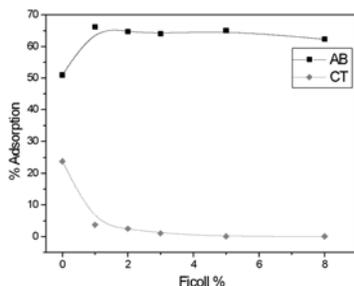


Figure 8: Effect of the Crowding Agent (left) and Presence of Heavy Metal (right) on the adsorption of Copper (II) ions.

A plausible explanation could be the structural modification of the alginate chains in the presence of these two substances. Considering that Pb (II) cannot displace Cu (II), lead does not compete with copper for the active sites. BY57 is also not a good competitor with copper as it is a molecular compound that interacts with alginate mainly by weaker polar forces. We can conclude that presence of BY57, lead or metal ions heavier than copper, do not affect the adsorption onto AB. Unfortunately, CT is adversely affected by

these species and therefore their presence should be avoided to maximize the adsorption at high levels.

### *3.7 Desorption of Cu (II) from AB and CT*

The alternative use of novel materials for the adsorption of pollutants cannot be complete if the adsorbent cannot be recycled. For this purpose, different solutions were mixed with copper-loaded adsorbents to study their desorbing capacities. These solutions were chosen based on their chemical properties and on their effect in previous experiments. Figure 9 (right) shows the results of this study. It can be observed that mild acidic conditions are the best conditions to recover the adsorbent. It is followed by  $\text{Ca}(\text{NO}_3)_2$ , as expected due to its inhibition properties according to the salt effect. The results indicate that diluted HCl can recover more than 80% of the copper from AB, showing a good recyclability of the adsorbent.

“Ce que tes yeux me disent”: Facets of the Gaze in *The Awakening*  
Diana Wu

Although *The Awakening* was published decades before theories of the gaze were developed in literary criticism, the gaze and the symbolism of eyes and vision are recurrent in Kate Chopin's work. In *The Awakening*, the gaze varies between passive and active, public and private, solitary and reciprocal, and inward or outward. Gazes range from the appropriative, to the intimate, to the speculative and reflective.

Analytically, Chopin's constructions of the gaze become particularly fascinating when several fundamental theories are incorporated. Major theories of the gaze proposed by Lacan, Foucault, and Mulvey have shaped a number of fields, including psychoanalysis, existentialist thought, feminist theory, and film criticism. Laura Herndl writes that almost “all literary critical discussions of the gaze” are theorized in terms of sexual, “Lacanian desire” or in terms of “Foucauldian surveillance” and power and control, and that “almost all feminist critical applications either use or respond to Laura Mulvey's[...]theorization of the gaze as both sexual and male” (260). The diverse gazes in *The Awakening* coincide with these theories to some extent; however, the gazes constructed deepen and expand as Chopin uses Edna's growth to subvert convention. Edna's gaze challenges societal customs and brings about her growth as an individual, but her suicide at the ending of the novel suggests an ultimate failure to reconcile her new vision with reality. By examining how the gaze functions and evolves in *The Awakening*, with a perspective grounded in prevailing theories of the gaze, one gains a more thorough understanding of how Edna Pontellier is at conflict with larger society, and how this contributes to her death.

To explore a variety of ways the gaze manifests itself, one need look no further than Edna Pontellier's marriage. In fact, the reader's very first impression of the Pontelliers as a couple is centered on a visual interaction, when Edna is introduced through the eyes of her husband. "He fixe[s] his gaze" upon Edna as she makes her way up the beach, and once she is near, surveys Edna critically. From the beginning, the way Mr. Pontellier looks at Edna is described as appraising and proprietary. "'You are burnt beyond recognition,' he added, looking at his wife as one looks at a valuable piece of personal property which has suffered some damage" (Chopin 1254). This manner of viewing both people and possessions in terms of their functional or aesthetic worth is evident throughout Mr. Pontellier's behavior throughout the text. Mr. Pontellier exhibits a nature consistent with Laura Mulvey's concept of scopophilia, a phenomenon in which "looking itself is a source of pleasure" (835).

Mr. Pontellier was very fond of walking about his house examining its various appointments and details, to see that nothing was amiss. He greatly valued his possessions, chiefly because they were his, and derived genuine pleasure from contemplating a painting, a statuette, a rare lace curtain—no matter what—after he had bought it and placed it among his household goods. (Chopin 1292)

Mr. Pontellier receives pleasure not only from viewing his material possessions, but also in his scrutiny of Edna, who, as a woman, serves as another mere possession. As a couple in the Creole society of the nineteenth century, the Pontelliers live in a world characterized by gender inequality, in which women are objectified for their sexual value or worth as social capital. This social structure fosters the scopophilic gaze, in which

people find an “erotic basis for pleasure in looking at another person as object”—with men typically acting as the viewer and women serving as object (Mulvey 835). Mulvey explains the concept of male gaze in these terms: “In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to [sic] the female figure which is styled accordingly” (837). The objectifying, scopophilic gaze Mr. Pontellier exhibits is associated with his position as a man with greater social, economic, and sexual power.

Just as he manages his household possessions, Mr. Pontellier oversees the people in his care with equal attention and sovereignty. Shortly after he comments on Edna’s sunburn, Mr. Pontellier goes to the room where his children sleep “to take a look at them and make sure that they were resting comfortably” (Chopin 1256-1257). However, Chopin tells us wryly, “[the] result of his investigation was far from satisfactory” (1257). Dissatisfied, Mr. Pontellier goes so far as to turn and shift the boys about in bed, disturbing their sleep. His inspection of his children is reminiscent of a vendor taking stock of his inventory. Here another aspect of Mr. Pontellier’s gaze becomes apparent: it assumes a right to oversee, to administer and control. It is proprietary and paternalistic. He takes a similar attitude towards those he employs as well, asserting that cooks, who are “only human”, and the clerks in his office, all “need looking after” or things will fall apart (1293).

In her analysis of the property system in which Edna exists, Margit Stange makes note of the fact that a person’s hands and eyes “serve [their] visual appropriation of the world” (879). For Mr. Pontellier, it is clear that his eyes serve as primary organs of appropriation, with which he is able to make appropriative visual assessments of his

possessions, Edna chief among them. The critical and controlling nature of Mr. Pontellier's gaze also hints at a broader societal phenomenon captured by the "gaze". In broad terms, Michael Foucault spoke of the gaze in terms of power and control, and how the gaze of those who rule becomes a tool to control subjugated groups:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorisation [sic] to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising [sic] this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be minimal cost (Foucault).

Thus, after Edna has begun her affair, even in Edna's imagination, Mr. Pontellier's disapproval is expressed in an optical sense: "There was her husband's reproach *looking at her* from external existence [emphasis added]" (Chopin 1319). Chopin's portrayal of societal standards and the internalization of social disapproval consistently embody the concept of Foucauldian surveillance. Every aspect of the gaze *The Awakening* associates with Mr. Pontellier is derived from his position as a man of property in a social system where women are also considered property, and as a man of power in a society where women have limited means to power.

While Edna's gaze in *The Awakening* takes on more forms than that of her husband, she also exhibits a similar proprietary gaze. Her appropriative survey at the beginning of the novel is initially similar to her husband's, and comes to suit her own growth and desires later on. In an opening passage, Edna mirrors her husband's gaze:

“She held up her hands, strong, shapely hands, and surveyed them critically” (Chopin 1254). Margit Stange also interprets Edna’s gaze in this scene as evaluative, “making an appropriative visual assessment of herself as a proprietary being” (879). Her hands, Stange argues, “serve her visual appropriation of the world and provide the first object of this appropriation: her own body” (879). Edna also takes a strong visual interest in the beauty and charm of Adèle Ratignolle, and observes her friend in a way that indicates an appreciation of Adèle’s material, proprietary value. “Mrs. Pontellier liked to sit and gaze at her fair companion as she might look upon a faultless Madonna” (Chopin 1261). Edna is captivated by Adèle’s features, figure, and her white, skillful hands, which are constantly engaged in a typical domestic task. Stange takes Edna’s “visual fascination” with Adèle’s hands and body as proof that “[t]he appropriative survey of the female body as a sign of male ownership continues to engage Edna” (880). Edna evaluates female beauty and physicality in the same way the male-dominated world does. While her gaze imitates the male gaze in objectification, she does not possess the power and control given to men. In this way, her conduct is consistent with Mulvey’s claim that in a patriarchal world where women have internalized the male perspective, the “female gaze” remains identical to the male gaze (Sassatelli 127).

As Edna eventually rejects the system in which she is objectified and must “belong to another than herself” (Chopin 1316), her use of the gaze shifts. Throughout the novel Edna experiences an increasing resistance to the property system underlined by appropriative, scopophilic, and male gazes. Her gaze evolves, changing the way she sees herself as an individual, a sexual being, and an artist, and changing the way Edna looks at the objects of her affection as well.

Edna is accustomed to the gaze's role in assessing the worth of women as possessions, and she uses it to survey Adèle and herself in physical terms. However, this examination leads Edna to view herself in a new way; beyond her physical and sexual worth, Edna becomes aware as a being with physical and sexual autonomy, and an identity of her own. A key passage shows how her gaze shifts, transforming her thinking as well: "She looked at her round arms as she held them straight up and rubbed them one after the other, observing closely, as if it were something she saw for the first time, the fine, firm quality and texture of her flesh" (Chopin 1281). Edna is becoming aware of how she is observed as an object, a revelation that corresponds to the Lacanian concept of gaze, which focuses not only on "*the act of looking*, but *the object of the act of looking* [original emphasis]" (Peters 46). The realization that her being is an object with an external appearance stimulates Edna's autonomy, and contradicts the absolute supremacy Mulvey attributes to the male gaze. Here Edna uses an evaluative gaze, like the male gaze, to assess her sensual being, but this process also awakens Edna's sensual self, her inner being that will eventually reject the property system in which Edna's sexuality is only an object of exchange.

The receptive and appraising aspect of the appropriative gaze also serves Edna in a new area of independence: her growth as an artist. As a painter, Edna's craft depends on her ability to evaluate aesthetics and the value that beauty carries. Edna's "visual fixation" on Adèle's beauty extends into extended efforts to capture her likeness: "She had long wished to try herself on Madame Ratignolle. Never had that lady seemed a more tempting subject than at that moment, seated there like some sensuous Madonna, with the gleam of the fading day enriching her splendid color" (1261). The

gaze helps Edna establish ownership rights over her art as property, which she exercises in a number of ways: she repeatedly examines it critically “for shortcomings and defects” (1295); she gives some paintings to Adèle as a gift (1296), and she eventually makes a living by selling her artwork (1316). Stange notes that when Edna crumbles a dissatisfactory sketch between her hands, she “enforces her proprietary rights in regard to the sketch” (881).

Another adaptation of the appropriative gaze arises as the novel progresses, when Edna begins to look at her loved one, Robert, with a possessive gaze. This gaze is not as evaluative or controlling as Mr. Pontellier’s proprietary gaze, and is infused with passion. Edna’s gaze is proprietary in a distinct way because for her there is “no greater bliss on earth than possession of the beloved one” (Chopin 1341). Edna’s gaze here carries Lacanian connotations of desire and again diverges from the “female gaze” theorized by Mulvey. Edna’s gaze fixates on Robert as an object of desire, inverting the male gaze, and includes a sense of erotic objectification. Her infatuation with Robert echoes her youthful passion for a framed picture of “the face and figure of a great tragedian” (Chopin 1266). For the young Edna, objectification and eroticism became conjoined, for she at times picked up the photo “and kissed the cold glass passionately” (1267). In another instance, after Edna has learned to swim, she rests in a hammock on the porch, exhausted by her epiphany. When Robert walks into the house, she “watch[es] his figure pass in and out of the strips of moonlight”, and watches his figure again as he walks away (Chopin 1276). Later at Madame Antoine’s, Edna awakens from her nap and “peeped out at [Robert] two or three times” through the bedroom window (Chopin 1282). Thus, the “erotic basis for pleasure in looking at another person

as object” of the male gaze, in which Edna has typically been the passive object, has been appropriated by Edna and turned upon the object of her feminine sexual desire. Edna’s glances are more secretive (as was her passion for the famous actor), however, showing that this subversion of the normal male gaze is antithetical to societal convention and must be concealed. Although Edna brings her new independence and sexual autonomy into the open once she has completely thrown off her “mantle of reserve” and professed her love for Robert, she is not able to find a way to integrate her awakened identity with the world around her.

Once passionate gazes like Edna’s become reciprocal, as in her relationships with Arabin and Robert, they serve a new role in conveying desire, establishing intimacy, and experiencing sensuality. This is clearly illustrated in a key scene in Edna’s affair with Arabin:

His eyes were very near[....]They continued silently to look into each other’s eyes. When he leaned forward and kissed her, she clasped his head, holding his lips to hers.

It was the first kiss of her life to which her nature had really responded. It was a flaming torch that kindled desire. (Chopin 1319)

The intimate and even erotic capability of the gaze between two people is captured in the repeated refrain: “*Ah! si tu savais!*” This melody arouses Edna’s emotions time and again. For Edna, it is inseparable from her memories of Robert, and stirs up her many longings: to see him; to establish the intimate connection between lovers the gaze facilitates; to possess him. In her atelier, the tune “moved her with recollections[....]A

subtle current of desire passed through her body, weakening her hold upon the brushes and making her eyes burn” (Chopin 1298). Victor sings the full, meaningful, lines at the dinner party: “Ah! si tu savais / Ce que tes yeux me dissent” (Chopin 1324). Here the lines that haunt Edna are revealed in their full meaning: “Ah! if you knew what your eyes say to me” (1324). The exchange of gazes between lovers is evocative and stirring, and plays a key role in Edna’s intimate relationships.

Differences in the circumstances of how these intimate gazes occur reflect significant changes in Edna throughout the novel. Earlier in *The Awakening*, the gazes Edna exchanges with the men in her life are platonic in nature, and involve less agency on her part. One example is at the very beginning, when Mr. Pontellier is surveying Edna, who is sitting on the step, from his higher seat on the porch, looking down at her both literally and in a metaphorical sense. At other times, often when Edna is walking with Robert or Arobin, they look down into Edna’s face, as in the scene when Edna feels faint and leaves Sunday mass: “He [Robert] took her arm and led her away, looking anxiously and continuously down into her face” (Chopin 1281). However, towards the novel’s end, in two significant scenes that parallel each other, Edna is placed at a higher vantage, and a man is looking up at Edna instead. The first occurs when Victor sings and upsets Edna at the dinner party:

“Oh! you mustn’t! you mustn’t!,” exclaimed Edna, and[... ]got up, and going behind him [Victor] placed her hand over his mouth. He kissed the soft palm that pressed upon his lips.

“No, no, I won’t, Mrs. Pontellier. I didn’t know you meant it,”  
looking up at her with caressing eyes. The touch of his lips was like  
a pleasing sting to her hand. (Chopin 1324)

The second is the climactic scene in which Edna and Robert profess their love:

Then she [Edna] went across the room to where he sat. She bent  
over the arm of his chair and called his name.

“Robert,” she said, “are you asleep?”

“No,” he answered, looking up at her.

She leaned over and kissed him—a soft, cool, delicate kiss,  
whose voluptuous sting penetrated his whole being (Chopin 1337)

The shift in the gaze’s orientation, and how Edna stands in relation to the men in these scenes, is notable; it reflects a change in Edna’s autonomy in matters of her identity and sexuality. Although the kiss in each scene is described nearly identically, each a sensually pleasurable “sting”, again there is a difference in agency, as Edna is the one to bestow the kiss in the second case, and Robert is the one to feel the sensual “sting”. So far several key changes in Edna’s gaze and identity have been distinguished. In her relationships, Edna exhibits and subverts conventional uses of the proprietary gaze, the gaze of Lacanian desire, the scopophilic and male gaze; and she adopts a greater sense of artistic, economic, societal, and sexual independence. However, the larger gaze between Edna and society, which is described by Foucauldian surveillance, remains static, for the balance of power has not shifted along with Edna.

Thus far the gazes discussed have been ones directed outward; gazes that observe, survey, evaluate, and judge; gazes that desire and convey love. Although the

male gaze and Foucauldian surveillance can be internalized, the theories of Lacan, Foucault, and Mulvey consist of external gazes as well. However, Edna is also marked by a reflective nature. An early description of her suggests this: “Mrs. Pontellier’s eyes were quick and bright[....]She had a way of turning them swiftly upon an object and holding them there as if lost in some inward maze of contemplation or thought” (Chopin 1255). As Maria Anastasopoulou comments, this description “suggests a hidden suppressed life going on beneath the sparkling surface and foreshadows the conflict between this hidden world and the world of conventional reality” (21). While Edna’s natural inner gaze that thinks, imagines, and self-examines is illustrated in many an occasion, it is shadowed by society’s dissuasion of female self-awareness. In the ‘conflict’ Anastasopoulou refers to, the ‘world of conventional reality’ complicates Edna’s efforts to gaze inward and exacerbates the conflict. One illustration of this occurs at Grand Isle.

“Let me see,” she [Edna] went on, throwing back her head and narrowing her fine eyes till they shone like two vivid points of light.

“Let me see. I was really not conscious of thinking of anything; but perhaps I can retrace my thoughts.” “Oh! never mind!” laughed Madame Ratignolle “[....]It is really too hot to think, especially to think about thinking.” (Chopin 1265).

In another scene, Edna remarks to Arobin, “One of these days[....]I’m going to pull myself together for a while and think—try to determine what character of a woman I am; for, candidly, I don’t know” (Chopin 1318). As Edna becomes more self-aware and struggles with her identity, she feels the importance of pondering how she can find her

place, as a woman, in the world. Arobin, however, immediately replies, “Don’t. What’s the use? Why should you bother thinking about it when I can tell you what manner of woman you are?” (1318). Here Edna’s need to gaze inward clashes against societal opposition to female self-awareness—a microcosm of the larger conflict between Edna’s independent identity and conventional reality. This is unfortunate, for without using the inward gaze to achieve a clear view of herself and the world, Edna cannot truly resolve the larger conflict. Edna’s gaze and character change cannot be reconciled with her environment. The reason rests in two key failures: Edna is unable to make a complete transformation, and society by nature does not change at all.

The fundamental flaw in Edna’s vision is a lack of perception, insight, and perspective. Her inability to see clearly and her failure to integrate her vision with the world of reality are what make it impossible for her to continue living with herself. The language of sight, vision, and gaze echoes throughout the textual evidence of Edna’s incomplete development. Although Edna feels her consciousness stirring, often she does not understand what her feelings or desires mean or what significance they hold. “She was blindly following whatever impulse moved her” (Chopin 1278). Edna’s new self, struggling to awaken, is limited by her lack of self-awareness: “That she was seeing with different eyes and making the acquaintance of new conditions in herself that colored and changed her environment, she did not yet suspect” (Chopin 1284). Although Edna might enhance her insight by turning her gaze to the past or the future, she does not: “The past was nothing to her; offered no lesson which she was willing to heed. The future was a mystery which she never attempted to penetrate” (Chopin 1288). Edna’s failure to investigate her own mind and develop a new relationship with

her world conforms to Foucault's self-regulatory theory of the gaze. The dissuasion of society has been internalized to such a degree that it becomes an obstacle to Edna's vision. The ultimate balance of power and control is unforgiving; Edna remains a woman in a man's world, a being who can find no place to belong and retain her identity in a constrained society.

The language and symbolism of eyes, vision and the gaze in *The Awakening* extend throughout the text to add depth and nuance to how Edna interacts with her world. By examining the broad range of gazes, and analyzing them in a theoretical context, one can gain a deeper understanding of Edna's development as an individual struggling with a combination of external and internal forces. The gaze holds significance within the property system, within the framework of gender inequality and societal gender roles, and in romantic and sexual settings. Ultimately, although Edna achieves remarkable growth by adapting the gaze to explore her desires and needs as an individual, she is still consumed by uncertainty and despondency, unable to reconcile her identity with her surroundings. The limits of Edna's vision, in combination with the unyielding restrictions of society, lead to her destruction.

That Kate Chopin was able to include such a range of weighty issues in her purview, while still forming *The Awakening* as the tale of Edna Pontellier as an individual, speaks to her insight as an individual and as an artist. *The Awakening* is itself compelling evidence of the keenness of Chopin's own artistic "gaze". In remembering Kate, a close friend once remarked, "Her eyes were brown and looked right at you" (*Kate Chopin: A Re-Awakening*). Chopin was all too familiar with the restrictions of

society. Although she was censured and rejected in her own time, Kate Chopin wielded a clear gaze that lends her legacy continued relevance and vibrancy today.

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## **Section I.**

### **Introduction**

Terrorism has become a major concern around the world in recent years. The United States has become a prime target in the past two decades. Devastating attacks by terrorist organizations on September 11 inflicted fear in its citizen. The U.S. has been affected by different types of terrorism, including state sponsored, domestic, and international. One responsibility of a government is to protect its people. The U.S. creates policies, such as the National Security Strategy, to protect its citizens from these types of violence. It enforces policies and foreign relations that further enrich relationships with other countries. This creates economic and military ties with nations abroad, which can decrease the probability of suffering attacks. Still many people question US foreign policies. Do US policies and international relations breed international terrorism? Some researchers argue that the policies instituted protect citizens from foreign or domestic attacks and creates allies through strong relations with foreign countries. However, in making some friends, other enemies may develop. Thus, other researchers feel that the Unites States invites terrorism because of its policies and international relations. Its support for specific countries and presence overseas create rivals who resent such decisions. Specific policies were cited as prime reason for the attack by the terrorists. Despite arguments to the contrary, the Unites States' foreign policies and intervention overseas make the country and its people prime targets for international terrorism.

## Section II

### Types of Terrorism

An understanding of terrorism is crucial to the debate. A legal definition of terrorism was first proposed to the League of Nations in 1937; it was “criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public” (Acharya 658). However, acceptance of a universal definition is still elusive, resulting in several different definitions. Terrorism does not follow a rule of war and is spontaneous in nature. It is an instrument to gain political and religious grasp through public violence aimed at intimidating a target audience. The term is more than just a definition; social stigma is attached to it. Terrorism is a politicized term with a negative connotation, usually connected with demonizing a political opponent. In today’s world, it has a similar negative undertone as communism did during the Cold War. The world is divided into labelers, those who believe they are above terrorism, and the assignees, those assigned the stigma. With multiple definitions, terrorism is a competitive notion: so, settling on one definition is difficult. Terrorists tend to refer to themselves as “freedom fighters” and “revolutionaries.” In today’s society, a country’s government is the defining agency with the power to give political terms a specific meaning (Schmid 39-41). Although clear definition exists, the US has encountered three specific types of terrorism.

#### State Sponsored Terrorism

The US has battled and, as viewed by some, also participated in state sponsorship of terrorism. According to US Secretary of State, a country repeatedly providing support for acts of international terrorism is considered a state sponsor of terrorism (“State Sponsor of Terrorism”). International guidelines for how a country can wage war have helped protect civilians from

militaristic violence. However, they have failed to effectively restrain military powers from causing the death of innocent civilians. From dropping the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki with a death toll of 200,000+ Japanese civilians to the 100,000+ civilian casualties in Iraq, the US itself has participated in state sponsored terrorism (Seldon and So 7). In 1984, the Reagan administration shifted its focus from combating terrorist organizations to utilizing state-terrorism. President Reagan branded North Korea, Cuba, Iran, Libya, and Nicaragua as the confederation of terrorist states (Seldon and So 3). President George W. Bush named Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the axis of evil at the 2002 State of the Union Address (Bush). Both presidents categorized these countries as supporters and sponsors of terrorism during times of war and of using this tactic to oppress their own citizens. These nations have different political views from the U.S. Many have censorious governments that take away citizens' rights. This contrasts with U.S. policy to spread democracy and freedom. Nations such as North Korea have resented U.S. since the Korean War, when U.S. policy supported South Korea, including sending 28,000 troops, forcing North Korea to retreat (Lee). The hatred is still alive and leader Kim Jongun is ready for combat (CNN Wire Staff).

### Domestic Terrorism

Domestic terrorism is a threat to the United States as well. This older form of terrorism occurs after citizens, frustrated with government policies, seek change via terrorist attacks upon their own country for political purposes (Mueller 562). With rapid globalization and improvements in technology, terrorism has begun to breed within a country. The sixth director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Robert S. Mueller III, speaks about self-radicalization, when people are motivated by extremists' ideology and transform themselves into terrorists, being a new face of terrorism. For example, Timothy McVeigh bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Building in

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma in April 19, 1995. Frustrated with double standard U.S. foreign policy and the Waco siege, his radicalization process began while he was in Iraq during the Gulf War (Walsh 1). This attack clearly shows how the US policies shaped McVeigh's radicalization process and led to the bombing. Domestic terrorism remains a problem for the US.

### International Terrorism

The final type of terrorism is international. Brian M. Jenkins defines it as acts of violence directed against civilians waged outside the rules of international diplomacy and war (Jenkins 2). Based on nationality, religion, or ethnicity, terrorists recognize targets. Targets may also be the victims of a coincidence: being in the wrong place at the wrong time. International terrorism does not honor country boundaries. Violence is waged against the system from outside it, thus not following any rules. Generally, international terrorists do not engage in senseless violence. They have a specific agenda with objectives to achieve (Jenkins 3), not about the people terrorists kill, but the message it sends. Publicity is important for these organizations because they perform against accepted rule of behavior, creating international pressure to achieve political goals. However, terrorism today is exported globally. With increasing technology, including mass media, terrorism projects its actions worldwide and increases the lethality of its attacks (Jenkins 7). According to experts, it has become a modern form of warfare to achieve global political goals (Jenkins 10).

Different groups perceive the term terrorism differently. Though one ultimate definition for the term does not exist, experts categorize three types of terrorism the US encountered. Some cite certain US policies as state sponsorship of terrorism, while the US government labels specific nations as state sponsors of terrorism. US policies have also led to certain instances of domestic terrorism. International terrorism has a strong link to US foreign policies.

### **Section III**

#### **U.S. Policies Prevent Terrorism**

The United States government's primary duty is to protect its people (National Security Strategy of 2010 2). Its policies are not intended to create conflict, but shape a safer society for its citizens (National Security Strategy of 2010 7). Its support for Israel, presence in Saudi Arabia, and support of sanctions in Iraq were deemed in the best interest of its citizens. Each policy was intended to eliminate terrorism by creating strong relations and dismantling terrorist organizations.

#### Aid to Israel

According to some theorists, US support for Israel strengthens its presence in the Middle East, which can prevent or help fight terrorism against the US. Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of US foreign aid. With a cap of \$3 billion, Israel receives 1/6 of its foreign aid from America. According to the recent Congressional Research Service, the US has provided over \$118 billion to Israel in foreign aid since World War II's end (McArthur 15). As shown in Table 1, aid gradually increased over the past decade. The US's main reason for the support is to maintain a strong presence in the Middle East. To protect its strategic interest in the Middle East, oil, the country must prevent any single country from controlling it. Instability with oil or any destabilizing force in the Middle East puts the United States' economy and security in jeopardy. Israel is at a demographic and geographic disadvantage, alone in a region without any reliable ally (Sharp). By supporting Israel, the US is building a strong alliance in the Middle East, which will potentially return the favor.

**Table 1**  
**Recent U.S. Bilateral Aid to Israel**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Military Grant</b>	<b>Economic Grant</b>
1949-1996	68,030.9	29,014.9	23,122.4
1997	3,132.1	1,800.0	1,200.0
1998	3,080.0	1,800.0	1,200.0
1999	3,010.0	1,860.0	1,080.0
2000	4,131.85	3,120.0	949.1
2001	2,876.05	1,975.6	838.2
2002	2,850.65	2,040.0	720.0
2003	3,745.15	3,086.4	596.1
2004	2,687.25	2,147.3	477.2
2005	2,612.15	2,202.2	357.0
2006	2,534.5	2,257.0	237.0
2007	2,503.15	2,340.0	120.0
2008	2,423.9	2,380.0	0
2009	2,583.9	2,550.0	0
2010	2,803.8	2,775.0	0
2011	3,029.22	3,000.0	0
2012	3,098.0	3,075.0	0
2013	3,115.0 (Before Sequestration)	3,100.0	0
2014 Request	3,115.0	3,100.0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>118,247.57</b>	<b>70,523.4</b>	<b>30,897.0</b>

Source: Congressional Research Service. *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel*. Washington D.C: Library of Congress

### Presence in Saudi Arabia

According to political leaders, the US presence in Saudi Arabia was essential to prevent further terrorism. After Standard Oil California negotiated a sixty-year contract with Abd al-Aziz to explore for and extract oil along the Persian Gulf, the US has maintained a strong relation with Saudi Arabia for decades. Control over this rich resource changed meant that the security of Saudi Arabia became a US concern (Pollack 78). The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 3,

1990 posed a threat to Saudi Arabia. It chose the US as the arms supplier for its national defense needs. These arms sales helped keep US production lines running and aided the balance of trade (Pollack 79-80). As a sign of fear, then, the United States placed troops in the region, preventing Iraqi aircraft from flying and using chemical weapons on the Kurdish people (Butler 26-27). The purpose of this operation was to protect Saudi Arabia from Iraqi attack and safeguard US and western interests. The plan was to withdraw the troops after the threat ended (Pollack 77). Gaining control of Saudi Arabia meant controlling its oil, a resource needed by many parts of the world. This could make oil-rich countries very powerful. Placing troops in Saudi Arabia was essential to preventing Iraqi domination. The US predicted Iraq's misuse by terrorizing others in the region. The purpose of this specific policy was to keep Iraq from gaining control of Saudi Arabia, thus preventing terrorism for the US and others.

### Iraqi Sanctions

According to political experts, the Iraqi sanctions were placed to prevent Iraq from further engaging in terrorism. The United Nations condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. It passed resolution 660 demanding Iraq withdraw troops from Kuwait, but Iraq refused. Concerned about loss of human life, determined to end the invasion and restore control in Kuwait, the United Nations concluded that Iraq had failed to end the invasion as demanded per resolution 660, and placed a trade embargo on Iraq, prohibiting all states from importing or exporting any commodity or product originating in Iraq or Kuwait, mainly to restrain the transport of any weapons to the region (Wedgewood 724-728). Iraq's history with weapons of mass destruction was a threat to the US and globally. Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against his civilians and opposing militaries killing thousands of Iranian troops in the Iraq-Iran war. The Security Council required Iraq to surrender all weapons of mass destruction. Related weapons

research and development was banned and Iraq was under watch (Wedgewood 727-728). Some see the sanction as beneficial because it stopped Iraq from obtaining or producing any weapons of mass destruction thus avoiding further terrorism.

The US government wants to protect its citizens from harm. It battles terrorism globally: creating policies overseas to eliminate terrorism. US support for Israel creates a strong presence in the Middle East. Its interest in the region was to maintain its control of oil. Placing troops in Saudi Arabia helped prevent the Iraqi invasion, which would have given Iraq control and power over the oil. This could have led to future terrorism, because of Iraq's unethical war practices. The sanctions stopped the production of weapons of mass destruction, which were possibly intended for terrorist acts. The primary purpose of these policies was to protect the US citizens from international terrorism.

#### **Section IV**

##### **U.S. Policies Invites Terrorism**

Unfortunately, as events have shown, despite good intentions, US policies have invited terrorism rather than preventing it. The US policies were cited as justification for three recent terrorist incidents. On February 26, 1993, Ramzi Yousef detonated his 1500-pound urea-nitrate bomb at the basement of one tower, expecting it to topple one tower onto the other releasing cyanide gas and killing thousands of people (Parachini 188). Years later, on August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1998, another act of terrorism occurred when U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya were simultaneously attacked (McGuire et al 22). Three years later, perhaps the most memorable act of terrorism for US occurred. American Airline Flight 11 crashed into the north tower, United Airlines Flight 175 crashed into the south tower, American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon and United Airlines Flight 93 crashed into the ground near

Shanksville, Pennsylvania, killing 2996 people: 19 hijackers and 2977 victims (CNN Library). These attacks had specific stated reasons: to seek revenge against the US for its foreign policies in the Middle East.

All three attacks were linked to hatred of US policies. Yousef's primary motivation was to kill and injure as many Americans as possible as a response for US support of Israel. In his interview with Al-Hayah, Yousef said he supported a movement "to pressure the U.S. administration by carrying out operations against U.S. targets so this administration will stop its aid for Israel" (Parachini 203). During his sentencing statement, Yousef justified his actions as punishment for US military, economic, and political support to Israel, the state of terrorism and the dictator countries in the region (Parachini 203). He believed that killing thousands of Americans was comparable to the suffering faced by many Palestinians who were no different in similar situations (Payne 36). The logic behind this thinking was that Americans would experience the pain Palestinians have endured at the hands of Israeli arms funded by the US. He supports terrorism against the United States and Israel (Parachini 204). Bin Laden, a Saudi millionaire who had fought against the Soviets during the invasion of Afghanistan, has similar motives as Yousef for his terrorists attacks. Bin Laden claimed responsibility for the embassy bombing and 9/11, saying that the United States deserved this type of action because it is the biggest terrorist in the world (McGuire et al. 22). On October 29, 2004, bin Laden sent a videotaped speech to Aljazeera, a news agency in Qatar responding to the September 11 attacks. Bin Laden stated that the United States/Israeli coalition was responsible for the death of many Palestinians, while American aid to Israel when it invaded Lebanon killed many helpless women and children. He also opposed the US presence in Saudi Arabia and the sanctions imposed on

Iraq (bin Laden). As clearly stated by the terrorists, US policies were the primary reasons for the attacks.

Support for Israel

Israelis Killed	Gaza Strip & West Bank	Israel	Totals
Security Force personal Killed by Palestinian	344	149	493
Civilians Killed by Palestinian	348	677	1025
Totals	692	826	1518

**Table 2**  
**Deaths in the Conflict, 1987-2012**

Palestinians Killed	Gaza Strip & West Bank	Israel	Totals
By Israeli Security Forces	7,887	102	7,989
By Israeli Civilians	165	30	195
Totals	8,052	132	8,184

Source: ProCon.org Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Though society doesn't accept terrorists' justification as irrational, the devastating number of Palestinian deaths explain why Islamic extremists are outraged by US policies. The conflict between Israel and Palestine dates back centuries. It brought violent actions from both sides and causes many casualties. Nearly 14,000 Israelis and Palestinians have died in the battle

since 1948 (B'Tselem). Palestine could not match up to Israel's size and strength especially supported by the US. Table 2 clearly shows that the number of Palestinian deaths exceed Israeli deaths. This number clarifies terrorist aggression towards Israel and the United States. According to terrorists, the U.S shares the blame for the all of these deaths by their support for Israel (ProCon.org).

Some see the nearly \$3 billion aid as the United States funding Israel's aggression towards Palestine. Certain US decisions reveal its contribution towards a greater Israel. From the cluster bombs on civilian targets to testing of the latest weaponry on live battlefield conditions against Palestinians, the United States is indirectly supporting the mass killing of Palestinian Muslims. Israel exploits its regional power, crushing Palestine, with the help of the US. United States leaders did not criticize Israel's actions in West Beirut during the massacre of Palestinians in 1982 (Chomsky 9). The United States vetoed the UN Security Council's declaration for withdrawal of Israeli and Palestinian forces from Beirut. The UN wanted to preserve the P.L.O in Beirut because it was a viable political force, yet the US wanted it eliminated. The United States vetoed the unanimous decision of the UN Security Council condemning Israel for ignoring UN orders to withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon. Finally, the United States also voted against ending the aggressiveness on the Israel-Lebanon border. (Chomsky 9). These patterns have been persistent and US aid increased. Israel continues its aggression towards Palestine with the help of US funds, outraging Islamic fundamentalists, such as Osama bin Laden, who seek justice (Chomsky 10). No wonder terrorists use US policies as justifications for their attacks

#### Presence in Saudi Arabia

Along with the support for Israel, US presence in Saudi Arabia to prevent terrorism did not work as envisioned. In fact, Osama bin Laden was appalled by the presence of US troops

there as many Muslims consider it the birthplace of Islam and home to Islamic holy sites. Nearly 5000 US troops in their holy land was a sign of betrayal of and disrespect to the Islamic faith (Pollack, 77). In the 1998 fatwa, bin Laden said:

For over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim people (1998 fatwa).

In an interview with Rahimullah Yusufzai, bin Laden said, “U.S. troops are too close to Mecca and their presence is the greatest possible disrection in the holy land.” The U.S was using the territories as a staging post to continue aggression against Iraq. To bin Laden, the Prophet Muhammad banned the presence of infidels in the holy land. In the 1998 fatwa, Al Qaeda declared jihad against the United States and its allies (1998 fatwa). The purpose of a jihad is to defend Islam throughout the world and fight against oppressors. Bin Laden said that the Islamic extremists wanted to take revenge against the United States for its disrespect to the Islamic faith. Despite its purported goals of protecting US interests in the area ensuring Saudi Arabian security, US presence in Saudi Arabia built negative tension between itself several Islamic extremists, thus inviting terrorism.

### Iraqi Sanctions

Rather than preventing terrorism, as envisioned, the Iraqi sanctions angered many Muslims and attracted terrorism to the US. This policy caused tremendous harm to the Iraqi people which was a reason terrorists wanted revenge. The United Nations imposed the sanctions on the Iraqi regime; however, the civilian population became their unwitting victims. Although

the member states did not intend to do so, the twelve-year sanction on multiple programs caused appalling consequences, including malnutrition and death. The World Health Organization and UNICEF estimated 5,000 to 7,000 deaths of Iraqi children per month. Infant mortality increased to 107.9 deaths per thousand births from 1994 to 1999. Child mortality (under the age of five) rose from 56 to 130.6 per thousand births during the same period. Altogether, an estimate of nearly 500,000 children under the age of five died from 1991 to 1998 because of malnutrition (“Oil for Food Program Overview” 36). Osama bin Laden called this the “greatest mass slaughter of children mankind has ever known.” The economic turmoil increased unemployment and child labor. It also devalued the dinar. One dinar was three US dollars before the sanctions but it became 1500 for one US dollar (Halliday 32-33). The devastating economic crash linked to UN policy encouraged by the US for imposing sanctions creating an unstable society. These economic hardships diminished Islamic values as families broke apart. Households began to see struggling single moms and devastated fathers who had to walk away from their families (Halliday 33). This caused hatred to grow within many Muslims and extremists decided to take action against the US Islamic extremists believe that the United States was responsible for the loss of thousands of Muslim live and the punishment should be of equal caliber. Evidently, the sanctions imposed on Iraq created resentment towards the US, thus increasing terrorism directed towards its people.

Clearly, US policies in the Middle East provoked terrorism. Its support for Israel, presence in Saudi Arabia, and sanctions on Iraq built tensions between the US and terrorists. They viewed US policies as responsible for destroying Muslims and the Islamic world. To seek revenge, terrorists attacked the US in response to these specific policies.

## Section V

### Conclusion

Terrorism is violence carried out by extremist organizations for political aims. They seek to inflict fear in the public through violent attacks. Throughout history, the US has encountered different forms of terrorism, including state sponsored, domestic, and international. Each type reflects back to US policies. These policies were created to protect its citizens from terrorism by building stronger relationships abroad. They included supporting Israel, placing troops in Saudi Arabia, and imposing sanctions on Iraq. Unfortunately, as events have shown, these policies have not always worked as visualized, instead being cited by terrorists as the prime reasons for attacks on the US. Their actions and statements clearly say that US foreign policies make it susceptible to terrorism.

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## Representation of Women in Unilever Advertisements

Anastasia Sidorenkova

### *Abstract*

“Ads sell a great deal more than products. They sell values, images, and concepts of success and worth, love and sexuality, popularity and normalcy. They tell us who we are and who we should be” (Kilbourne, “Killing us Softly 3”). Media portrayals, and advertisements more specifically, sexually objectify women and continue to reinforce and perpetuate idealized and unattainable images of beauty. In this project I will explore gender stereotypes in advertising by examining representations of women in Unilever<sup>1</sup> advertisements, the company notorious for its commercials depicting women in sexually provocative/explicit situations, often objectified by “scrawny teenage boys doused in the sexual scents of Axe body spray” (Horton 1). To this end, I will review existing feminist media research related to representations of women in advertising and in that way situate my conversation about Unilever’s role in gender stereotyping. Next, I will analyze representations of women in Unilever’s advertisements<sup>2</sup> in the context of Rosalind Gill’s postfeminist scholarship. Finally, I will draw conclusions to emphasize the political and ideological importance of interrogating constructed representations of gender and sexuality.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9tWZB7OUSU>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.unilever.com/>

## *Introduction*

Mass-mediated sexualized ideal of female beauty and problematic positioning of women in advertisements continues to spur debates among feminist, cultural studies, and advertising scholars. Jean Kilbourne critiques advertising practices for going beyond their conventional role of merchandizing products, as “they sell values, images, and concepts of success and worth, love and sexuality, popularity and normalcy” (Kilbourne “Killing us Softly 3”). On the contrary, advertising scholars Steven M. Kates and Glenda Shaw-Garlock believe that consumers are the arbiters of meaning making, and “negotiate personalized meanings, albeit constituted by discursive, cultural viewpoints” (47). In this paper I examine advertisements created by the multinational corporation Unilever to argue that such representations socially and politically disempower women, and contribute to the culture of misogyny that reinforces and perpetuates sexual objectification and violence against women. The underlying assumption of this project is that such representations construct women as forever entangled within social and cultural hegemonic patriarchal discourses (Kates, Shaw-Garlock 46). I advance this argument within postfeminist theory and cultural studies literature to emphasize the political and ideological importance of interrogating constructed representations of gender in advertising.

My project is guided by questions that target relations of power and political work of representation. Consequently, my paper draws from Rosalind Gill and Stuart Hall, both of whom frame my analysis of Unilever advertisements. Rosalind Gill describes and characterizes the ideological nature of postfeminist media culture by defining postfeminism as a sensibility, characterized by common frameworks and themes. Therefore, I begin this project by first situating it in relevant feminist scholarship that frames my thinking. My objective is to emphasize historical and cultural factors that have constituted contemporary feminist discourse and societal perceptions of gender. Next, I situate advertising images within the context of Rosalind Gill’s postfeminist scholarship, and draw my analysis from her “Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility.” I highlight sensibilities such as: “feminism and anti-feminism,”

“individualism, choice and empowerment,” “femininity as the bodily property,” and “irony and knowingness” (Gill 3), all of which reveal patriarchal hegemonic practices and female beauty ideology that violate women’s agency. Finally, I consider the importance of political and ideological potential of Unilever advertising representations to perpetuate hegemonic stereotypes that contribute to the culture of misogyny and sexual objectification. The analysis considers the importance of critical interrogation of contemporary media products within frameworks of postfeminist theory, representation, and power.

### *Defining New Feminism*

Present in feminist scholarship and literature is a contestation of the meaning of “new feminists” (Snowden 166). Broadly grouping this scholarship in two categories, postfeminist and third-wave feminist, Snowden submits that both groups take earlier feminist ideas of women and gender “personal is political’ and cultural politics is real politics” as central for their analyses, yet they critique them from different perspectives (167).

Postfeminists have both engaged and rejected the ideas of second-wave feminists<sup>3</sup>. They focus on the personal choice and reject the second-wave feminism slogan “the personal is political” (Snowden 174), seeing it as a mere dictation of “an overly dogmatic, single-minded group of women” (Snowden 174). Celebrating individualism, postfeminists downsize women’s collective agenda to “power feminism”<sup>4</sup> (Snowden 174).

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<sup>3</sup> For example, second-wave feminists works of Betty Friedan and Germaine Greer are explored in Naomi Wolf’s *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Women are Used Against Women*.

<sup>4</sup> Naomi Wolf analyzes the concept of female power in the book *Fire With Fire: The New Female Power and How It Will Change the 21st Century*

Postfeminists and second-wave feminists disagree over the issues of feminist legal work of the 90s concerning rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence. Most of the debates continue to target questions of victim feminism and women's own sexual agency (Snowden 170). One of the major criticisms of postfeminist scholarship is failure to account for the politics of resistance, which I hope to address in my analysis. Rosalind Gill argues that the term postfeminism has been variously and erroneously used to define a break with second-wave feminism, a historical shift to a third wave, as well as to signify a political backlash (4). Instead, she proposes a new understanding of the concept, defining it as a sensibility, constituted of the interrelated themes that characterize the movement's representation in the media. Gill emphasizes "the contradictory nature of postfeminist discourses" (5) that integrates both feminist and anti-feminist themes. Central to the postfeminists' call for individualism is Gill's "being oneself" postfeminist sensibility (7). Within the culture of postfeminism, traditional ideas of femininity and sexuality are restored for they are viewed as inspiring, empowering, and account for women's need to feel desirable (Snowden 175). Indeed, individualism, "power feminism," and individual empowerment are fundamental elements of postfeminists' discourse.

Furthermore, the work of postfeminist scholarship gave rise to the concept of "girl power" or the "Girlie" feminism, the movement that simultaneously incorporates ideas of feminism and femininity (Snowden 172). The trend manifests Naomi Wolf's postfeminist "power feminism" that embraces a new model of self-representation, which portrays women as free agents with "autonomously generated desires" (Gill 7). Nevertheless, the trope of girlies' sexual enjoyments and the new model of self-representation only perpetuate traditional femininity and sexuality in its reinforcement of female objectification. "Girlie denotes an unthreatening, submissive, easy-to-control femaleness," and poses a problematic understanding of the girl power position, confusing the feminist agenda with femininity (Snowden 177). Indeed, within this new trope of female empowerment we see the patriarchal tradition of the male gaze transformed into the equally problematic "self policing narcissistic gaze" (Gill 10).

Additionally, postfeminist “Girlies” individualism and power optimism gave rise to third-wave feminism, the movement, characterized by its “commitment to coalition building among a diverse group of people” (Snowden 190). Third-wave feminists reject the constraining second-wave feminist principles of sex, gender, patriarchy, and expand their political scope to closely attend to race, class, and sexuality. In fact, gender is not always central to third-wave feminist analyses. Political promise of this fifteen-year-old movement is encouraging; however any concrete political transformation will require more than the empowering cultural messages of third-wave feminism.

### *Methodology*

The beauty myth, the only ideology that has survived the evolving system of industrial capitalism and the women’s submission to the cult of domesticity, continues to reinforce stereotypical notions of unattainable female perfection today (Wolf 12). This hegemonic notion of beauty has no historical or biological justification. It is determined by politics, and serves the needs of the societal power structure, economy and culture. The beauty myth keeps patriarchy intact by reinforcing separation between women that compete to obtain unevenly distributed resources in male-dominated institutions (Wolf 13).

Advertising is a powerful agent of the economy that has been propagating women’s perfection through their expected social roles - from the good wife and homemaker in the 50s to the fashion model today. The sexual revolution promoted the rise of pornography, which has become the biggest media category, and linked the notion of female beauty to the image of sexuality. TV and magazines strive to create favorable editorial content for their advertisers, and use explicit images of beauty to compete within the media industry (Wolf 58).

In media culture today “feminist ideas are both articulated and repudiated, expressed and disavowed” (Gill 24). While women are presented as free and having power in a workplace, their bodies are sexually objectified and scrutinized by self and

others. They have the ability to influence others, yet they are undermined by the ideology of beauty and the myth of perfection, as they continue to scrutinize all aspects of their lives, from their bodies to their inner feelings and behavior (Gill 24).

Contemporary culture closely focuses on women's body as the main representation of femininity. "Porno chic' has become a dominant representational practice in advertising, magazines, internet sites, and cable television" (Gill 9). A woman is not simply objectified, but presented as "sexually autonomous heterosexual young woman who plays with her sexual power" (Gill 10). Women no longer refuse to be presented as objects, but use the bodies as their main source of power (Gill 9). "The objectifying male gaze is internalized to form a new disciplinary regime"(Gill 11), thus constructing women's identity as they subject themselves to constant scrutiny and monitoring (Gill 12).

The emphasis on individualism, choice, and empowerment is one of the main characteristics of postfeminist media culture. The choices women make in terms of their physical appearance and behavior are not imposed from above, but personal. They strive to be beautiful for themselves, although the new self- representation embodies the old beauty myth (Gill 12). Indeed, "language does not work like a mirror" (Hall 14). Meaning is constructed and produced within different systems of representation (Hall 14). Postfeminist sensibilities reflected in Unilever advertisements, which I identify in the next section, point to this ideological practice of meaning making. Drawing from Rosalind Gill's "Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility," I examine Unilever advertisements to show the ways in which such advertising language perpetuates sexual objectification and violence against women.

In the work titled "Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility," Gill submits that everything from plastic surgeries to domestic violence "is retracted through the idea of personal choice and self-determination" (12). Postfeminist sensibility approach to media culture reminds us that the women's ultimate goal is to become confident about themselves without patriarchal approval of their beauty standards. In

the “individualism, choice and empowerment” (Gill 13) sensibility the ingrained concept of femininity transforms into the modern neoliberal idea, presenting women as “following their own autonomously generated desires” (Gill 13), thus drawing pleasure from plastic surgeries and revealing clothing.

“Femininity as bodily property” (Gill 6) sensibility emphasizes how media defines a woman’s body as the “key source of identity” (Gill 6). The body is the main “source of power” (Gill 6), which is always evaluated by men and women in contemporary media. Objectifying male gaze transforms into a “self policing narcissistic gaze” (Gill 7). Women have agency if only they could embody the beauty myth and construct sexually empowered female subjects (Gill 7).

“Irony and knowingness” (Gill 20) sensibility explains how postfeminist media culture expresses sexist attitudes in an ironized form (Gill 20). Nostalgia is employed to show that “the sexism is safely sealed in the past” (Gill 20). Furthermore, irony operates through “knowingly ridiculous” (Gill 21) extreme sexism, and false gratification of the audience as “sophisticated consumers” (Gill 20) who are able to notice advertisers’ manipulation.

Sexually objectified women in Unilever ads are produced within patriarchal discourse and “must submit to its rules and conventions, to its dispositions of power/knowledge” (Hall 39). The women in these ads are not the authors of the discourse. On the contrary, the discourse produces women as sexually available, objectified, and dehumanized.

### *Analysis*

While both feminist and anti-feminist themes exist in contemporary media culture, a cursory review of advertising literature demonstrates that the advertising industry has employed feminist themes in order to appeal to women (Kates, Shaw-Garlock 34). For example, representations of women in professional business attire where we see them

wearing glasses and talking on a cell phone in images #1 and #2 communicate the meaning of female empowerment in the professional arena. Pushing a man out of the frame signifies her independency, autonomy, and strength, thus embodying postfeminist female empowerment. Gill submits that media has not adopted feminism, but reconstructed and remodeled the concept (23). Drawing from the scholarship of Tasker and Negra, she states that “liberal perspective is treated as commonsense,” while feminists are represented as “harsh, punitive, inauthentic” women, denying the construction of traditional femininity (24). The empowerment theme in the above-mentioned images confirms the unification and repudiation of feminist and antifeminist themes, as the women avow and submit to the concepts of traditional femininity.

Similarly, women in images #3 and #4 are presented as free agents that communicate empowerment. We read images in the essence of “the underlying rules and codes through which such objects or practices produce meaning” (Hall 22). Here, the representations are even linked to sport, which also signifies empowerment, evoking our own concepts, associations, and cultural beliefs in postfeminist ideology of female empowerment. However, if we closely look at these images, we notice the subtle figures of men observing these female athletes as they run and perform in front of them. In fact, men are the ones who practice surveillance and control women’s success in these representations. While earlier in my paper I have established that the concept of the male gaze has shifted to the internal self-objectifying gaze, these ads prove that the old concept is still in power. Indeed, the production of the female subject is always linked with questions of power and the body – “a surface on which different regimes of power/knowledge write their effect” (Hall 35). Representation is open to “the constant production of new meanings, new interpretations” (Hall 16). At the same time, all old meanings and associations affect and change what we are representing at the moment (Hall 16).

For example, in the images #7 and #8 we begin to see that the women’s empowerment themes have gradually transformed into their total submission to men, who reinforce their hegemonic masculinity with magical Axe products. The

deconstruction of empowerment is supported by the irony that employs “knowingly ridiculous” (Gill 21) extreme sexism. Disempowerment equalizes with fun and humor when women in the images #7 and # 8 give up their chance to succeed, and win the marathon, or refuse to call the police when the thief is wearing Axe’s hairstyling product. We mirror the protagonist and begin to laugh together with him in the image #9 when women compete with hundreds of others as he is continually spraying Axe’s deodorant over his body, which strengthens the advertising phenomenon<sup>5</sup> that Gill defines as acclaiming the viewers as intellectually proficient consumers who are able to see any “attempts to manipulate them”(20). Women’s main focus in the advertisements is not on the bodies, but on their agencies, which reinforces the stereotype of what Gill defines as sexism extremeness and sealing sexism deep in the past (21). The female contest with women placed against one another is an example of such extremeness and the wrongheaded evidence to the nonexistence of sexism (Gill 22). The reference to sports in the advertisements’ settings constructs women that focus on physical and athletic empowerment through exercise, ironically undermining their focus on the bodies. In fact, the Axe ads reinforce patriarchal hegemony by portraying women as consciously submitting to male gaze. While there is no explicit reference to nostalgia in the aforementioned advertisements, the concepts of competition and athletic self-actualization in the new modern settings define women’s instrumental goals, thus deceptively put forward their power and agency, and seal the era of domesticity in the past at the same time.

In the images #8, #14, and #16 women’s smiles indicate their pleasure and playful agreement. Although these women are represented as socially and culturally powerful athletes or career women, they remain in the grip of patriarchal ideology. As Gill reminds us, postfeminist media in general, and Axe commercials specifically, perpetuate sexual objectification of women by framing them as sexually empowered and “following their own desires to feel good” (Gill 12).

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<sup>5</sup> In the article “Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility,” Rosalind Gill refers to the work of Goldman (1992) who defines the same advertising phenomenon as “sign fatigue.”

Snowden presents a similar argument about the “Girlies” who self-objectify their bodies, thus gratifying traditional femininity and sexuality (172). Clearly, the women in the ads are empowered through their explicit sexual representations of the traditional femininity. The sexualized subject constructions in the above named images embody what Gill defines as “narrow judgments of female attractiveness”(6). “The beauty myth” (Wolf 12) is celebrated through these representations via the images of “sleek, toned, controlled” figures that indicate success (Gill 7).

Postfeminist culture is obsessively preoccupied with women’s bodies and their sexualized representations (Gill 8). Postfeminists’ attention to women’s own sexual agencies, and the “Girlies” fixation on sexuality as representation of traditional femininity are present in all of the afore mentioned Axe ads. As Hall submits, discourse “defines and produces the objects of our knowledge” (29), regulates others’ behavior, and controls the ideas that enter meaningful practice.

Furthermore, in most of Axe ads women are depicted wearing bikinis. They exhibit confidence and seem to present their bodies as the main source of power (Gill 6). Here I want to highlight that the bikini, as a broader concept, is closely linked to the notion of sexuality, and the myth that only a ‘beautiful’ girl dares to wear the bikini swimwear. Stuart Hall believes that representations produce “elaborate and ideologically framed message or meaning” (24) when connected to a wider or more general themes by the audience. Moreover, such female perfection reflects Gill’s “self-surveillance and discipline” sensibility (14), reminding women that monitoring and interception of beauty ideals are the “requirements of the performance of successful femininity” (14). Gill submits that the concept of surveillance is very extensive, as it spreads and focuses on everything from women’s exterior image to their psychological orientation, behavior, and conduct (14).

For example, the male figure in the image #13 is located in the center of the picture. The male is represented as a subject who orchestrates and controls the action.

The women in this same image are represented as the objects who, compete for the male's gaze and attention. Through regulation of women's behavior frame, the men in the images #3 and #4 are always placed at the side of the frame, or surrounded by the women in the image #9. Both genders are satisfied with their power positioning representations, as they are able to express their agency. Men practice surveillance and monitoring, while women are using their sexuality. In these ads we see women either chasing the male figure or beginning to undress when he enters the frame, thus signifying their transition into desiring sexual objects. Here we see women internalize "a self policing narcissistic gaze" for they are "responsible for producing themselves as desirable heterosexual subjects" (Gill 9). In other words, representations of women have shifted from that of sex object to a desiring sexual subject.

### *Conclusion*

Advertising is a visual language of representation. Women portrayed in these ads function in accordance with the assigned concepts and "meaning within our cultural and linguistic codes" (Hall 13). My analysis indicates that sexualized representation of women in Axe ads has the potential to signify, produce, and perpetuate similar imagery and behavior in our culture. Understanding the political and ideological importance of interrogating constructed representations of gender in advertising requires critical examination of the images within Unilever's advertisements specifically, and media culture at large. In my analysis of Axe adds I hope to have demonstrated that such representations socially and politically disempower women, and contribute to the culture of misogyny that reinforces and perpetuates sexual objectification and violence against women.

Central to my analysis are complex constructions of cultural power positioning that reinforce hegemonic struggles at the intersection of feminism and patriarchal ideology. "Power relations permeate all levels of social existence and are therefore to be found operating at every site of social life – in the private spheres of the family and sexuality as much as in the public spheres of politics, the economy and the law" (Hall

34). Consequently, power is not hierarchical and does not come from one source; it rather spreads and flows across different social platforms (Hall 34).

This understanding of power discourse frames my analysis of Unilever advertisements and the media construction of women's agency. Notably, women's agency is at once enabled and constrained, as women self-objectify their bodies, gratify traditional femininity, and submit to the male gaze, thus remaining a site of struggle for meaning and political agency within a patriarchal ideology.

The continual struggle for political agency is furthermore evident in Unilever's representations of women, and its hegemony of whiteness that perpetuates Anglo-centric standards of female beauty, to which I would like to return in my future thinking about intersectionality of race and gender in media representations of hegemonic beauty. Such advancement in my analysis would be coupled with further examination of some of the perceived shortcomings of postfeminist scholarship in general. Most notably, I would need to account for the politics of resistance and its ambiguous reaction to the second-wave feminist ideology that depoliticizes, constrains, and downsizes the potential power and importance of the contemporary feminist movement to stand against objectification and dehumanization of women.

Finally, understanding the cultural and political influence of Unilever's advertisements on women required historicizing hegemonic constructions of gender within feminist scholarship, and synthesizing the analysis with Rosalind Gill's "Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility," within which I have demonstrated the sensibilities of "feminism and anti-feminism," "individualism, choice and empowerment," "femininity as the bodily property," and "irony and knowingness" I have advanced my arguments with Stuart Hall's "The Work of Representation" to reveal the workings of ideological power at the intersections of political and discursive construction of meaning. I recognize that such practice in advertising denotes women's social and political disempowerment in their common perceptions and performances of gender. Ultimately, this project calls for critical understanding and examination of the

sexualized female beauty ideal, and problematic positioning of women in media. Given the contemporary misogynist cultural climate that perpetuates violence against women, the political importance of image interrogation requires our most immediate, vigilant, and never-ending crucial examination.

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Appendix:

Image 1



Image 2



Image 3



Image 4



Image 5



Image 6



Image 7



Image 8

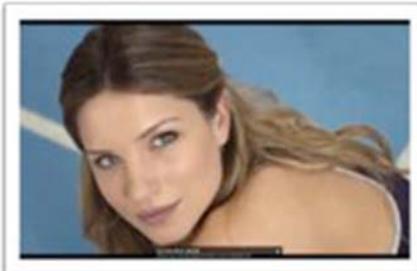


Image 9

Image 10



Image 11



Image 12



Image 13



Image 14



Image 15



Image 16

