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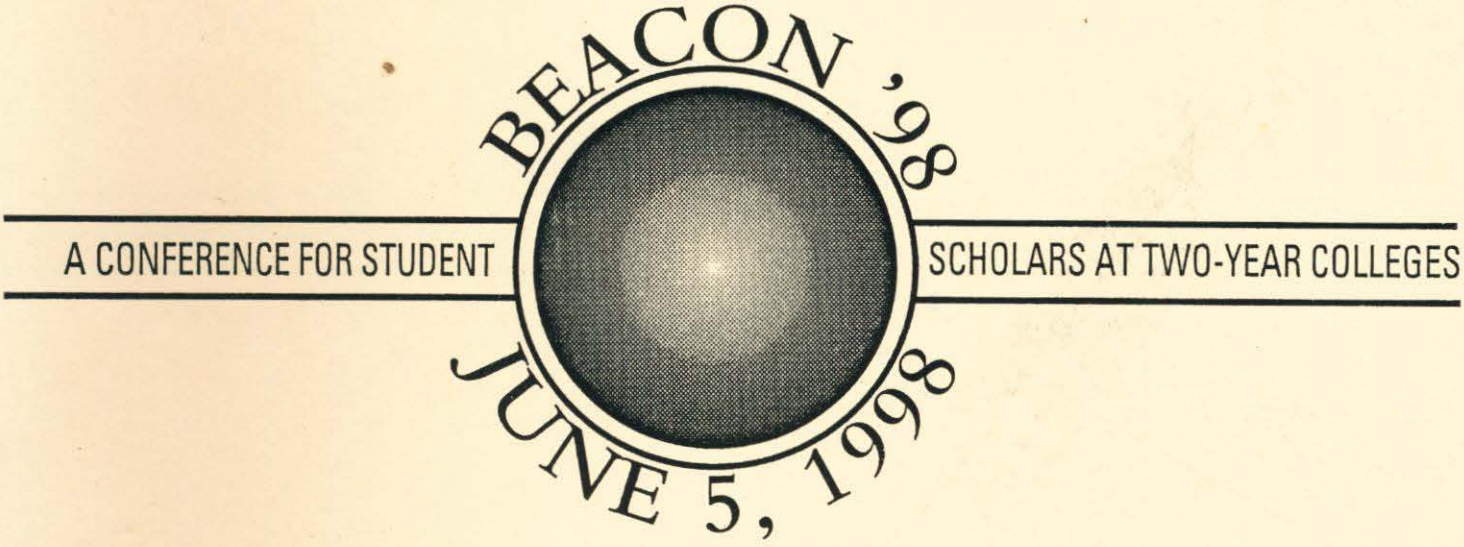

A
CONFERENCE
FOR
STUDENT SCHOLARS
AT
TWO-YEAR COLLEGES

BERGEN COMMUNITY COLLEGE
PARAMUS, NEW JERSEY

FUNDED BY A COALITION OF TWO-YEAR COLLEGES

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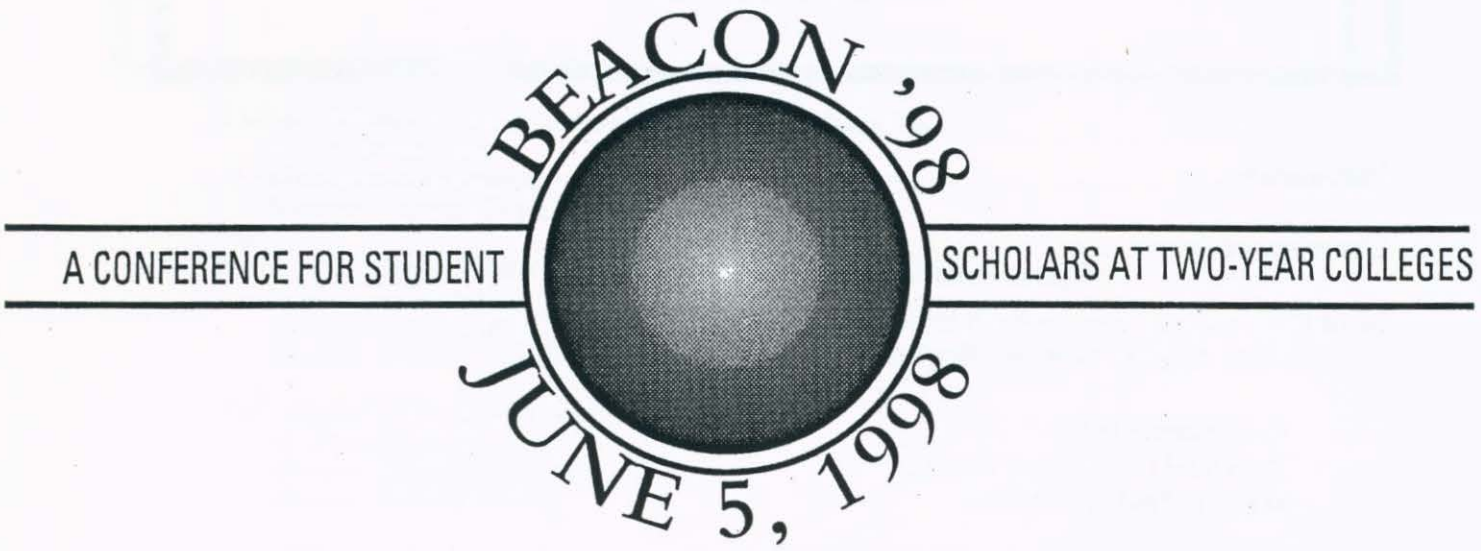

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INTRODUCTION

Beacon '98

is a conference for student scholars at two-year colleges. This conference is funded by a coalition of two-year colleges. In addition to Bergen Community College, the other sponsoring colleges are Brookdale Community College (NJ), Bronx Community College (NY), Burlington County College (NJ), Dutchess Community College (NY), Harford Community College (MD), Lehigh Carbon Community College (PA), Mercer County Community College (NJ), Middlesex Community-Technical College (CT), Montgomery College (MD), Northampton Community College (PA), Rockland Community College (NY), Sullivan Community College (NY), Ulster County Community College (NY), Union County College (NJ), and Westchester Community College (NY).

Panels of students will present papers on diverse subjects in the various fields of inquiry explored at two-year colleges. Each panel will be judged by a scholar in the field, and the outstanding presenter on each panel, along with his or her faculty mentor, will be awarded prizes of $100 each.

In this booklet, the most outstanding papers are reprinted. In the overview of panels, these presentations are indicated by an asterisk.

Session I – Natural Sciences and Mathematics I: Analytical Approaches
9:00 – 10:30 AM
Room C-312

Readers: Gayne Bablanian, Bergen Community College
Richard Bonner, Union County College
Louis Crescitelli, Bergen Community College

Judge: Richard Pizer, CUNY, Brooklyn College

Moderator: P. J. Ricatto, Bergen Community College

1. Cynthia Sakofsky
   Rockland Community College
   Transgenic Animals: The Benefits and Burdens to Mankind
   Mentor: Phyllis Krasnow

* 2. Jordana Starr
   Rockland Community College
   The U.S. Human Genome Project
   Mentor: Phyllis Krasnow

2. Monika Luczak
   Rockland Community College
   Vitamin E: A Step Towards the Elixir of Life
   Mentor: Phyllis Krasnow

Session I – Literature I: Shakespeare
9:00 – 10:30 AM
Room C-309

Readers: Kristopher Bell, Dutchess Community College
Deborah Harrison, Harford Community College
Charles Thomas, Bergen Community College

Judge: Peter Mullany, Fairleigh Dickinson University

Moderator: Sarah Markgraf, Bergen Community College

* 1. Larisa Fuchs
Rockland Community College
Elizabethan Fashion in Its Social Context
Mentor: Nancy Hazelton

2. Sarah Doherty
Rockland Community College
The Winter's Tale: A Play Revolving Around Women's Sexuality
Mentor: Nancy Hazelton

3. Jeffrey Fuks
Rockland Community College
Unruly Women: Placing Katherine and Beatrice in the Elizabethan Context
Mentor: Nancy Hazelton

Session I – Psychology
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Readers: Alma McDonald-Anderson, Ocean County College
Peter Caprioglio, Middlesex Community-Technical College
Eileen Kaufman, Union County College

Judge: Donna Crawley, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Moderator: Lisa Pavlik, Bergen Community College

* 1. Heidi Johansson
Bergen Community College
An Investigation into the Self-Actualizing Potential of Mass Tourism
Mentor: Dorothy Altman

2. Melissa Guerrero
Rockland Community College
Toward the Psychology of Optimal Experience: A Csikszentmihalyiian Analysis of Flow Oriented Conditions
Mentor: J. Matthew Pirone

3. Jeffrie Keenan
Westchester Community College
Serial Killers: a Psychophysiological Perspective
Mentor: Hugh O'Rourke

Session I – Social Justice
Session Sponsored by the Bergen Community College Faculty Association
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Room C-316

Readers: Bram Conley, Ocean County College
Howard Einsohn, Middlesex Community-Technical College
Jo Duvall, Union County College
Sylvia Miranda, Rockland Community College

Judge: John Paitakes, Seton Hall University

Moderator: Cheryl Smith, Bergen Community College

1. Karen Rabadan
   Bergen Community College
   Is the New Welfare Reform Act Either 'Well' or 'Fair'?
   Mentor: Kevin Sullivan

* 2. Karen Goddard
   Bergen Community College
   Obesity Discrimination
   Mentor: Mark Kassop

3. Meghan Dower
   Dutchess Community College
   Helping "Us": The Mission of the Literacy Volunteers of America
   Mentor: John Desmond

Session II – Allied Health
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Readers: Sandra Kearns, Ocean County College
Laura Putland, Harford Community College
Cindy Terry, Lehigh Carbon Community College

Judge: Donita D'Amico, William Paterson University

Moderator: Joan Murko, Bergen Community College

1. Randy Guevara
   Passaic County Community College
   Inhaled Nitric Oxide Therapy
   Mentor: Sandra McCleaster

* 2. Martha Stevens
   Westchester Community College
   Traditional Chinese Medicine: An Ancient Practice as the Path of the Future
   Mentor: Mira Sakrajda

3. Christopher McManus
   Rockland Community College
   Radiology: Innovations in the 21st Century
   Mentor: Phyllis Krasnow

4. Cheryl Silverman
   Dutchess Community College
   Advanced Maternal Age Pregnancy
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Nancy Hazelton, Rockland Community College
Louise Silverman, Ocean County College

Judge: Demetria Royals, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Moderator: Marshall Katzman, Bergen Community College

* 1. Sandy Kenny
Harford Community College
Ideology and Utopia: Advertising and the Motherhood Mystique
Mentor: Lilli Downes

2. Katrina Baker
Harford Community College
Hollywood Depictions of Mothering: Angel of the House
Mentor: Lilli Downes

3. Jean Olive
Bergen Community College
Spin Doctoring in the Reagan Presidency: A Case of Media Malpractice
Mentor: George Skau

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Robert Mundhenk, Northhampton Community College
Robert Yoskowitz, Union County College

Judge: Susy Suarez, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Moderator: Gregg Biermann, Bergen Community College

* 1. Christine Fisher
Montgomery College
Video Visionary: The Electronic Art of Nam June Paik
Mentor: Dianne Ganz Scheper

2. Katy Murphy
Rockland Community College
"Disciple of Experience": Leonardo da Vinci's Use of Light in the "Virgin of the Rocks"
Mentor: Emily Harvey

3. Susan Gerdon
Brookdale Community College
Ansel Adams: A Life of Focus
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Geri Ryder, Ocean County College
George Stevens, Dutchess Community College

Judge: Robert Jones, Fordham University

Moderator: Kevin Sullivan, Bergen Community College

* 1. Ronald Hanaki
Bergen Community College
Brought to Light: Black Athena and the Problem of Historiography
Mentor: Marilyn Edelstein

1. Patricia Koch
Howard Community College
America's Embarrassment: Our Lost Heroes
Mentor: Barbara Graham Cooper

2. Cynthia Stalin
Bergen Community College
Crisis of Church and State
Mentor: Marilyn Edelstein

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Loretta Henderson, Harford Community College
Janet Hubbs, Ocean County College

Judge: Rendell Mabey, Fairleigh Dickinson University

Moderator: Janet Henderson, Bergen Community College

1. Sharon Bogie
   Brookdale Community College
   Discoveries About the Evolution of the Fairy Tale
   Mentor: Joel Morgovsky

2. Robin Koshy
   Rockland Community College
   Charles and Emma: Vision Defects in Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*
   Mentor: Nancy Hazelton

* 3. Susan Bauer
   Monroe Community College
   The Ghosts of Yoknapatawpha county
   Mentor: Robert Herzog

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Suzanne Cleary-Langley, Rockland Community College
Geoffrey Sadock, Bergen Community College

Judge: Priscilla Orr, Bloomfield College

Moderator: Alan Kaufman, Bergen Community College

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   Union County College
   Aristotle, Sophocles, and Oedipus: Their World of Greek Tragedy
   Mentor: Timothy McCracken

* 2. Lisa Denig
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   The Effect of the Great Depression on Arthur Miller's Work
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3. Vida Swisher
   Charles County Community College
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Toni Emery, Dutchess Community College
Elaine Padilla, Rockland Community College

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* 1. Jessica Libero
Gateway Community Technical College
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2. Erin Ferriter
Harford Community College
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3. Stephanie Sullens
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Jo Duvall, Union County College
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2. Karen Clark
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* 3. Marymae Jansson
   Lehigh Carbon Community College
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4. Tamar Reeves
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Dean Nelson, Dutchess Community College
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Judge: Richard Offer, Fairleigh Dickinson University

Moderator: Peter Dlugos, Bergen Community College

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   Hello, Dolly Revisited
   Mentor: Jean Badgley

2. Joanna Danias
   Bergen Community College
   Does God Love Women?
   Mentor: George Abaunza

* 3. John Longobardo
   Dutchess Community College
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Bill Rohrer, Union County College
Theodore Sakano, Rockland Community College

Judge: Peter Richardson, Fairleigh Dickinson University

Moderator: Gayne Bablanian, Bergen Community College

* 1. Susan Packard
Dutchess Community College
An Investigation Into Pile Structure and Evolution, and Its Significance to Insect Thermoregulation
Mentor: Mark Condon

2. Margaret Figus
Bergen Community College
The Synthesis and Size Selective Metal Ion Binding of Tetraphenylporphyrin
Mentor: P. J. Ricatto

3. Carl Speare
Westchester Community College
*Primality Testing on N**
Mentor: Albert Liberi

The U.S. Human Genome Project

by Jordana Starr

The Human Genome Project (HGP) is an international 15-year effort, formally begun in October 1990, in order to discover all 60,000 to 80,000 human genes (the human genome), and make them accessible for further biological study. Another project goal lies in the effort to determine the complete sequence of the 3 billion DNA subunits (bases). As part of HGP, parallel studies are being carried out on selected model organisms, such as the bacterium *E. coli*, in order to develop gene technology and to interpret the human genome function. The Department of Energy (DOE) Human Genome Program and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) National Human Genome Research Institute (NHGRI), together, make up the U.S. Human Genome Project.

The DOE became involved in the HGP following a very interesting course of events. After the atomic bomb was developed and used, the U.S. Congress charged DOE's predecessor agencies (the Atomic Energy Commission and the Energy Research and Development Administration) with studying and analyzing genome structure, replication, damage, repair, and consequences of genetic mutations, especially those caused by exposure to radiation. From these studies grew the recognition that the best way to study these particular effects, was to analyze the entire human genome in order to obtain a reference sequence for studying DNA directly. Planning began in 1986 for DOE's Human Genome Program, and, in 1987, for the NIH program. The DOE-NIH U.S. Human Genome Program formally began on October 1, 1990, after the first joint 5-year plan was written and a memorandum of understanding was signed between the two organizations.

Consistent with the goals of the HGP, the DOE Human Genome Program has focused on six different areas of study, including: (1) the mapping of human chromosomes 2, 5, 11, X, 16, 19, and 21 was a goal set up to aid in the discovery of genetic linkage maps; (2) comparative studies between mouse and human genomes; (3) the development of important biological resources for the HGP and the broader biomedical research communities, including purified

DNA collections for each human chromosome and DNA that is ready for sequencing; (4) technologies, instrumentation, for more efficient DNA sequencing; (5) development of analysis algorithms, and development and integration of databases (informatics) for managing and interpreting genome data; and, (6) communicating HGP progress to those who would interpret it for use in various professions, ultimately for public use.

Another important DOE goal is to foster research into the ethical, legal, and social implications (ELSI) of genome research. The DOE Human Genome Program ELSI component concentrates on two main areas: (1) privacy and confidentiality of personal genetic information, including its accumulation in large, computarized databases and databanks; and (2) development of educational materials and activities in genome science and ELSI, including curricula and television documentaries, workshops, and seminars for targeted audiences. Other areas of interest include data privacy arising from potential uses of genetic testing in the workplace, and issues related to the commercialization of genome research results and technology transfer.

Many researchers at numerous colleges, universities, and laboratories throughout the United States receive DOE and NIH funding for human genome research. At any given time, the DOE HGP funds about 200 separate principal investigators. In addition, many large and small private companies are conducting genome research as well. At least 18 countries have established human genome research programs. Some of the larger programs are in Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Russia, England, and the United States. Some developing countries are participating through studies of molecular biology techniques for genome research, and studies of organisms that are particularly interesting to their geographical regions.

There are many potential benefits of human genome research. Generations of biologists and researchers will be provided with detailed DNA information that will be key to understanding the structure, organization, and function of DNA in chromosomes. Genome maps of other organisms provide the basis for comparative studies that are often critical to understanding more complex biological systems. Information generated and technologies developed will revolutionize future biological explorations.

Genes involved in various genetic diseases will be found, and further studies will lead to an understanding of how those genes contribute to genetic diseases. Medical practices will be radically altered when powerful new clinical technologies, based on DNA diagnostics, are combined with information emerging from genome maps. Emphasis will shift from treatment of the sick to a prevention-based approach. Researchers will be able to identify individuals who are predisposed to particular diseases and will devise therapeutic regimens based on new classes of drugs, immunotherapy techniques, avoidance of environmental conditions that may trigger disease, and possible replacement of defective genes through gene therapy.

The ability to sequence DNA directly and quickly will revolutionize mutation research by allowing researchers to study the relationships between disease and exposure to various agents. Data from these studies could be coupled with medical information in order to diagnose disease onset and develop therapeutic strategies. Technologies, data bases, and biological resources developed in genome research, will have an enormous impact on a wide variety of biotechnology-related industries in such fields as agriculture, energy production, waste control, and environmental clean-up. The potential for commercial development presents U.S. industry with a wealth of opportunity, and sales of bio-technology products are projected to exceed 20 billion dollars by the year 2,000.

According to the Genome Database (GDB), the public repository for human genome mapping information, almost 5,800 genes have now been mapped to particular chromosomes. In addition to mapped genes, there are about 1,400 genes stored in GDB, whose locations have not yet been determined. Tens of thousands of human gene fragments have been identified as expressed sequence tags (ESTs). These are also being assigned to particular positions on gene chromosome maps.

The physical mapping goal is to establish a marker every 100,000 bases across each chromosome (about 30,000 markers). The most complete map yet was published in summer 1997 and featured about 8,000 landmarks, which provided about twice the resolution of previous maps. Similarly detailed maps have been produced for a few individual chromosomes, but this map offers landmarks across the entire human genome, that are also positioned relative to each other.

Roughly 2% of the human genome has been sequenced so far. Up to this point, the focus of the Human Genome Project has been the development of more efficient DNA sequencing technology, not on large-scale sequencing. A great deal of progress has been made in the development of automated sequencing machines in order to produce more accurate sequences in a much shorter time. Besides automating current methods, researchers are also trying new ways of sequencing the genome, including a silicone "DNA chip" holding tens of thousands of short sequences. Although much progress has been made, many challenges remain in developing faster and cheaper sequencing technologies, as well as in database development and sequence-analysis software. In 1996, the Genome Project moved cautiously into large-scale sequencing through the implementation of several pilot projects which explore the cost and efficiency of different strategies.

Model organisms offer a cost-effective way to follow the inheritance of genes (that are very similar to human genes) through many generations, in a relatively short time. Some model organisms being studied in the HGP are the bacterium *Escherichia coli*, yeast *Saccharomyces cerevisae*, roundworm *Caenorhabditis elegans*, fruitfly *Drosophila melanogaster*, and laboratory mouse. Additionally, HGP spin-offs have led to genetic analysis of other environmentally and industrially important organisms in the United States and abroad.

Deletion maps are descriptions of specific chromosomes that use defined mutations, specific deleted areas in the genome, as "biochemical signposts," or markers for specific areas. Long-range restriction mapping involves restriction enzymes (proteins) that cut DNA at precise locations. Restriction maps depict the positions of chromosomes of restriction enzyme cutting sites. These are also used as "biochemical signposts," or markers of specific areas along the chromosome. The map details the positions on the DNA molecule that are cut by particular restriction enzymes.

A cloning vector is a DNA molecule (from a bacterium, virus, or yeast) that carries a piece of foreign DNA (which can be of any origin, including human) into a host cell (usually a bacterial or yeast cell). The foreign DNA will be reproduced when the host cell reproduces. Collections of these cells that maintain with stability foreign DNA, are called clone libraries. Stable clone libraries, with large DNA inserts, are crucial resources for genome researchers.

A polymerase chain reaction (PCR) is a way researchers copy or clone a piece of DNA in order to obtain sufficient material for experiments. This does not require a host cell and is extremely fast, and sensitive. Shotgun sequencing is a strategy which involves the random sequencing of tiny clone pieces of the genome, with no foreknowledge of the original location on a chromosome. This can be contrasted with directed strategies, in which pieces of DNA from adjacent stretches of a chromosome, are sequenced. Directed strategies eliminate the need for complex reassemly techniques. As there are advantages to both strategies, researchers expect to use both shotgun and directed strategies in combination in order to sequence the human genome.

Positional cloning is a technique used in the identification of genes, usually those that are associated with diseases, based on their location on a chromosome. This is in contrast to the older "functional cloning," technique which relies on some knowledge of a gene's protein product. For most diseases, however, researchers have no such knowledge.

The term "polymorphism," in genetics, refers to different DNA sequences. Polymorphisms can occur within protein-coding regions (genes) and non-coding regions. Researchers can trace these DNA differences through several generations in order to find disease genes and to construct detailed chromosome maps.

Gel electrophoresis is a very important technique in DNA sequencing. Standard sequencing procedures involve cloning DNA fragments into special sequencing cloning vectors that carry tiny pieces of DNA. The next step is to determine the base sequence of the tiny fragments by a special procedure which generates a series of even tinier DNA fragments that differ in size by only one base. These nested fragments are separated by gel electrophoresis in which the DNA pieces are added to a gelatinous solution, allowing the fragments to work their way down through the gel. Smaller pieces move faster and reach the bottom first. Movement through the gel is hastened by applying an electric field to the gel.

Genetic linkage maps are critical for mapping genes underlying identifiable phenotypes, including diseases. In late 1994, the first major initial Genome Project goal, a two to five cM human genetic map, was reached when an international group of investigators published a comprehensive map, comprising 5,840 loci covering 4,000 cM. Of those markers, 970 are ordered with high confidence and provide a framework map. The comprehensive map can be

said to represent an average marker density of 0.7 cM, with the more highly reliable framework map subset having a resolution of about 4 cM.

Progress toward this goal was extremely rapid; the map was, in fact, completed a year ahead of schedule. This accomplishment resulted, in part, from the use of a new type of genetic marker known variously as a microsatellite repeat (STRP or SSLP). Advantages of microsatellites include a high level of variation from individual to individual (polymorphism), and abundant and relatively even distribution throughout the genome.

Although the initial genetic mapping goal has been attained, the 1993 extended five-year plan recognized the importance of continued improvement in genetic mapping technology. Easier, automatable, and more cost-effective genotyping methods, remain a priority. Such methods will probably require the development of new types of genetic markers, novel genotyping technology, and new analytical tools. Maximizing the usefulness of the genetic map will be particularly important for dissecting the genetics of such complex traits as susceptibilities to heart disease, hypertension, and diabetes.

Physical maps are used to isolate and characterize individual genes, other DNA regions of interest, and provide the substrate for DNA sequencing. A current Human Genome Project goal for physical mapping is to complete an STS-based map of the human genome with markers spaced every 100 kb, on average. Investigators are generating STS maps using both chromosome-specific and genome-wide strategies, and collective progress has been impressive.

Constructing a 100 kb resolution map will require generating and ordering some 30,000 STS markers. A number of different strategies are being applied on a genome-wide basis to build such a map; these strategies include STS-content mapping using large-insert YAC clones, radiation hybrid mapping, and clone fingerprinting. Adoption of a whole-genome approach for map building has been important in the rapid progress of the last 2 to 3 years. Investigators also plan to map a common subset of STS markers on the different maps currently under construction, resulting in well-integrated maps with many more mapped STSs than any one laboratory could produce.

For example, efforts already underway will produce a radiation hybrid map in which a sufficient number of markers will be ordered at very high confidence in order to provide a

resolution higher than 200 kb. Additional STSs will be mapped, albeit with order established at lower confidence levels, with overall map resolution higher than 100 kb. Upon completion of the map, investigators will be able to select markers from any of the contributing maps; confident that the markers will fall in either the same or adjacent defined regions on the chromosome.

Investigators are also placing polymorphic markers within physical maps in order to allow the integration of physical and genetic mapping data across chromosomal regions. These maps will facilitate finer-scale mapping, sequencing, and disease-gene identification. Large-scale efforts to map YACs and BACs onto metaphase chromosomes are linking cytogenetic and sequence/cosmid-based maps.

Initial physical mapping goals included of contig maps (overlapping clone sets) of human chromosomes. Long-range clone contiguity has been achieved for several individual chromosomes in a number of laboratories. Clone-STS maps of entire euchromatic regions of chromosomes 21 and Y were published in 1992. YAC-based clone-STS maps of chromosomes 3, 11, 12, and 22 were finished more recently, and similar maps of chromosomes 4, 5, 7, and X are nearing completion. Maps principally based on cosmid contigs were published recently for chromosomes 16 and 19, and a cosmid-based chromosome 13 map is almost finished.

None of the first generation physical maps is error free. Errors come from at least two sources: rearrangement of clones relative to the native genome, and map-assembly procedures that do not always produce the correct order. Some problems with the initial physical maps resolve themselves. As marker density increases, internal inconsistencies become evident, and are corrected upon data reexamination. The use of multiple, independent mapping methods also contributes significantly to map validation, and using the same markers in different mapping projects promotes quality control. Criteria for assessing and reporting map quality and mapping progress were proposed recently by an international group of scientists. In spite of these impressive advances, further improvements in mapping technology are essential. New host-vector systems may be required, for example, in order to capture the regions not well represented in current maps, and for particular map applications, such as sequencing.

The most technologically challenging goal of the Human Genome Project remains the complete sequencing of the human genome within the projected 15 years. In the past five years,

significant progress has been made toward developing the capability for large-scale DNA sequencing. When the Genome Project began, the longest DNA sequence obtained was the 250,000 bp cytomegalovirus sequence, which took several years to complete. Now, several laboratories have each generated at least 1 Mb; some have determined more than 10 Mb of DNA sequence, mostly from model organisms. The longest continuous human sequence is 685 kb, from the human T-cell Beta receptor locus, a chromosomal region involved in immune responses.

Substantial technical, strategic, and organizational experience in managing large data-production projects has been gained through recent efforts to sequence the genomes of several non-human organisms. The capacity of automated sequencing instruments has increased, and higher-throughput instruments are almost ready for introduction into a large-scale sequencing environment. As a result of these and other developments, confidence is growing that continued incremental improvements to current DNA sequencing approaches can be scaled up cost-effectively, and will probably enable completion of the first generation human DNA sequence by 2005. Continued improvement in sequencing technology will be essential in order to meet the demands of sequence-based approaches to biological analysis. Achieving the capability for inexpensive sequencing at high throughput levels will require technology far beyond that available today.

One of the long-range genome project objectives is to identify all genes and other functional elements in genomic DNA, although understanding their functions will extend far beyond the project. With steady improvements in physical-map resolution and increased sequence data, an attendant need is for robust, high-throughput, and cost-effective methods to identify, map, and study functional elements in the genomes of humans, as well as other organisms.

One method of tabulating genes on a genome-wide basis involves the determination and mapping of unique tags (ESTs) for cDNAs. Identification and initial analysis of large sets of ESTs have been published, and over the next year an even larger number of ESTs are expected to become available. The cDNA clones from which ESTs are derived are also available through the IMAGE Consortium, repositories, and industry. Another international consortium is mapping a

large number of publicly available ESTs on both radiation hybrids and YACs. By providing information on the chromosomal locations of genes represented by ESTs, this gene map will increase the value of the EST set for investigators involved in gene hunting and other analytical activities.

A significant fraction of all human genes is expected to be represented ultimately in the EST and clone sets, but this approach is unlikely to reveal all human genes. Additionally, the amount of sequence and structural information about a gene identified by an EST, will be limited. An optimal technology, or combination of technologies that will allow high-throughput, cost-effective gene identification remains an important goal of the Human Genome Project.

The speed with which human genes are being identified, particularly those responsible for genetic diseases, continues to increase rapidly because of improved genetic and physical maps. As a result, new disease genes are being discovered at a rate of several per month, as compared with a lower number in recent years. For the past several years, improved maps have increased the efficiency with which investigators use the powerful positional cloning approach to isolate human disease genes. Positional cloning is essential for identifying genes underlying a particular condition or trait, when no prior knowledge of gene function is available.

As genome maps have improved and become increasingly enriched with gene sequences, a new strategy known as positional-candidate cloning has emerged. This approach begins with mapping the disease gene to a small interval on a chromosome. All genes previously identified for that genomic region can then be tested, starting with any whose product suggests possible involvement. At this point, a gene can become a candidate for disease involvement by virtue of its properties and its map location.

From the beginning of the Genome Project, informatics has been recognized as essential to the project's success. Much progress has been made in the development of computer-based systems for automating the acquisition, management, analysis, and distribution of experimental data. Improvements in laboratory systems integration and information management systems have promoted large-scale genomics and other biology programs in academia and industry. A number of new databases have been created, and existing databases have been expanded in order to allow the rapid distribution of genome data. Improved software is critical to maximizing

automated data acquisition and analysis in genetic and physical map construction, base calling, sequence-contig assembly and editing, project management, and feature recognition and annotation.

Beyond the development of these new tools, several other important informatics problems must be solved. The large number of informatics tools and data resources already available, or still being developed, is not fully integrated and coordinated. Research, development, and coordination efforts are underway in order to allow easier access to genome research data. With improved computer infrastructure, analyzing information for further and broader biological research, will be easier. Another major challenge is to integrate genome and genome-related databases.

From the outset of the Human Genome Project, researchers recognized that the resulting increase in knowledge about human biology and personal genetic information would raise complex ethical and policy issues for the individual as well as society. Accordingly, ELSI investigations have been an integral element of genome programs around the world. In the first few years of the U.S. ELSI programs, the NIH and DOE have taken two approaches.

The first approach is a research and education grant program supported by 3-5% of funds from each agency's budget. The research program has focused on identifying and addressing ethical issues arising from genetic research, responsible clinical integration of new genetic technologies, privacy and the fair use of genetic information, and professional and public education concerning ELSI issues.

The second approach involves the NIH-DOE Joint Working Group on ELSI of Human Genome Research. This group is charged with exploring and proposing options for sound professional and public policies related to human genome research and its applications, and with identifying gaps in the current state of knowledge of ELSI issues.

The NIH Office of Protection from Research Risks has developed guidelines for protecting the privacy, autonomy, and welfare of individuals and families involved in human genetic research. These recommendations grew out of a series of meetings and studies supported by the NCHGR ELSI program, which has worked with the National Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to develop recommendations for using stored tissue samples in genetic research.

The beginning phase of the Human Genome Project has been remarkably successful. Public data describing human DNA and the DNA of other organisms has expanded enormously, and the information obtained is being used at an increasing rate. Genome Project's contributions to the study of inherited disease and other biological phenomena, are not widely recognized by the scientific community. Investigators are no longer arguing about the validity of the Genome Project, but are debating the most effective ways to reap its rewards. Products of the Human Genome Project including maps, DNA sequences, and improved technology for genomic analysis, will soon enable the era of sequence-based biological investigation to begin.

Elizabethan Fashion in Its Social Context

By Larisa Fuchs

The dissociation of appearance and identity, explored through blurred social and gender distinctions as illustrated in William Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* and *As You Like It.*

ELIZABETHAN FASHION: OVERVIEW

> Five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings, painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, carcanets, dressings, kurls, frills, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pulses, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she is scarce dressed to the girdle: and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoe ties, etc., that seven peddlars' shops--nay, all Stonebridge fair will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far than a gentlewoman made ready (T. Tomkins "Lingua or the Combat of the Tongues" quoted in Breward 42)

This often-quoted passage from a 1607 university play summarizes in all sardonic eloquence the complexity, almost to absurdity, of Elizabethan fashion at its height. Prior to Elizabeth's reign, fashion changed at a leisurely gradual pace reasonable for the times, but, with a woman on the throne, and with an increase in travel and thereby in exposure to foreign styles and fabrics, England's fashion began a series of metamorphoses, the latter taking place in such a quick succession that the feat remained unparalleled until our own tumultuous century.

However, whereas in this century fashion makes the cycle from minimalist to luxurious to minimalist again, in the sixteenth century it seemed to move only in one direction: bigger, heavier, more elaborate, embellished and expensive garments.

This opulent trend truly started with Henry VIII in early 1500's, whose "love for jewels and flamboyant display" (Ashelford 18) is apparent in all surviving images of the King, in contrast to his father Henry VII, who was "austere and pious...[and] had no interest in finery" (Ashelford 16).

During Henry's time, men's fashion included a long and very padded frock (doublet), adopted by the King in order to conceal his growing proportions. It was also at this time that men's hose was separated into upper stocks (slops, trunk hose or breeches), which covered the body from the waist to mid-thigh, and nether stocks (lower hose), woolen stockings attached to the upper hose by a system of points (ties with metal tags) (Ashelford 19-20). The codpiece, made separately and attached to the hose and the doublet by points, was boned and padded to give it more prominence. This "blatant display of masculinity" was not compatible with Elizabeth's emphasis on her virginal beauty, and it went out of style in her court by 1580 (Ashelford 20).

Basic female dress in the early sixteenth century consisted of the kirtle and the gown. The kirtle originally was a bodice with a square neck, fitting the body closely to about mid-thigh and then falling to the ground in heavy folds. After 1545, when the bodice and skirt were made separately, the term was applied to the skirt. The gown was an optional overgarment, worn for decoration or warmth by both men and women. Massive oversleeves with turned-back cuffs were worn over the stiff, often quilted, undersleeves. A fine linen shift (smock) was worn as an undergarment to protect the expensive velvet of the bodice from perspiration and dirt. Its trimmed edge showed slightly over the neck of the bodice and from under the cuffs, and was often pulled and puffed through slashes on the undersleeve (Ashelford 20).

Over the next hundred years, fashion transformed from elaborate to bizarre by development of each particular component of dress to its natural extreme and by combination of all the components at the same time on the body. For men, stuffed doublets became stiffer, eventually taking on what is known as a 'peascod' shape. That is, the doublets bulged with padding over the stomach in an exaggerated overhanging curve, much like the shape of a peapod in profile. The trunk hose grew in size and volume, finally taking on an onion shape

that puffed out from the bottom edge of the doublet and extended to mid-thigh or just above the knee.

Women saw the bodice get longer and more pointed until it reached the fork of the body, with the skirts getting fuller and heavier until they needed special support structures, at which point the Spanish farthingale was adopted. This curious construction consisted of a series of concentric circles or ovals attached to the body at the waist. The top of it created a shelf upon which ladies could rest their arms. The whole structure was tilted at a great angle towards the front (sometimes coming as low as knee-level), much like the enormous starched ruff, which was part of both male and female attire. "The result was a complete caricature of the long-bodied, wide-hipped, short-legged structure to which the feminine form naturally tends" (Squire 65).

Likewise universal were the double sleeves, the inner stuffed, slashed and puffed, and the outer heavily ornamented and often lined with fur. Incidentally, surface decoration in this century's fashions was ubiquitous and unisex. The expensive fabric of doublets and bodices was pinked and slashed in a carefully careless gesture of extravagance. Literally every inch of exposed fabric was embroidered, jeweled, puffed, tied in ribbons; in short, embellished with all the skill and imagination the tailor possessed, giving courtiers a likeness to strutting peacocks.

England's commerce was booming at the time of Elizabeth's ascension to the throne, creating a society with "an unprecedented degree of mobility" (Ashelford 24). Fashions came from France, Italy or Germany to England, where the fashion-conscious Elizabeth set the extravagant styles for her court, London society and the rest of the country, for all those who could afford to be fashionable. "She [Queen Elizabeth] is said to have had nearly two thousand dresses, chosen from many countries, and Lord Melville, visiting at court, reported her own statement that she had the clothes of every nationality" (Hatcher 198).

What this meant for the English style of the period was that it became a laughable (yet strangely alluring) mix of often grotesquely mismatched trends copied from other countries and quickly adopted and integrated with existing fashion. This was widely criticized by numerous writers, the tendency of the English to be slaves to foreign fashion being termed anything from simply inappropriate to unpatriotic.

> Sithence such is our mutability, that to-day there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the high Almain fashion, by-and-bye the Turkish manner is generally best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian fleeces, the mandillion worn to Colleyweston ward, and the short French breeches make a comely vesture that, except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England (William Harrison "Description of England" in Wilson 123).

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia, in her long list of unsuitable suitors, criticizes a "young baron of England" by saying, "How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behavior everywhere" (1.2.61-63).

Thomas Dekker, a playwright noted for his portrayal of Elizabethan daily life, wrote in 1606 that the clothes of a fashionable Englishman were "'[like] a traitor's bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set up in seuerall places: his Codpiece is in *Denmarke*, the collor of his Dublet, and the belly in *France*: the wing and narrow sleeue in Italy: the short waste hangs ouer a *Dutch* botchers stall in Utrich: his huge sloppes speakes *Spanish*; *Polonia* gives him the Bootes'" (Ashelford 43).

John Lyly, Dekker's contemporary, mentions this property of English culture more favorably in his 1590 play *Midas*, "'Traffic and travel hath woven the nature of all nations into ours, and made this land like arras, full of device, which was broadcloth, full of workmanship'" (Ashelford 35).

DRESS AND IDENTITY:BLURRED SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS

The Taming of The Shrew

> But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna, and such preposterous excesse thereof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparel he lust himselfe, or can get by anie mind of meanes. So that it is verie hard to knowe, who is

noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue those, which are neither of the nobylitie gentilitie nor yeomanry, no, nor yet anie Magistrat or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in silkes, veluets, satens, damasks, taffeties and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, & seruyle by calling (Philip Stubbes "Anatomie of Abuses" 1583 quoted in Jardine 148).

This passage refers to an increasing concern in Elizabethan society with impropriety of excessively luxuriant costumes in relation to the social rank of the wearer as the more mobile mercantile order of structure began to replace the stationary feudal order.

"Spectators and moralists discerned a shift towards the expressive qualities of outward appearance, unfettered by considerations of class and duty. The enemy appeared to be external, resting on a new sense of individualism expressed through dress and possessions, based on the sins of vanity and ostentatious spending, and upsetting natural hierarchies" (Breward 57).

Explicit legislation, a series of sumptuary laws, was issued by Elizabeth, prohibiting wearing of certain fabrics by assigning the right to them to specific social positions to which they would be appropriate (see chart). The right to sumptuous clothing was a natural right, acquired through position in society rather than money. Ignoring this natural right was a transgression tantamount to treason.

For example, in *Henry VI Part II*, Queen Margaret characterizes the impertinence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his wife through a description of the latter's excessive dress (Jardine 141).

Strangers in court do take her for the queen.
She bears a duke's revenues on her back,
And in her heart she scorns our poverty;
Shall I not live to be aveng'd on her?
Contemtuous base-born callet as she is,
She vaunted 'mongst her minions t' other day
The very train of her worst wearing gown

Was better worth than all my father's lands

Till Suffolk gave two dukedoms for his daughter.

(1.3.83-91)

The charge here is much more than just vanity. "She displays her lack of respect for the queen, and signals the power of her own husband, by boasting about the lavishness of her own dress, and wearing it ostentatiously" (Jardine 141).

Note also that the husband's social rank and wealth come at this time to be represented outwardly by his wife. In fact, apart from a few household duties, a woman had no other specific tasks allocated to her (and the more affluent the household, the more servants and fewer duties a wife had).

"Women 'inhabited a separate culture parallel to, but concealed behind the more powerful official male culture', occasionally diverging 'at dinners...suppers or card games...banquets,'" those being "presumably the times when the wider economic and social relevance of female dress and appearance reached fulfillment in terms of patriarchial status, languishing at other times in a remote and exclusively feminine environment" (Breward 61). This must have created a fierce competition among court ladies, and they were often accused of spending all of their husbands' money on clothing and trinkets. Through this emphasis on showing wealth and importance through outward appearance, the woman was paradoxically both "private powerless chattel and loaded public symbol" (Breward 61).

This, too, connects directly to the Elizabethan notion of natural order, as proscribed by "the great chain of being" theory. A woman held a rigidly contructed role in Elizabethan culture, powerless in actuality yet symbolically significant. These principles can be very clearly observed in *The Taming of the Shrew.*

From the very beginning, Katherine is limited to a certain role: she "is not portrayed as a human being who happens to be shrewish; on the contrary, she is nothing but a shrew; her every gesture and move are the products of shrewishness" (Van Laan 48). To convey this shrewishness visually, to equate appearance with identity, Kate is often portrayed with long unstyled hair as a symbol of her wildness.

As signifier of social rank, the woman must be put in a position of the best advantage to the man, and, in order to achieved this, the man must be sure he can control her. A woman such as Katherine is out of balance with the rest of the society. She is a threat to the above

mentioned "natural order." It is the task that Petruchio takes on to transform her into a "proper" wife, thus placing her in a new role. In order to force Kate out of her shrewish part, Petruchio decides to replace her in it. He mimicks and exaggerates her wild behavior and talks back to her, becoming "Kated," that is, shrewish. This verbal battle begins the second they meet (*TS* 2.1.180-267).

In order to make the transformation complete, his appearance must be affected as well. Further, to dissociate himself from Petruchio the gentleman and believably take on the role of Petruchio the shrew, he must change his dress to something as horrid and monstrous as his behavior. For this reason, he chooses his curious attire for his wedding day: "... a new hat and an old jerkin; a pair of old breeches, thrice turned; a pair of boots that have been candle-cases, one buckled, another laced; an old rusty sword ta'en out of the town armoury, with a broken hilt, and chape less; with two broken points" (*TS* 3.2.41-45). The full impact of his actions can be understood only in the context of his times, when extreme significance was given to appearance.

An interesting comment is made to Petruchio by Baptista, "doff this habit, *shame to your estate,*/An eyesore to our solemn festival" (*TS* 3.2.93-94, Italics mine). His attire does not correctly reflect his true identity, and that is as much a travesty as wearing clothing too rich for one's position in life. It is only when the identity and appearance are harmonized that natural order is achieved. In fact, "if the apparel is appropriate to the status of the wearer it raises him/her above the common, and adds to his or her beauty" (Jardine 146). Once Katherine and Petruchio are married, he suggests announcing their newly elevated marital status by arriving at her father's house in appropriate attire.

> And now, my honey love,
> Will we return unto thy father's house
> And revel it as bravely as the best,
> With silken coats and caps, and golden rings,
> With ruffs and cuffs and farthingales and things,
> With scarfs and fans and double change of brav'ry,
> With amber bracelets, beads, and all this knav'ry
> (*TS* 4.3.52-58).

However, it is not that simple. If Kate is to be dressed as a good and proper wife, she must in fact be one, and this is the key to the scene involving the tailor. Upon Petruchio's rejection of a cap, Katherine responds, "I'll have no bigger; this doth fit the time,/And gentlewomen wear such caps as these" (*TS* 4.3.69-70). Petruchio seems to be waiting for just such an opportunity to hint at the necessary change of role before a change in costume, "When you are gentle, you shall have one too,/And not till then" (*TS* 4.3.71-72). Just as the attire of a madman is no longer appropriate for Petruchio once he has stopped playing a madman's part, so Katherine's attire of a "gentlewoman" will become appropriate only when she abandons her role of the shrew and takes on the role of a wife and proper lady.

The play of appearance and identity is, of course, echoed in the Induction that places a poor drunken Sly in a position of a lord. Among other things used to create the illusion of his high rank is a lord's attire. This must have been one of the most palpable reasons for his belief in the illusion, considering the extravagance of noble Elizabethan dress in contrast to peasant robes. Yet the clothes are not enough to make the transition complete, since nobility is not an acquired characteristic. It was believed in those times to be inherent by the ruling classes, properly displayed only through outlandishly ornate clothing, even if the courtier had to starve himself to put those clothes on his back. If someone could afford those clothes by virtue of his financial situation, wearing them would be considered presumptuous and false, and the "upstart" would still not be thought of as noble.

No matter how expensive and lavish the garb, Sly's remains a tinker, and thus can never be a true lord. The inconsistency of Sly's appearance with his station in life is the source of the comic effect of the situation, for "the individual who adopts dress too elevated for his or her station in life is automatically to be perceived as grotesque" (Jardine 146).

DRESS AND IDENTITY: BLURRED GENDER DISTINCTIONS

As You Like It

What should I say of their doublets with pendant codpieces on the breast, full of jags and cuts, and sleeves of sundry colours? Their galligaskins to bear out their bums and make their attire to fit plum round (as they term it) about them. Their farthingales, and diversely coloured nether stocks of silk, jersey, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I have met with some of these trulls in London so disguised that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to pass, that women are become men, and men are transformed into monsters (William Harrison "Description of England," 1587, in Wilson 124).

There was a gender duality in Elizabethan court associated in no small part with having a woman on the throne. In order to rule effectively, Elizabeth had to encompass characteristics of both male and female within herself. Her statement, "I know I have the Body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the Heart and Stomach of a King," could be given a new dimension in light of this androgynous duality existing outside of herself as well.

The Elizabethan and the consequent Jacobean court bore in their fashions the mark of almost the only time in history of Western fashion that, through appropriation of certain typically male and female characteristics, the dress of men and women had become almost identical while their social roles remained as distinct as ever.

With a wasp-waist and rounded hips in a square-necked stiffened doublet with elaborate double sleeves and enormous ruffs; all surfaces decorated by cutting, stamping, puffing, embroidery, braiding, applique, trimming; further embellished with various aglets, bosses, buttons, chains, pendants, jewels, brooches, rings; decked in velvets, silks, taffetas, laces...the human body was distorted, reshaped and shrouded in multiple luxuriant layers from head to toe (including elaborate headdresses, hairstyles and high-heeled shoes) that completely obscured all visible signs of gender distinction.

It is no surprise then that at that time in English history, especially toward the end of Elizabeth's reign and into the beginning of James's, the subjects of sexual ambiguity and crossdressing, or "hermaphroditism," were scrutinized by a number of writers relatively larger than the usual conservative minority. Most of the writings on crossdressing were negative and concentrated on the instances of women dressing as men.

The Women also haue dublets & Jerkins as men haue heer, buttoned up the breast, and made with wings, welts and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is, for all the world, & though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it, and if they could as well change their sex, & put on the kind of man, as they can weare apparel assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed as now they degenerat from godly sober women, in wearing this wanton, lewd kinde of attire, proper only to man (Stubbes quoted in Jardine 155).

This was a threat not only to accepted notions of sexuality but also to the established patriarchial social/gender system, once again an unwelcome violation of the "natural order" of things. "To point a finger at woman's affecting of the badges of male office - dress, arms, behaviour - was to pin down a potent symbol of the threat to order which was perceived dimly as present in the entire shift from feudal to mercantile society" (Jardine 162).

Because of the close association of clothing with identity, these women were believed to be in part men, a situation with obvious homosexual implications, and one that made them horrible monstrosities that were ungodly and unnatural, as described by Phillip Stubbes in *The Anatomie of Abuses*. "Our apparel was given us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therefore one to weare the Apparel of another sex, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his own kinde. Wherefore these women may not improperly be called Hermaphrodita, that is, monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men" (Breward 93).

Strange as it may seem to us today, this distorted view of gender was fully supported by science, anatomy in particular, that held male and female genitalia to be almost identical in structure, with the woman described more in terms of what was "lacking" than what the actual physiological structure comprised. This put even more stress on clothing and behavior (appearance) as signifiers of gender.

Very interesting at this time is the similarity implied in boys and women. Both were in essence "undeveloped men," the only difference being the dismissal of this inferiority in boys as temporary. The effeminacy of boys was condoned and even found charming in certain cases--but only because it was a fleeting temporary phase. One can find traces of this in *Twelfth Night*, when Duke Orsino describes the youth Cesario, not knowing he is actually Viola, a maid.

> For they shall yet belie thy happy years
> That say thou art a man. Diana's lip
> Is not more smooth and rubious; thy small pipe
> Is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound,
> And all is semblative a woman's part (1.4.28-33).

Cesario is not yet a man, so his characteristics are those of a female; he will only grow up to be only a man, in the process losing his feminine traits. Not only are women

"lacking" physically (also hinted above through the ubiquitous pun on female genitalia), but they are inferior emotionally, as shown in a short diatribe by Rosalind trying to fit properly the masculine role of Ganymede in *As You Like It*. "For every passion something, and for no passion truly anything, as boys and women are for the most part cattle of this colour" (*AYLI* 3.2.370-371).

As You Like It is one of four of Shakespeare's cross-dressing comedies (the device was most likely not employed in tragedies because of the social implications of gender play). Critics over the years have given numerous interpretations of the play and its gender issues, especially the problem of the cross-dressing heroine, playing herself in disguise, the part being performed by a boy actor. It is very hard to escape the homoerotic implications in the role, especially because of Shakespeare's deliberate choice of names. "Ganymede" was the name of Jove's effeminate boy-lover. At the time, the name had clear pederastic connotations (Howard in Greenblatt 1596).

The exploitation of eroticism in this play is highly sophisticated. Shakespeare, a product of his time, was a master of word play, suggestion and allusion, never stating things directly, as that would be considered bad taste. Instead, "All the visual and literary creation of this age tended to be the symbolic, the allegorical, the emblematic, and require reading with the intellect as well as enjoyment by the eye" (Squire 58).

It is the sexual innuendo, not the overt bawdiness, that would be considered erotic. "Watching a play by Shakespeare it is impossible for us to experience the full Mannerist relish with which at least the intelligentsia in a contemporary audience must have watched a boy playing a girl disguised as a boy. We believe that they missed something of the illusion of reality. Perhaps we miss something of their formal mental gymnastics" (Squire 58).

Clothing played into that subtlety because of the similarity in men's and women's attire. It was not distracting to the audience to have a strictly "male" visual of the disguised Rosalind, since simply by substituting the female skirts for the male trunk hose while keeping the doublet the same, Rosalind could transform into Ganymede, and then look ambiguous enough for the audience to see her as Ganymede playing Rosalind. The costume helps the quadruple complexity of gender in the play to proceed smoothly (boy actor/Rosalind/"Ganymede"/"Rosalind").

As for Rosalind, the relationship between her masculine attire and the society of the time is implied in Jacques' (and possibly Shakespeare's) most famous metaphor, "All the world's a stage/And all the men and women merely players" (*AYLI* 2.7.138-139). Costume is a necessity and a convention to portray the desired role. If the appearance, and thus the role, happen to reflect the actor's/character's true personal identity, it is because a conscious choice has been made by the wearer to make it so. A boy actor puts on female garb to play Rosalind, a princess. Rosalind puts on male attire to free herself from her position as a princess and from the dangers to her life that go along with the title, and, as a boy, liberated from her rigidly ascribed societal role, plays the female subject to Orlando's wooing.

In Rosalind's donning of male attire we see "feminine curiosity freed for an hour from feminine dignity" (Chesterton in Bloom 14). In other words, the disguise enables her to do things typically associated with the male sex in that period -- to be bold with her opinions, assertive, forward, but playful, even mocking. She is able to accost her male love interest rather than wait for his favor to fall upon her.

"Come, woo me, woo me, for now I am in a holiday humour and like enough to consent. What would you say to me now, an I were your very, very Rosalind?" (*AYLI* 4.1.59-61). She is able to say to him, provoking him to make his affection known in a practical way for the first time. As a "saucy lackey," she is able to reshape the unrealistic male Petrarchan ideas of idealized romance to suit her more practical character by playing an elaborate game of "what if." She simply would not have this freedom as a woman. "Spoken in skirts and stomacher, at a time when, off stage, women no more laid open their hearts than they did their bodies, such words would never do" (Stoll in Bloom 15).

Women were in all aspects considered inferior to men. Celia suggests early in the play to "mock the good housewife Fortune from her wheel, that her gifts may henceforth be bestowed equally." To that, Rosalind replies that "her benefits are mightily misplaced, and the bountiful blind woman doth most mistake in her gifts to women" (*AYLI* 1.2.28-34), implying that they have been disenfranchised by nature by being born women, left to waste their time away with idle chat, nothing but a "flaccid exercise in diversion" (Carole McKewin "Counsels of God and Grace" in Bloom 32).

Along with freedom in masculine disguise come responsibilites, and Rosalind feels that neccressity. "I could find in my heart to disgrace my men's apparel, and to cry like a

woman: but I must comfort the weaker vessel, as doublet and hose ought to show itself courageous to the petticoat" (*AYLI* 2.4.3-6). The association between clothing and identity here is so strong that gender-specific attire is substituted for the sex.

The questions of gender remain unanswered through the play, Rosalind remaining in male costume almost until the weddings in the final scene. But to keep male attire for the real wedding ceremony in the end would be scandalous; this could only be done in jest, as in 4.1, when Celia, acting as a priest, though she is obviously female, marries Ganymede, acting as Rosalind, though he is visually male, to Orlando, acting as the Petrarchan lover, though he is completely clueless.

Shakespeare constantly draws the viewer's attention to the sexual disguise and role play existing in the play, the most overt of these puns being delivered by the boy actor who played Rosalind in the epilogue. He first calls attention to the fact that "it is not the fashion to see the lady in the epilogue," but we know that since he really is not a lady, there is no conflict. Then the boy himself reminds us of the fact, saying "If I were a woman I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me." The allusion to his sex is plain, and he is therefore allowed to be as bawdy as he desires in his speech, since the conventions of female behavior do not apply to him.

CONCLUSION

There was a social urgency to the criticism of Elizabethan fashion, as the critics sensed the breakdown of accepted order between class and sex (Jardine 158). "Distinction in the appearance of male and female, mistress and servant, townsman and country dweller, old and young was by no means straightforward or translucent" (Breward 61).

The extremes of style signaled a change in society as the shift between the old and the new was taking place. No longer was dress an acceptable symbol and manifestation of a person's being. In our times, we consider clothes an outward expression of the image we want to project, marking a personal choice in attire. Before Elizabethan times, no such choice existed. Fashion had its own caste system, alleviated only by the increased social mobility of the newly mercantile England. "In a sense, then, fashion and fashionable appearance, rather than revealing signals of rank and region in a literal manner as had formerly been the case, tended in the late sixteenth century towards a perverse form of concealment, designed with the intricacy of a puzzle" (Breward 61). This puzzle was to persist until modern times, with

fashion now being the plaything of our fickle fancies, each individual free to choose his or her own disguise.

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An Investigation into the Self-Actualizing Potential of Mass Tourism

By Heidi Johansson

The human race has traveled for as long as it has existed; only the underlying motives have changed and become more complex (Kelly 30). Over the years, the search for food and shelter has evolved into a search for oneself and one's true potential.

Self-actualization, the need to find and develop oneself, is, according to the American psychologist Abraham Maslow (1908-1970), one of the most difficult to satisfy --- one faced when all the others are met and one that can be achieved only under certain conditions. As the number of people traveling in recent years has increased dramatically, we are faced with a phenomenon called mass tourism --- a mass escape from the monotony of the workday routine and everyday life. Simultaneously, the degree of self-actualization achieved through the travel experience seems to be declining. Could it be that the need for self-actualization and organized mass tourism are mutually exclusive?

To begin with, we should examine and, if possible, clarify the somewhat abstract concept of self-actualization by looking at Maslow's theory of human motivation. In his theory, Maslow proposes a pyramid consisting of five basic needs ranging from "lower" and more concrete needs; namely physiological and safety needs, to higher and more abstract ones -- needs for love and belongingness, self-esteem and finally self-actualization. Thus, the higher up in the pyramid we go, the more typically human their needs are. Progress is made in a step-by-step manner, rather like climbing a ladder. When one need is gratified, the next one arises. Consequently, all the other needs have to be gratified before the need for self-actualization emerges.

The highest need, self-actualization, is defined by Maslow as "the desire for self-fulfillment, namely... the tendency for one to be actualized in what one is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything one is capable of becoming (Maslow, Motivation 239). But just like a flower, needing special conditions like fertile soil, sunlight and water in order to grow, humans also need certain conditions in order to attain self-actualization. The optimal environment

promoting growth is stimulating, allowing the individual to discover new paths instead of sticking to old ones. It should lack artificiality and be marked by simplicity and naturalness (Maslow, Motivation 132). Maslow called these preconditions being-values (B-values) or "metaneeds" (needs needed to satisfy a need) (Maslow, Farthest 290).

Self-actualization should not be seen as a character trait that some people have and others don't, but rather as a process. Consequently there are no totally self-actualized persons, nor a totally self-actualized state of being. Instead, one could say that each choice we make leads us either towards or away from self-actualization. At each point in life when a choice is made, there is a progression choice or a regression choice. Progression leads us forward towards what is not yet explored, while regression is a movement back to the safe and familiar. Each progression choice we make takes us closer to self-actualization (Maslow, Farthest 44).

Before the age of mass transportation a journey was dangerous, full of obstacles and usually much longer than journeys today. It was more uncertain but also more "spicy," more real and overwhelming. In fact, the original English word for travel is "travail" -- suffering, a test, an ordeal that strips, reduces, and wastes the passenger (Leed 6). Looking at travel as a test suggests that the growth of the self was not necessarily the introduction of something new, but the realization of something that had always been present. In the difficult and dangerous journey, the self of the traveler was impoverished and reduced to its essentials, allowing one to see what those essentials were (Leed 8).

By looking at the three parts of a journey, departure, passage and arrival, we might be able to detect the features that distinguish the self-actualizing journeys of the past from mass tourism. Departure, in past travel more than in present, could be seen as a loss of self - a separation from the familiar and the known, and the stripping of all that had formerly defined the traveler's identity. Detachment from the traveler's place of origin often evoked feelings such as protest, despair, and grief. A home that had satisfied the needs of the body was left in order to prove the character of the traveler (Leed 29). During passage, the traveler changed according to how he/she perceived the motion and the world passing by. In a sense, one could say that through passage the world was objectified while the self was subjectified. Hence, "the self discovered in the world of objects was the self of the observer, which became a pole of attention and a source of joy in a world of flux" (Leed 71).

If departure was detachment, then arrival was attachment. It was a process of mutual identification between the person and the place - mutual incorporations that developed a sense of coherence between person and place (Leed 88).

What is it then that makes modern travel so much more "diluted" as an experience than the travelling of the past? Eric Leed has answered this question by looking at the first step in a journey, departure, and analyzing it using psychologist John Bowlby's theories of separation. Leed claims that in the departures of past travel we can see much of what Bowlby described as "separation anxiety" - protest and despair. Bowlby observes this behavior in the toddler left by his mother in a nursery: "At first he protests vigorously and tries by all means available to him to recover his mother. Later still he seems to despair of recovering her and is vigilant for her return. Later he seems to lose interest in his mother and becomes emotionally detached from her" (qtd. in Leed 30). This sequence can easily be applied to many painful departures in history.

Formerly, people spent most of their lives in the same place; hence, one could assume that they were more attached to their home-countries. Knowing little about the outside world, the travelers and their selves were fundamentally changed by departure. By realizing that they could survive the journey and all the difficulties on the way, their selves grew and understood more of their potential. Separation, the motion away from "the mother," is in this way not only a suffering but also the "psychological birth" of an individual (Leed 49).

The unemotional "routine departures" of today, on the other hand, are products of history and can be compared to what Bowlby found in the children who did not protest parting: "The only children ... who appear undisturbed have been those who have never had any figure to whom they can become attached, or who have experienced repeated and prolonged separations and have already become more or less permanently detached" (qtd. in Leed 30). Through repeated change one gains detachment and separability. The people of today who have lived in numerous countries -- and visited even more ones -- can easily fail to develop a lasting attachment to any one country, a home country. Many feel like citizens of the world instead of one single country. This is what our modern world of mobility has done -- for better or for worse. A departure is not that much to be proud of anymore -- routine has made it lose its self-actualizing value.

"The travel needs of the modern age have been largely created by society and shaped by everyday life" (Krippendorf xiv). The industrial society has in many ways failed to create a self-actualizing, stimulating environment for its citizens. Work has become more and more functionalized, and human contact has been reduced to crowding in the subways; in many ways "life has been reduced to mere existence" (Krippendorf xiv). Consequently, people are encouraged to look outside for what they cannot find inside (Krippendorf 17).

Today travel is thought to occupy 40% of available free time. 1.5 million people have a tourism-related occupation and world-wide tourism grows at a rate of 5.6% per annum (Urry 5).

The once so scattered world has become a global culture knit together by international systems of transportation, production, distribution, and communication. This development has made "the world a poster on a wall which may be consumed for the price of a ticket" (Leed 286-287). However, the impact that a journey has on a person's life is largely dependent upon the person him/herself. Each person has to make a choice -- progressive or regressive -- about how much novelty to take in and how much familiarity to fall back on while travelling. (McIntosh and Goeldner 199)

The psychologist Eric Cohen has based his theory of tourist-personality on this division of choices. He has defined four different tourist-personalities, namely the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer, and the drifter. The explorer and the drifter are relatively rare. Being highly progressive in their choices, they experience the greatest self-actualization. The problem and paradox is that in their attempt to escape the artificiality of the tourist system, they serve as "spearheads of mass tourism," unwittingly giving the tourism establishment access to the last untouched corners of the earth. Gradually the establishment, hungry for new destinations, takes over the area and transforms it into a new tourist resort. As the system expands, fewer and fewer areas will be left for explorers and drifters, slowly making them unable to pursue their wish for novelty and privacy in travel (McIntosh and Goeldner 203).

The two most common tourist-personalities, the organized and individual mass tourists, are usually people who do not know what to do with the "unfamiliar and sudden liberty" brought about by the journey because of lack of practice. Therefore, they turn to what is offered by the tourist industry, limiting the dose of novelty in their trip (Krippendorf

27). Both categories of mass tourists, differing only in degree, remain encapsulated in the "environmental bubble" throughout their journeys. The regressive alternative embodied in the safety of the hotel complex is preferred to progressive adventures. Both the time-table and the guided tours are organized by the travel agent, leaving little freedom to the tourist him/herself. To travel as a mass tourist is observing without actually experiencing. (McIntosh and Goeldner 199-200).

As mentioned earlier, Maslow suggests that certain metaneeds have to be satisfied in order for self-actualization to occur. Indeed, the optimal environment for self-actualization is characterized by a free-choice situation, where the organism can choose or prefer without any external constraints. In these optimal conditions the organism can show its true inner nature by showing its preferences (Maslow, Religions 100-101). Maslow emphasizes that people attaining the highest degree of self-actualization are far more spontaneous than others in behavior, thoughts, and impulses, not letting convention stop them from doing what they want to do (Maslow, Motivation 132). High self-actualizers also positively like solitude and privacy. Being very independent and self-governed, they don't need people in the ordinary sense. In fact, they might be hampered by others. Most of their actions are thus characterized by free will instead of being determined by others (Maslow, Motivation 135).

Another important aspect promoting self-actualization is authenticity. The self-actualizing person has "an unusual ability to detect the spurious, the fake and the dishonest." Consequently, self-actualizing people prefer to live in the real world of nature as opposed to the human-made one (Maslow, Motivations 128-129). Pearce similarily observes that more self-actualization experiences are reported in non-urban, natural environments. Clearly, links can be drawn here to the authenticity approach when it comes to tourist environments (Pearce 130). McCannell argues that all tourists quest for authenticity, embodying the universal human concern with the sacred. In this sense tourists are like contemporary pilgrims, seeking authenticity outside their everyday lives (Urry 8). Nevertheless, Feifer claims that a category of travelers termed "post-tourists" know that there are no authentic tourist events, thereby being able to enjoy the artificiality (Urry 11). Fromm, however, notes that detecting the artificiality has a "liberating effect -- it releases energy and de-fogs one's mind. As a result, one is more independent, has one's center in oneself, and is more alive" (Fromm, Art 43). A similar approach is supported by Cohen, who has created a model of interaction between the

tourist event and the tourist's impression of it. In Cohen's model, the tourist who perceives a tourist scene as being real falls into the category "high satisfaction" regardless of whether the nature of the event is real or staged. Those, however, who perceive a scene as being staged, whether this is the case or not, fall into the category "low satisfaction". Thus, self-actualizing people, being able to detect artificiality very well, constantly seem to attain only "low satisfaction" (Ryan 46). In order for people to attain high satisfaction and self-actualization, the environment should be natural, simple and lack artificiality.

People high in self-actualization tend to be unthreatened and unfrightened by the unknown. In fact, they do not only tolerate it - they like it. Hence, doubt and uncertainty are often experienced as pleasantly stimulating challenges -- high spots in life rather than low ones (Maslow, Motivation 130). Actually, the need to experience excitement and fear in suitable portions is present in us all. If excitement is not found at home, the need can be satisfied by mountain-climbing or hiking (Madsen 63). Campers spending longer periods of time in the wilderness have indeed been found to have attained comparably high levels of self-actualization (Shin 241). The highest levels of satisfaction are reached when one feels that one uses one's potential fully (Maslow, Towards 201). One should manage the challenge - but not too easily (Madsen 80). Maslow, however, notes that the fulfillment of the challenge -- need is sometimes blocked by the "Jonah Complex," meaning the fear we sometimes have for our highest possibilities and best skills. It is a kind of defense against growth, occasionally making us choose the regressive alternative, as the progressive one would require forgetting all defenses and shyness, and throwing ourselves into experiences fully, vividly and self-lessly (Maslow, Farthest 33-34).

Unfortunately, it seems as though mass tourism does not fulfill its purpose of breaking us free from the restraints of everyday life and enabling us finally to be our own masters. As a matter of fact, mass tourists are largely bound to the itineraries fixed by their tour operators, and they make few decisions concerning their journeys themselves (Ryan 29). As Cohen observes, all transportation and places to be visited as well as hotels and restaurants are fixed in advance. The tourist establishment, serving large numbers of people, has to ensure that the trips are as ordered, predictable, and as controllable as possible. The freedom of choice has to be extremely limited in order for the different phases of the trip to run efficiently and smoothly (McIntosh and Goeldner 200). Rieger, nevertheless, sees travel

as the last remnant of human freedom. He claims that "the various degenerations, massivity and clichés" cannot prevent tourists from experiencing liberty during holiday travel (Krippendorf 27). However, the fact remains that where more and more people go to find freedom and solitude, they find less and less of it (Krippendorf 38-39). That is when the success of mass tourism becomes self-defeating (McIntosh and Goeldner 203).

When it comes to authenticity, the majority of tourist resorts today are interchangeable. Everywhere we find the chic "Hilton-style" and the more relaxed "Tahiti-type" (Krippendorf 34). Most mass tourists remain encapsulated in these huge complexes, some of which are even "fenced off from the outside world by enclosures, gates and strict monitoring" (Krippendorf 35). What are constructed are hotels and events lacking contradiction. It is like a small, monotonous world that mirrors only our own reflection (Urry 8). Seeing bare-breasted women dancers in the Muslim parts of Africa is a reflection of our own culture, not the African one (Ryan 47). It seems as though the pursuit for the exotic and diverse unfailingly ends in uniformity (Urry 8).

It can be difficult to experience tourism as challenging when tourist establishments advertise their services with the promise that there will be "no surprises" (Mathieson and Wall 20). In today's travel surrogate parents like travel agents, courriers and hotel managers relieve the tourist of responsibility and protect him/her from the harshness of reality (Urry 7). The tourism establishment, taking complete care of the tourist from beginning to end, has to offer an illusion of adventure while all the risks have been taken away. Hence, tourism has created a paradox; "though the desire for variety, novelty and strangeness are primary motives of tourism, these qualities have decreased as tourism has become institutionalized" (McIntosh and Goeldner 201).

"Travel as tourism has become like the activity of a prisoner pacing a cell much crossed and grooved by other equally mobile and 'free' captives. What was once the agent of our liberty has become a means for the revelation of our containment" (Leed 286). The irony of modern tourism is indeed obvious. It is like a mass exodus away from everyday life that brings us unfailingly back to it (Krippendorf 33). Medical reports show that the great majority of tourists returning home are not relaxed or refreshed, but "tense, nervous and distracted" (Krippendorf 62). Something called "holiday syndrome" has been discovered by a psychiatrist, a disorder manifesting itself in insomnia, exhaustion and anxiety. These people

need medical help in order to return to normal life (Krippendorf 62). Even in its best shape, tourism is merely a drug that gives temporary relief, freeing us from the responsibility to attack the real problem, ourselves (Krippendorf 26).

The prevailing opinion seems to be that mass tourism has no future in its current form (Krippendorf xvi). Real travel -- outwardbound, individualizing, dangerous -- is no longer possible. The prognosis in most travel books is depressing, reaching a level where it becomes more bitter than sad, as in Claude Levi-Strauss' book Tristes Tropiques: "Journeys, those magic caskets full of dream-like promises, will never again yield up their treasures untarnished. An ... overexited civilization has broken the silence of the seas once and for all. The perfumes of the tropics ... have been corrupted by a busyness ... which mortifies our desires and dooms us to acquire only contaminated memories ... [Travel books] create the illusion of something which no longer exists but still should exist." (38)

Nevertheless, Jorma Hemmi predicts in his book, Travel and Travelers, that the mass tourism, in its current form, will decrease as we approach the next millennium. He claims that a new culture of travel will arise, truly emphasizing the human need to actualize itself and its potential (Hemmi 44). A similar view is held by Jost Krippendorf, who stresses that the focus of tourism must be changed from money and business to people (Krippendorf 107). Our industrial culture has brought with it many unfortunate features that naturally also affect tourist behavior. The fear of stagnation that is so typical of our culture often results in "hysterical travel" - going as cheaply, as often and as far as possible for the shortest possible time. Instead, we should engage in more conscious travel. When it comes to travel, less could probably mean more.

Simultaneously, modern man also seems to need more and more exciting stimuli in order to react with anything other than indifference. Instead of waiting for sensation, we should take time to see smaller things. These ideas are largely based on Maslow's being-values, the first of which is called "truth." In order to attain it, one should be able to experience honesty, simplicity, beauty, pure, clean, unadulterated completeness (Maslow, Religions 91). In his book, Leisure without Boredom, the educationalist Roman Bleistein gives us some suggestions as to how this could be achieved in practice:

We should listen instead of hear

Experience instead of do

Ask instead of answer

Search instead of find

(qtd. in Krippendorf 131-134)

This change from the manipulated to the emancipated tourist is by no means impossible. By starting from the small things we might be able to change the course of tourism development so that it will benefit us all and so that we could find what we look for (Krippendorf 108).

Maslow's theories, however, have been criticized by many researchers. As Maslow himself notes, his research on self-actualizing persons started out as a personal inquiry and was not planned to be research at all (Maslow, Farthest 40-41). The subjects of the study were selected from among "personal acquaintances" and "public and historical figures." Thereby this particular part of Maslow's theory includes methodological shortcomings when it comes to reliability, validity and sampling (Maslow, Motivation 125-126). Furthermore, Maslow has been criticized for glorifying his self-actualizing subjects. Indeed, he claims that the self-actualizers are a "superior specimen" being like "aliens in a strange land ... often saddened and even enraged by the shortcomings of the average person" (Maslow, Motivation 138 and Maslow, Farthest 40-41). Other theorists have criticized Maslow for being "supportive rather than analytic," disregarding the aggressive and sexual wishes inherent in man (Fine 108 and 115). Nevertheless, Maslow admitted that self-actualizers also can be selfish, anxious and self-castigating, thereby touching upon the paradox of self-actualizers being identified as narcissistic personalities by many theorists.

Narcissistic personalities are defined as being extremely self-centered, with a grandiose view of their own uniqueness and achievements (Davison and Neale G-16). Surprisingly, many of the characteristics that Maslow ascribes to self-actualizing persons, such as creativity, "deep identification with the totality" as well as letting go of the past and future are actually by numerous theorists ascribed to narcissistic personalities (Fine 55-56 and Morrison 74). According to Freud, the narcissistic person invests the energy from both the sexual (libido) and aggressive (thanatos) instincts in him/herself because of lack of other objects in which to invest them (Sigrell 39). Sennett goes as far as claiming that in narcissism the investment of thanatos exceeds that of libido: "narcissism has more in common with self-hatred than self-love" (qtd. in Lasch 49). The investment of thanatos, also called a death-wish, can manifest itself directly as suicide or be displaced in activities

involving high risks (Nye 14). Reich confirms that the narcissistic individual indeed is characterized by engaging in "feats of reckless daring" to show him/herself off and prove his/her power (qtd. in Morrison 385). Similarily, Freud notes that the destructive tendency often takes shape as a need to control nature (qtd. in Fromm, Freud 124).

This could explain why the tourism in Nepal is blooming because of people who want to climb up Mount Everest even though statistics show that every third person trying to get up there dies ("Mount Everest" 12). Climbing up tMount Everest would, however, outshine all other sorts of travelling if measured by Maslow's meta-needs for self-actualization: personal freedom, authenticity and challenge. Maslow, nevertheless, notes that aggressiveness is a potentiality in us all, and frustrated metaneeds can result both in a death-wish and "aimless destruction" (Maslow, Farthest 208 and 307). Freud also confessed that he was not convinced by his double-drive (libido and thanatos) theory. Not surprisingly, then, contemporary Freudians have very different opinions on the subject. Some have accepted the death instinct; others prefer to call it "aggressive instinct," while yet others choose to disregard the whole concept (Igra 36). Some claim that risky behavior, like climbing Mount Everest, is directed by the Nirvana principle, which is a wish to die so that tension would be reduced to the zero-level (Igra 98). Others argue that the Nirvana principle has nothing to do with it, while still others claim that risky behavior is an active search for arousal (Fromm, Freuds 116 and Davison and Neale 278-279).

As can be seen, the ways to explain travel involving high risks range all the way from theories of self-actualization to theories of self-destruction. As Maslow observes, Freud is still required reading as to not become "intoxicated with personal growth" (Maslow, Motivation xx)

As the analysis has indicated, the conditions for self-actualization - in present day mass tourism are far from optimal. In fact, concepts crucial to Maslow's theory of self-actualization, losing and finding oneself in detachment and attachment, personal freedom, authenticity and challenge - are extremely hard to find today. Going backwards in time, we find the individualizing journeys taken before the mass tourism establishment took over. Many researchers also believe that the future holds a new travel culture where individuals can grow instead of being hampered. Others look at this growing into self-actualization as

growing into a narcissistic personality. Maslow, however, notes that self-love is synergic rather than antagonistic to love for humankind (Maslow, Motivation 58).

Several important questions have arisen during the course of this inquiry. First of all, if we claim that travel is a way to self-actualize for people frustrated in their everyday lives, we simultaneously claim that self-actualization can be bought. Nevertheless, self-actualization, the feeling of living beyond existing, must come from within. Travelling can merely provide us with settings -- either stimulating or hampering -- and cannot fundamentally change us as human beings. Thus, depending greatly on the individual, and, to a lesser extent, on the setting, the time spent in travelling can be either enjoyed or totally wasted. There are no quick and easy changes; hence, the "Big Bang theory" of self-actualization should be abandoned (Maslow, Motivation 70 and 107).

Secondly, we cannot blame solely the tourism establishment for the unfortunate development that changed travel into mass tourism. The primary problem is the basic structure of our industrial society; as Krippendorf notes: "a sick society cannot produce healthy tourists" (Krippendorf 105). Maslow similarily admits that our imperfect society in many ways inhibits us from self-actualization, and says that the ease with which human potential can be repressed or destroyed is saddening (Maslow, Motivation xx).

Today's mass tourism does not promote self-actualization the way Maslow described it, but it may not be too late to change the course. The answer lies in replacing the hysteria of seeing more, cheaper, faster by thoughtful travel. In that form travel would benefit us all and gain back the self-actualizing potential it has lost.

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~~*Is the New Welfare Reform Act Either 'Well' or 'Fair'?*~~ OBESITY DISCRIMINATION

by Karen K. Goddard

Why are Americans obsessed with body weight? Is there discrimination in the workplace against obese persons, particularly females? Studies indicate that discrimination does exist and the discrimination is stronger against overweight females than males. Using the structural functionalist perspective and conflict theory, I try here to explore what function, if any, this discrimination plays in our society. An examination from more than one perspective allows a more detailed and complete view to determine if discrimination exists and why it does.

The structural functionalist perspective emphasizes the way parts of a society are structured to maintain its stability. It focuses on the macro-level and is concerned with how each part of society contributes to its survival. If an aspect of social life does not contribute to its stability or survival, then that aspect is not passed on from one generation to the next.

Karl Marx is credited with the sociological perspective known as the conflict theory. He viewed the social world as a continual struggle. This perspective assumes that social behavior is best understood in terms of conflict or tension between competing groups.

The social definition of overweight varies greatly depending on location and even time period. Many insurance companies consider a person obese if he/she is twenty percent over the insurance company's standard charts based on height, age, and weight. Not all societies consider being overweight a detriment. Many African tribes consider a plump wife to be a symbol of prestige because it shows that the man is able to provide for her. Even in the not-so-distant past the master painter, Rubens, painted full-figured, voluptuous women who personifies the cream of society during that era.

So what function does obesity discrimination play in American society; why is it prevalent at this time? First we must determine if obesity prejudice really does exist. "Considerable evidence suggests that, in Westernized cultures, those who are overweight are stereotypically perceived as having defects of will-power, character, and responsibility" (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, and Spring, p. 909). This, in part, is because the perception

exists that the obese lack self-control over their diets and, as a result, are overweight. These stereotypes could lead to discrimination in the hiring of overweight women.

Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, and Spring conducted a study using the same professional actor to assume the roles of the normal weight and overweight applicant, while performing identical job interviews in each role (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, and Spring, p. 910). "The findings provide greater insight into the social consequences of obesity by suggesting that overweight adults, particularly women, are likely to suffer employment bias" (p. 916).

Further evidence of prejudice against fat people was found in Christian Crandall's article, titled "Prejudice Against Fat People; Ideology and Self-Interest." In this article, he states that, "a majority of research has suggested that being fat is associated with a wide variety of negative characteristics. Fat people are seen as unattractive, aesthetically displeasing, morally and emotionally impaired, alienated from their sexuality, and discontent with themselves. Fat people are denigrated by thin people, health care workers, employers, peers, potential romantic partners, their parents, and even by themselves" (Crandall, p. 883). Crandall states that these antifat attitudes "serve a value-expressive function, reinforcing a worldview consistent with the Protestant work ethic, self-determination, a belief in a just world, and the notion that people get what they deserve. If ideology leads a person chronically to attribute controllable causality to others, he or she will tend to blame fat people for their weight and stigmatize them for it" (p. 884).

"A current cultural assumption is that people can remain lean if they will merely exercise and maintain self-control over dietary intake" (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, and Spring, p. 909). Crandall concurs that this is an American belief (Crandall, p.891). He explains that this may be attributed in part to our deep-seated historically conservative American value system. These values are based on the belief that anyone can, socially or economically, improve oneself. Since the belief is that the obese person cannot maintain self control, it is likely he or she will experience discrimination of some sort.

Crandall further states that other countries do not hold these same values. Central American countries (such as Brazil, Chile, or Mexico) do not hold these beliefs so strongly. As a result, "antifat attitudes should be uncorrelated with belief in willpower. Crandall and Martinez (1993) have found antifat attitudes to be lower in Mexico than in the United States

and in Mexico antipathy toward fat people was unrelated to social ideology" (Crandall, p. 892).

Our current society's values, our society's collective concept of what is good and desirable or improper and bad, are such that it is very undesirable to be overweight. Most television programs, news broadcasts, and magazines portray the successful person as in control of his/her life, including weight. The media portray the norms, the established standards of behavior maintained by a society, as ultra-thin, healthy people. We constantly use social control, which is the techniques and strategies for regulating human behavior in a society, against the obese. This can take the form of shunning a person, contemptuous looks, and a general disregard for the feelings of the obese person.

The sanctions, which mean the penalties or rewards for conduct concerning a social norm, include the stereotypical responses to overweight persons, such as that the obese are lazy and lack self-control. An employer could base hiring decisions on these factors rather than on qualifications. Christian Crandall suggests that two variables lead to antifat attitudes. "The first is a personal or cultural preference for thinness. The second is the belief that weight is volitionally controlled. To generate dislike of fat people, one must think fat undesirable and simultaneously blame the person for his or her situation" (Crandall p. 892).

The research by Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale and Spring states, "the results provide strong evidence of employment bias against the obese. The applicants' body weight explained about 35% of the variance in the hiring decision and was the most powerful predictor studied in this experiment. This finding suggests that body weight is indeed a salient attribute in decisions about employment" (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, and Spring, p. 915).

Their research further indicates that some evidence supports the suggestion that the obesity stereotype is more pronounced for women than for men. They cited another report by Stake and Lauer (1987) that found that obese women were viewed more negatively than obese men. Their report indicated support was very strong for the conclusion that overweight women experience greater employment discrimination than overweight men (p. 915).

Conflict theory asserts that someone has power over another. In this case, the employer has the power. The employer can be influenced by stereotypes and judge the obese not by talents alone but by physical attributes. The obese potential employee could be

harmed and experience discrimination. The employer has further power because he/she makes the decision as to who will be promoted.

Since this discrimination is explained as the result of a bias, and the person who is being discriminated against may not always be in control of obesity, can this discrimination really serve a function to maintain our society's stability? An article printed in the San Diego Daily Transcript states that, "obesity is the last bastion of acceptable discrimination" (Obesity Law & Advocacy Center, Online). The article further states, "... society must change its attitude toward obesity. We should look down upon any person, organization, employer or group who discriminates against a person solely on the basis of weight to the same degree and with the same sense of outrage we feel when someone uses the "N word" [Nigger] or who judges people based upon their race, creed, national origin, gender or sexual orientation" (Obesity Law & Advocacy Center, Online).

Crandall's study indicates antifat attitudes may reflect a general orientation of intolerance and dislike of social deviance from an ideal norm of any sort. This is consistent with the hypothesis that the rejection of fat people is based on the underlying ideological assumption that people get what they deserve, ... and that deviance from these relatively narrowly defined values should result in social rejection (Crandall, p 885-886).

Interestingly, Crandall's research indicates that fat and lean people are equally likely to be antifat. "...Research indicates to buffer negative feedback people receive they usually associate with in-group members. For this to work, a sense of identification with the group is essential. Because fat people do not show in-group bias, it may be that there is little group feeling among fat people. Another reason fat people may not show in-group bias is that identification with other fat people does not improve their self-image. One primary reason for identifying with a group is that association with other members in the group can enhance self-esteem" (Crandall, p. 891).

Could the potential additional costs associated with the obese serve as a function for this discrimination? The article "Obesity Can Create a Heavy Load for Employers" indicates that obesity is a chronic disorder that is an expensive disease. "... It can lead to increased absences at work and a decrease in productivity" (Padilla and Salzman, 1997, online).

Further evidence of this is found in the article, "Fat Myths," which states that "being fat kills in several ways. It makes people far more likely to suffer from heart disease or high blood pressure. Even moderate obesity increases the chance of contracting diabetes " (The Economist, p.46). These factors could also lead to increased absences, loss of productivity, and increased health care costs.

The function of prejudice may be found in the following: It provides a moral justification for maintaining inequality. It also discourages the obese from attempting to question their lowly status. Unfortunately this can also cause dysfunction to occur. This includes the idea that this prejudice fails to use the resources of all individuals in our society, relying strictly on dominant group or the "beautiful people." It may aggravate social problems, such as poverty and crime, because, if the obese can not find jobs, they may resort to crime or welfare to survive. In turn, the dominant group will pick up the resulting costs.

Crandall states that fatness is not a function of willpower. "The majority of research evidence supports the notion that body weight is the result of genetic and metabolic factors and is only modestly related to dietary habits" (Crandall, p. 883).

It appears that the insistence of society to be thin and the sanctions against the obese are losing ground. According to an article obtained on the Internet, "the most recent data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey showed that between 1988 and 1994, 34 percent of adults ages twenty to seventy were overweight – or about 58 million adults in the United States" (Mayo Health Oasis, 1).

Our society's values concerning obesity are slowly changing. There are still many cases where women are not hired because of their weight, lose their jobs because of weight gain, or are not promoted because of their weight. We, as a society, must change our attitude and eliminate this form of prejudice.

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Traditional Chinese Medicine: An Ancient Practice as the Path of the Future

By Martha Stevens

In November 1997, a panel convened by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) issued a statement saying that acupuncture "merits inclusion in the comprehensive treatment for" a variety of illnesses, opening the door to its coverage by medical insurers and its inclusion in the arsenal of weapons available in the treatment of disease, and, more importantly, lending legitimacy to a method of treatment used by practitioners of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) for over 2,000 years (McKenna G03). The announcement by the NIH demonstrates the American medical community's growing awareness of the efficacy of Traditional Chinese Medicine methods and will hopefully lead to greater acceptance of those methods and their integration into the practice of medicine in America. The combination of Western medicine, with its advanced technology for diagnosis and treatment of disease, with Traditional Chinese Medicine, with its emphasis on enhancing health and assisting and strengthening the capacity of the human body to heal itself, would be the perfect marriage of East and West, a marriage necessary in these days of escalating health care costs, antibiotic resistant infections, and chronic degenerative diseases.

Traditional Chinese Medicine is a complete system of medicine which has been practiced for thousands of years. Greatly influenced by ancient Chinese religion and philosophy, it is very different from the Western medical practices with which Americans are most familiar. For that reason, it is necessary to offer some general information about the development, philosophy, and medical practices of Traditional Chinese Medicine before examining the way in which its integration with Western medicine could enhance American medicine.Development and Religious Influences

Although historical sources describing the origin of Chinese medicine are few, the concepts on which the system of medicine is based as well as its spread from China to other countries clearly show its religious influences.

The legendary founders of Chinese medicine are three god-emperors, Huang-ti, Shen Nung, and Fu Hsi.[1] They are said to have lived from about 3000 to 2852 BC. The eldest, Huang-ti, also known as the Yellow Emperor, is the author of the first textbook of Chinese

medicine, Huang-ti nei ching su-wen (Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine), an introduction to the art and philosophy of healing. The second, Shen Nung, also known as the Divine Husbandman, was the deity of pharmacology and the healing substances of nature, as well as the god of agriculture. The third, Fu Hsi, is attributed with the development of the philosophical framework of Chinese medicine (Veith 313).

The remnants of early animistic religious beliefs, which saw good or evil spirits in every facet of nature, are evident in the use of natural substances as remedies and the concept of "doing nothing contrary to nature" (Veith 313). One of the early methods of medical treatment was the shamanic method, in which the shaman chastised and punished himself, using various instruments of torture, for the transgressions of his patients in their present and past lives which had caused their illness. The concept of reincarnation is also evident in later practices, in which patients were told to meditate upon the mistakes and offenses committed in their present and past lives as part of their treatment (Veith 314).

Religious beliefs also played a part in determining early medical knowledge. Veneration of ancestors and the required good condition of bodies at the time of burial prohibited any disfiguring surgical treatment, even if the lack of treatment meant certain death, and also outlawed autopsies. This led to a lack of accurate anatomical knowledge which persisted until Western teachings began to reach the Far East in the sixteenth century (Veith 314-315).

Religion also played a part in the spread of Chinese medicine to other Asian countries, such as Korea and Japan. Many of the early practitioners of Chinese medicine were mendicant Taoist and Buddhist priests, who fulfilled the roles of itinerant physicians as they traveled throughout Asia. Buddhist scholars from Korea introduced and explained Chinese medical texts to the Japanese in the later part of the sixth century, and in 608 a group of young Japanese scholars and physicians were sent to China to study, returning many years later to open medical schools in Japan (Veith 314-317). Thus, the spread of Chinese medicine to other countries was a byproduct of Buddhism.

Although religious influences and concepts can clearly be seen in Traditional Chinese Medicine, the practice of religion is not a part of medical procedures, except as it relates to implementing a lifestyle which promotes good health. Traditional Chinese Medicine is a science which has evolved over thousands of years. Practitioners are medical professionals,

trained in both Western and Chinese methods. In China today there are over 2,000 Traditional Chinese Medicine hospitals, 30 colleges teaching its methods, and 170 research institutes studying the healing properties of herbs using modern technological methods and equipment (McNamara 3). Traditional Chinese Medicine is a complete system of medicine, although it is based on and incorporates ideas which are very different from Western medicine.

II. Fundamental Principles

The Tao, the natural philosophy which prevailed in China before recorded history, is the basis of Chinese medical theory. Tao, which means 'the Way,' teaches that "harmony, moderation, and adherence to the natural law will enhance and prolong life" (McNamara 239). The natural law is the principle of "yin and yang, of which all things are made, and which are opposite but indivisible. Each creates and controls the other, each perpetually transforms into the other" (McNamara 239). Yin and yang represent balance and change in the universe.

The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine explains that "The principle of Yin and Yang is the basis of the entire universe . . . . Heaven was created by an accumulation of yang, the earth was created by an accumulation of yin" (McNamara 240). In Liu Yanchi's The Essential Book of Traditional Chinese Medicine this principle of the balance between yin and yang is also referred to as "the concept of integrity" which states that "any object in nature is both a united whole and a whole composed of two parts with opposing qualities . . . yin and yang" (9). Yanchi further states that disease is caused by changes in the natural environment and that "the goal of treatment . . . is to restore the balance between parts of the body and between the body and its environment" (19-20).

The terms yin and yang in Traditional Chinese Medicine refer to the opposing yet complementary physical conditions which exist within the body, for example, hot and cold, dry and damp, internal and external, ascending and descending. Further, these terms are used to describe parts of the body and their conditions. Yin is used to refer to the tissue of an organ and yang refers to the activity of that organ. In a yin deficiency, an organ does not have enough raw materials to function, while in yang deficiency the organ does not react adequately when needed (Burton 451). The concept of yin and yang as controlling and changing each other is present here as well. An abnormally low hormone level, a yin

deficiency, would lead to a yang deficiency in the gland that produces that hormone, as its function becomes impaired. Likewise, the yang deficiency, poor glandular function, would eventually result in a yin deficiency, as the gland's output of hormones decreases. Balance between yin and yang is essential to health, as is harmony between the organs of the body, between the body and the mind, and between the body and nature.

Another Taoist concept essential to the practice of Chinese medicine is that of qi, the energy or life force which flows through everything, both inside and outside the body. Qi travels through the body via pathways called meridians, which are present directly under the surface of the body and also pass through the internal organs, with each meridian named for the organ through which it flows. The activity and concentration of qi are determined by a naturally regulated pattern set by the "rhythm of the universe" (Van Alphen 166). The maintenance of the clear flow of qi in the appropriate concentrations through the meridians and organs is necessary to maintain good health. If the flow of qi is blocked, balance is disrupted, the body's natural resistance to disease is lowered, and illness may result.

III. Medical Practice

One of the major differences between Traditional Chinese Medicine and modern Western medicine is its emphasis on prevention. Maintenance of health through diet, exercise, stress management, rest, and relaxation are emphasized, and the education of patients so that they can participate in the health care process is stressed. In the Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine, the doctors are told that beginning treatment after disease has already taken hold on the body is "like digging a well only when one feels thirsty" (McNamara xiii).

The necessity of good nutrition through a well-balanced diet is commonly accepted as a way to stay healthy in our society today. Vitamin supplements are also commonplace, but the role of vitamins in health maintenance has not always been accepted by Western medical practitioners. In contrast, the Yellow Emperor advocated a balanced diet of cereal grains, meats, fruits, and vegetables in a book written "three centuries before the birth of Christ" (McNamara 113). The importance of nutrition to prevent disease was given high priority in all the books on Traditional Chinese Medicine consulted for this paper.[2]

The role of exercise in disease prevention is also an important part of Traditional Chinese Medicine. The practice of qigong, an ancient Chinese meditative exercise, is

intended to stimulate and balance the flow of qi along the meridians of the body. Qigong is also said to cultivate inner strength and calm the mind, so it can be an effective stress reduction technique. Qigong is emphasized as part of teaching the patient to remain well and is also included as part of the health care programs in most hospitals in China today (Burton 422).

Another major difference between Traditional Chinese Medicine and modern Western medicine is the view of the body as an integrated whole. Traditional Chinese Medicine looks at the body to find the underlying causes of the imbalance or disharmony that results in disease, and each patient is considered unique. Two patients with the same disease may be treated differently because the disease arises from different causes. For example, the disharmony that results in stomach ulcers may be different from patient to patient, and thus the treatment will be different (Burton 453). The Traditional Chinese Medicine practitioner would evaluate each patient as an individual, looking at each patient's reaction to the illness to find the cause of the illness. Western medicine would probably prescribe both patients whatever ulcer medicine is popular at the time, treating the high acid level in the stomach of the patient. Further investigation to determine the possible causes of the condition would probably not take place unless the initial treatment were to fail.

Another example of treating the "whole patient" demonstrates the essential concept of the interdependency and balance within the body. Western medicine has proven that colds are caused by viruses for which no medicine is available. All the doctors can do is prescribe medication to treat the symptoms -- antihistamines, decongestants, cough syrups, etc. The Traditional Chinese Medicine practitioner will offer herbal remedies to treat the symptoms but will also treat the underlying cause, the weakness of the body's immune system which allows the virus to take hold. In the case of a cold, the immune system is compromised by "the body's inability to adapt to change [in the environment] quickly enough to resist the invading microbes" (Burton 454).

The TCM doctor will examine a patient, looking first for outwardly visible signs of disease but following the theory that disease starts superficially and penetrates deeper into the body as the disease advances. Every diagnosis begins with the Four Examinations, devised by Bian Que, who probably lived in the second century BC (McNamara 14-15). The Four Examinations include "Looking, Listening and Smelling, Asking, and Palpating"

(McNamara 41). Looking involves observing the patient as a whole—the shape of the body, posture, body language, color of complexion, behavior, and especially the tongue. Listening and Smelling are grouped together because the Chinese word 'wen' means both (Van Alphen 178). The doctor will listen to the tone and strength of the patient's voice, breathing, and coughing and will smell the patient's breath and body odor. Asking involves questioning the patient about the symptoms experienced, their location and duration, diet, appetite and digestive condition, and sleep habits. Palpation is the taking of the pulse at several locations of the body---- both wrists, the abdomen, and the meridians and/or acupuncture points -- which can reveal the strength and weakness of both the qi and the blood, which includes lymph and other body fluids. (Burton 454).

While the Four Examinations are the fundamental tools for diagnosis, the TCM practitioner today also has access to modern diagnostic tools. In Tianjin, China, the TCM First Teaching Hospital is equipped with many examples of sonic and electronic technology down the hall from the herbal pharmacological department (McNamara 4). A TCM practitioner will refer patients who require surgery, special tests, or clinical investigation to a Western doctor or hospital when necessary.

Methods of treatment in Traditional Chinese Medicine are varied. The popular conception of a TCM doctor as an herbalist is not entirely true. Herbal medicine is only one method of treatment used, although it is an integral part of a treatment plan.

Herbal medicines are derived from ingredients ranging from herbs to minerals and animal components (Van Alphen 191). These natural ingredients are selected and assembled into a prescription intended to treat the root of the disease as well as the symptoms arising from it. The herbs may be taken internally, as teas or broths, but they may also be prescribed for external use, such as poultices and salves, depending upon the condition they are intended to treat. Herbs are used for a variety of conditions. They are divided into 20 major classifications, for example, "herbs to treat exterior syndromes, herbs to stop coughing and relieve asthma, herbs to improve appetite and digestion, and herbs to calm the liver" to name just a few (McNamara 103-107). There are also herbs intended to work on specific qi meridians and organs.

Moxibustion, a treatment which involves the burning of the herb Artemisia vulgaris (Van Alphen 189), is used to stimulate the qi to assist the healing process. Performed

regularly, it is considered to be very effective in preventing disease. The Artemisia leaves are mixed with other herbs, and the mixture, called moxa, is formed into a stick or cone. A moxa stick is ignited and moved over the patient's meridians a short distance from the skin, or it can be skimmed over the surface of the skin. Moxa cones are placed on the patient's body upon an insulating layer of other herbs or on top of an acupuncture needle. This allows the curative effect of the moxa to enter the body without leaving a scar.

In addition to herbal medicine, other methods of treatment include Cupping, in which glass cups or bamboo segments are heated on the inside and then stuck to parts of the patient's body. Cupping dispells cold and dampness from the body, warms the qi, and reduces inflammation and swelling (Van Alphen 192). Qigong, previously mentioned as an exercise the patient performs to stimulate the qi, can also be performed by the doctor on the patient. The doctor uses concentration and relaxation to make his own qi flow into the body of the patient to help clear meridians and stimulate the patient's qi (Van Alphen 189-190). Massage is another effective way to stimulate qi as well as to treat the skin, muscles, bones and joints.

Acupuncture is probably the TCM treatment best known in the West. It is a method of influencing body functions by the insertion of needles in specific acupuncture points. These points are places where the outside of the body is connected to the qi meridians. The needles stimulate the patient's qi to strengthen resistance to disease and alleviate a variety of conditions. It is also proven to be an effective method of pain relief and made headline news in 1972 when James Reston, a New York Times columnist covering Richard Nixon's trip to China, developed appendicitis. He wrote an account of his appendectomy, which was performed under local anesthesia and acupuncture. Following the surgery, he was given more acupuncture and moxibustion to speed his recovery, and he states that "the swelling went down within an hour and the pain never came back" (McNamara 19).

IV. Integration with Western Medicine

James Reston's experience brought worldwide attention to the practice of acupuncture. That attention generated interest in acupuncture, and Western studies of the efficacy of acupuncture were undertaken. Acupuncture began to be practiced in the United States, but it remained a "fringe technique," with licensing varying from state to state (McKenna 4). Despite its fringe status, acupuncture has become extremely popular in the

United States. A recent survey of marketing and medical directors at HMOs in 13 states found that acupuncture is one of the top three therapies of interest to HMO plan members (Campbell 18). Acupuncture therapy has been practiced at the pain-management clinic of Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center in Chicago for 20 years, and the director of the clinic reports 20 to 25 patient requests for acupuncture per week (Manier 1).

Acupuncture is gradually coming to be accepted by the mainstream medical community in the United States, and this gradual process is expected to be accelerated by the announcement made in early November 1997 by the National Institutes for Health (NIH). A panel convened by the NIH issued a statement saying that acupuncture "merits inclusion in the comprehensive treatment for" low back pain, asthma, nausea following surgery and chemotherapy, post-operative dental pain, addiction, stroke rehabilitation, headache, menstrual cramps, tennis elbow, fibromyalgia, and carpal tunnel syndrome (McKenna 3). In addition, the Food and Drug Administration, which regulates medical devices, moved acupuncture needles into a more mainstream category of medical equipment earlier this year (McKenna 4).

The announcement that acupuncture is considered an acceptable treatment will allow American doctors to prescribe it for their patients and is expected to encourage health insurance companies to reimburse their members for acupuncture treatments. Some insurance companies are already providing coverage for acupuncture, as well as other alternative therapies. Oxford Health Plans Inc., one of the larger managed-care providers in the United States, gave acupuncture insurance coverage equal to that of conventional therapies last year (Manier 3). Oxford has also begun to offer other alternative therapies through its credentialed network of providers in Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York effective January 1, 1997 (Campbell 6)[3]. The Kaiser Foundation Health Plan offers acupuncture treatment and other alternative treatments to its members at its Alternative Medicine Clinic in Northern California, and Blue Cross of Washington and Alaska plans to reinstate an experimental program it made available in 1994 which covered acupuncture care (Weber 17). The health insurers are responding to the American public's interest in alternatives to the conventional therapies available from the mainstream medical community. According to a study published in the New England Journal of Medicine in 1993, one person in three reported in 1990 that they used at least one unconventional therapy in the previous

12 months, and one-third of those people went to providers of unconventional therapy (Campbell 2).

As far back as 1977, the World Health Organization urged governments "to give adequate importance to the utilization of their traditional systems of medicine" (Zhang 4). In countries where expensive scientific and medical technology is not available, the population continues to rely on traditional practitioners and local medicinal plants for primary health care, and the WHO has long recognized the benefits of continued study of those practices and medications, together with the training of the practitioners. However, the mainstream American medical community has traditionally been opposed to alternative therapies, including Traditional Chinese Medicine, because of the lack of proven scientific data regarding its efficacy and also because of the role of the spiritual factor. The concept of qi, known also as energy or prana, is present in many forms of alternative medicine, and it is rejected by the medical community because it cannot be scientifically proven. However, the role that the mind plays in the body's response to medical treatment is an accepted fact, and is represented by the use of placebos in the scientific trials on which the medical community places so much emphasis.[4]

There are signs that alternative medicine is winning acceptance in the mainstream medical community. According to a 1995 issue of the Archives of Internal Medicine, physicians perceive alternative medicine as moderately effective, with young physicians more receptive than their older colleagues (Weber 18). In 1996, the Council on Scientific Affairs of the American Medical Association met specifically to discuss the popularity and impact of unconventional therapies (Weber 18).

32 of the 125 medical schools in the United States offer medical students courses in alternative medicine, including acupuncture and qigong, and several institutions have established centers performing research and clinical procedures using alternative medical practices (Wilson 16). The University of Maryland at Baltimore has a program called the Division of Complementary Medicine which has received $900,000 from the NIH to conduct research on pain. Perhaps the most publicly known is the Program in Integrative Medicine at the University of Arizona College of Medicine, which has been established under the direction of Andrew Weil, M.D. According to Dr. Weil, integrative medicine is defined as alternative and conventional medicine working together, "each doing what it's best at"

(MacFarquhar 29). The program will perform formal research on alternative therapies, run a clinic, provide courses for both medical students and practicing physicians, and "spread the word" by instituting a fellowship program for young doctors (MacFarquhar 29).

According to Joseph S. Alpert, M.D., head of the Department of Medicine at the University of Arizona College of Medicine, the first principle of Weil's program is "keep an open mind" (Weber 28). That principle is expounded upon by Marc S. Micozzi, executive director of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, in an article in the Chronicle of Higher Education, in which he emphasizes the need to educate doctors and other health care professionals about alternative therapies (Micozzi 50). Micozzi cites the success of mainstream Western medicine in fighting infectious diseases, referring to the "magic bullets" of antibiotics and other medications, but also points out the failure of Western technique to cure cancer or many chronic diseases. He suggests combining Western technique with alternative therapies which have been proven to be effective on chronic diseases, such as asthma, to reform and expand the American approach to health and healing.

I believe that the combined approach to medicine proposed by Weil and Micozzi should be the future direction of medicine in America. Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western technology work in tandem in China with great success, and I believe the combination would also be effective in America. Traditional Chinese Medicine, with its emphasis on enhancing health to prevent disease and the use of natural, non-invasive treatments if disease does occur would be the perfect partner to American medicine, with its advanced technology for diagnosis, surgery, and the treatment of acute and traumatic injuries. As our population ages, health care costs escalate, chronic degenerative diseases like arthritis proliferate, and bacteria mutate to resist the magic bullets of antibiotics, the American medical community must open its mind and begin to accept and make use of medical practices that have been successful for thousands of years. The marriage of Eastern and Western medicine must be the path of the future.

Notes

[1] Information regarding the three god-emperors varies greatly from source to source. In Sheila McNamara's Traditional Chinese Medicine, the emperors are described as the "Celestial Emperors," who lived from 2852 to 2205 BC (241). Their roles, and the order in which they lived, are also presented differently. According to McNamara, Fu-hsi, the emperor of heaven, was first, Shen Nung, the Red Emperor, emperor of earth and the patron of herbalists and apothecaries, was second, and Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, was third (241). However, all sources consulted agree on Huang Ti's authorship of the Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine and describe it as essential, authoritative, or definitive.

[2] While the food available in Chinese restaurants in America is criticized by nutritionists for its high fat content, it cannot be denied that it offers a balanced diet—every meat and vegetable dish is served with rice.

[3] According to Health Care Strategic Management Magazine, Oxford's network of credentialed providers includes acupuncturists, massage therapists, chiropractors, registered dietitians, clinical nutritionists, yoga instructors, and, in Connecticut, naturopathic physicians. Prior to admission, acupuncturists, naturopaths and chiropractors must be licensed in the state in which they practice, have graduated from a fully accredited college, have had at least two years of continuous clinical experience, pursue continuing education credits, and maintain proper malpractice insurance. Oxford expects to credential 2,000 providers by the end of 1997 (Campbell 6).

[4] A classic 1955 analysis performed by Henry K. Beecher, M.D., of Harvard and Massachusetts General Hospital, involving more than 1,000 patients determined that placebos "will relieve at least one in three patients who suffer from illnesses where a subjective factor enters" (Weber 23).

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Advertising and the Motherhood Mandate

by Sandra Kenny

Advertising is the life blood of consumer culture. Without Madison Avenue, consumer culture as we know it would be nonexistent. Advertising is defined by Sut Jhally as a part of the "discourse through and about objects' because it does not merely tell us about things but of how things are connected to important domains of our lives."[i] This is because advertising addresses how we can become happy. Of course, the answers it provides are oriented towards the marketplace and the message is always one of inadequacy or unhappiness or inability to control ourselves and our lives-- prior to purchase of the product or service. The product promises magically to mend our emotional strain, our inability to juggle our busy lives, or to give us the love and happiness for which we long. The unifying theme of all advertisements is that the positive qualities of life and of living are connected to goods and/or services-- which must, of course, be purchased in the commodity marketplace. Advertising, that prolific and inescapable element of modern social life, is the subject of this essay. I've chosen to analyze six advertisements that illustrate certain tactics and forms of address used to enhance the anxieties of common people in contemporary American society who are grappling with the impact of massive social change on the family, in general, and on women's roles and identities, in particular. In this essay, several sociological and feminist theories of cultural critique are used to demonstrate the strategies employed by marketing agents who use ideological persuasion and the promise of family-centered utopias to sell their products. As such, this paper fits squarely into critical sociological studies of gender, popular culture, and mass-media and communications.

It is a well-known fact that family restorationists claim society is doomed unless the traditional family makes a viable comeback, while revisionists and feminists attempt to strip the traditional family of its ideological components and to criticize the *motherhood mandate* and its corollary, the *motherhood mystique*. For instance, a conservative and functionalist perspective was implicit in the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections in which "family values" theme became politically explosive.

With the "breakdown of the family" and the resulting backlash,[ii] and its stress on women to fulfill their maternal and wifely obligations, the advertising industry immediately responded with representations symbolic of both conservative and more progressive views. Advertisers found they could exploit the social-psychological stress felt by many females, while, at the same time, avoiding the potential alienation of more progressive female audiences by combining idealistic and traditional visual images of motherhood and family with text related to more progressive or feminist ideals. Hence, advertisers found they could appear to uphold tradition yet appear progressive.

For instance, the following ads uphold messages of ideal motherhood, but they also expound upon progressive messages of female as "career woman," who is correspondingly intelligent, mature, responsible, and in control of her life. In short, the promises made by the advertisements play upon the wish-dreams (or the "utopias," as defined by Karl Mannheim) of women who desire career and family as two compatible ideals, while at the same time upholding the fictions (or the "ideologies," as defined by Mannheim) are used to stabilize a social order and utilized when any transformation of that same order is employed. [iii]

Ellen McCracken notes the power of advertisements. She writes , "Like any language, the systems of meaning configured in advertisements are value-laden; beneath the pleasurable and ostensibly innocent appearance of purchased ads are subtexts and codes that articulate ideology. Beyond their overt role of selling products, ads present selected value systems as merely 'common sense'".[iv] Most ads communicate through the interpolation of verbal and visual texts, with the overall impact forming a textual system which speaks to the potential consumer. The reader creates meaning by combining the two into a sort of montage, mentally synthesizing the visual and verbal images.

The common denominator in all the ads I've chosen to analyze is their linkage of a stress-free existence and consumption, as well as an ideology which normalizes female's domestic roles. Each magazine's and each advertisement's unique image is designed to attract both readers and advertisers.

See Appendix A, Advertisement #1, *CIGNA* HEALTH CARE.

For example, the photographic technique in this ad uses a depiction of locking gazes between mother and child to symbolize the pleasure inherent in an infant's lack of

individuation between mother and child. Research on mother-infant interaction finds that a child views the mother's face, like other objects in its environment, as a continuation of an undifferentiated world.[v] The visual imagery used in this ad portrays an ideal world where mother and family are one and the same-- a world where "woman" is undifferentiated from "mother," along with all the responsibility motherhood entails. Thus, by extension, mother and child are inseparable from the product or service being sold in the ad. The boundaries between mother and infant and between humans and product are nonexistent. In the interpolation of text and photo, the reader sees an ideal image of herself linked to the ideology that the product can assist her to achieve her own particular utopia-- that is, a stress-free existence-- even at the same time that the product confirms the realities of her stressful life and affirms the difficulty of balancing family and work. This ad offers the loving gaze between woman and child as a visual image of ideal womanhood, and the underlying text offers words to expand this vision, connecting the successful, happy woman to management of both household and career.

Refer to the print text in Ad #1, located in Appendix A.

"***HELP.***" This single word symbolizes the pressure working women feel in contemporary society, in that the dual responsibilities of family and career overpower the need of women to care for themselves. The reader is made to understand that *Cigna* health care is willing to "HELP." It will provide coverage for women's basic health needs. Amid controversial headlines and concerns about women's health care, the company soothes women, promising that it also will provide coverage for mammograms, but only, as the ad states, "for women who need it." They promise to pamper and take care of you, because you can't possibly do it all! The ad appeals to the basic and general human desire for comfort and care and to working women's particularly acute need for help in her hectic world. It seductively questions her, "Wouldn't it be nice to have someone take care of you for a change."

Insurance companies target working moms, who are attempting to juggle and balance the public realm of economic life and the private sphere of family responsibilities. Women and families are promised a form of "social security" if they purchase a particular

brand of insurance. These promises are evident in the next ad for *Guardian* life insurance company.

See Appendix A, Ad #2 for *Guardian Life Insurance Co.*

Note the soft shades of gray used in the *Guardian* advertisement. This black and white photography is an effective technique for grabbing the reader's attention. It works because most other magazine ads use brilliant colors. In contrast, this ad uses soft textures, combined with the baby's charm to capture the maternal/paternal feelings of consumers. And, since it is located in a business magazine, the montage appeals to the business person's eagerness for "fresh ideas." The baby and fresh fruit, represent the "fresh ideas" concept, for both remain symbolically uncorrupted by mundane social forces. Babies have open minds; and open minds are willing to accept and try novel and different ideas. Additionally, the advertisement relies on shared linguistic nuances suggested by the company's name. "The Guardian" symbolizes a paternal protector -uniquely capable of protecting and guarding from ill will - just like a parent protecting a child, or, in the specific case of this ad, like a business protecting its employees. Such representations refer to the basic human need for love and security.

In her book, Woman's Estate, Juliet Mitchell argues that the postmodern family functions for economic and ideological reasons in advanced capitalistic societies.[vi] Mitchell also argues that, as capitalism advances and the family changes from a productive unit to a consumptive unit, women's work (that is reproduction and maternal care) and their sexuality become incarcerated within the private sphere of the nuclear, patriarchal family. Such a family form promises the pleasures of individual freedom and individual consumption--neither of which can be fully realized within an advanced capitalistic system. In the midst of this contradiction stands woman, whose task it is to hold the system together while ignoring its contradictions.

Extending Mitchell's argument to take account of postmodern changes in both the form and structure of the family, one could argue that the consumptive processes required by a capitalistic economy support quasi-changes in the family -- while at the same time denying the need for such changes. That is, for capitalism to advance, women are needed as both

consumers in the private sphere and producers of services in the economic sphere. Marketing ideology which links these two, often contradictory, roles with the *motherhood mystique* is characteristic of a postmodern mentality wherein traditional boundaries are confused and at the same time upheld within symbolic representations. The resulting irony is that women's assumption of these dual responsibilities results in a new form of female exploitation unparalleled in pre-modern and modern societies.

In their discussions of ideology, both Althusser and Williamson point out that humans learn to identify themselves according to the manner in which they are addressed.[vii] Advertisements often address the reader through signifiers of social approval, which is equated with male approval. This manner of address is used in the following advertisement for *AT&T Wireless* services. The ad, in giving its seal of approval to the woman's wise decision to use *AT&T* to help balance multiple roles, is using tacit signifiers of masculine approval. It encourages women to learn to see themselves in a particular way, subtly calling out to their insecurities, intensifying the insecurities, and then magically providing the means (via purchase of the product) to alleviate and/or control the tension between women's multiple and often conflicting roles.

Yet, in true conservative format, the images and the events of the broader world are translated into the more confined world of the family, household, and marriage-- so that women's dependence is hidden from conscious awareness.

See Appendix A, ad #3, *AT&T Wireless*

For instance, this advertisement for *AT&T Wireless* exemplifies the marketing strategy used to sell products which promise "freedom." On the one hand, the wireless telephone appears to offer freedom from the confines of domestic responsibility; on the other, it subtly reinforces the idea that women are responsible for the smooth operation of the family's domestic life. At the same time *AT&T* promises freedom, it exalts women's confinement. Likewise, at the same time it denies female confinement, it acknowledges its reality, as shown by the text, which reads: ("May I cut in?)".

Yes, don't we all realize that, as women, children "cut in" to our career plans and don't we all realize that it is not necessarily an inherent or natural aspect of life that this must

be so-- rather it is the lack of support from men and the lack of broader social support which force women to be sole care-givers.

Note also that this ad uses birthing symbolism (the child between the woman's legs) to strengthen the overall representation of child care as part of the "natural," universal, and unchanging female role. The logic follows something like this: females conceive and give birth and, thus, they naturally must have responsibility for the care of children. No matter what other roles are socially appropriated to woman, this child exemplifies her primary role. Yet, AT&T is there to lend assistance, for as the text says, "It's all within your reach." The promise is that you, too, can play superwoman; you, too, can have it all, along with the statuses of career-woman, mother, and romantic partner. Tension and the release of that tension: this is the utopia promised women by the ideology of the market economy.

In reality, however, it is an illusory utopia. For don't we all know that not much has changed for women. The world of the 1990s is still a world in which women make at least twenty-five percent less on average than men for comparable work in the public sphere; where women still are expected to be primary care-givers; where the "feminization of poverty" is a reality that threatens women's and children's futures, and where domestic and intimate violence have reached epidemic proportions.[viii] Yet, like the old *Enjoli* perfume ad from the 1980s, young women are made to believe: "I can bring home the bacon, fry it up in the pan, and make him never, ever forget he's a man."

The next ad offers women vicarious participation (or, one could say, quasi-participation) in the broader male world. Women are promised freedom and participation in a man's world by purchasing a particular brand and style of clothing.

See Appendix A, Advertisement #4 (two pages), *Wrangler* jeans

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Yet, it is freedom and participation of the least threatening sort; that is, we know this woman's actions and style of dress are not a serious challenge to the idealized masculine world of independence, adventure, excitement, and wilderness. On an unconscious level, the reader realizes this child-bearing woman is no serious threat to the rugged independence of masculine independence, as symbolized by the jagged mountain splendor depicted on page 1 of this two-page advertisement for *Wrangler* jeans.

See Appendix A, Advertisement #4 (first page), *Wrangler* jeans

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Raymond Williams notes that the commodity advertising tries to sell is never sufficient in itself: it must be validated, often only in fantasy, by additional meanings, which Williams terms "magic."[ix] In fact, it is because consumer goods often fail to satisfy many human needs and desires that advertising uses magic, in the form of utopias, to associate consumption with human fulfillment. The common denominator in all these ads is their link between a stress-free existence and consumption. Each magazine's and each advertisement's unique image is designed to attract both readers and advertisers, playing on specific anxieties apparent at any particular historical moment.

Ultimately, however, advertising does more than sell products. According to Williams, the cultural patterns of the system of magic begin to take root in society, becoming an independent system of communication. Williams notes that, once the magical pattern has been established, people respond to one another's "displayed signals" which symbolize one's having made the culturally correct purchases. Consumers use commodities as a means of expression, a kind of language, and eventually come to depend upon the system of fantasy (which he calls "fancied needs" induced by advertising).[x] Thus, critical analysis of advertising textual systems becomes the analysis of the myths by which society lives. Stuart Ewen describes how advertising induces insecurities and then alleviates them through the magic advertising attaches to products. Ideas, not products, become the ultimate answers to satisfaction of fancied needs and induced anxieties.[xi] We must purchase the advertised product, or a similar one, in order to gain use of and control over the idea.

As Diane Barthel points out in her book, Putting on Appearances, people reenact, through ritualistic behavior, the dominant myths of their culture so as to resolve tensions between opposites.[xii] Ritualized behavior helps to resolve the tensions between opposing elements in a person's life. For instance, the tension between the desire for traditional family life and the knowledge that economic affluence demands successful employment in the public sphere is a very real contemporary dilemma. Such tensions are alleviated by the promise of easy credit. In the following ad, the ideas of Williams and Ewen are illustrated.

See Appendix A, Advertisement #5, *VISA*.

The *VISA* advertisement encourages a link between consumption and attainment of traditional family life-- a fantasized and idealized form of life that can be purchased with the help of a *VISA* credit card. Symbolized within this ad is the image of a perfect world of secure, middle-class family life. Maternal and paternal feelings are brought to the surface along with the contemporary issue of "Why Johnny can't read." The text promises: "Now everything you buy with your *Visa* card comes with a happy ending." Each time you purchase with your credit card (during the holiday season), *Visa* will make a donation to a national reading organization. The softly muted colors, the idealized scene of a loving family, the security and comfort of material possessions, the imagery of family traditions and the child's storybook, all combine magically to conjure visions of idealized "family values" and induce consumers to consider purchasing with their *Visa* cards. Notice the cleverness of the marketing strategy used to alleviate some of the guilt associated with excessive holiday shopping, because, after all, you are helping children read! The religious and familial mystique of the holiday season is translated into the marketing imperative to buy, buy, buy!

Concepts from Ewen and Williams, such as *fancied needs* and *magical inducements*, can be understood in the broader sense of the concept of "ideology," defined as fictions or illusory distorted pictures of the world. Such magical inducements disguise the actual inability of commodities to satisfy many human needs. Ideology, of course, does not determine how an ad will affect potential consumers.[xiii] People may or may not internalize the misrepresentations. Using the ideas of Gramsci, especially his theory of hegemony, it is useful to defined ideology as a "site of struggle" where meanings are constantly contested.[xiv] In critically analyzing ads we must remain aware of the utopian elements hidden from view. Likewise, we must remain aware that utopian fantasies in ads tyrannize us but also give us pleasure. While the utopian pleasure may remain even after critical analysis, the power of the ad is curtailed.

Stuart Hall regards ideology as a site of struggle for competing definitions of reality and "oppositional" or resistant readings of texts are possible.[xv] Viewed from this perspective, magazine advertising is one venue where competing views of reality and power

compete. Optimistically, this means that critical cultural analysis (that is, an unmasking of the value-laden systems found in mass culture) is a powerful tool that can be learned and taught so that advertising will not have ultimate control in our postmodern world. When readers learn to resist dominant views, the ideological mirage, along with the hegemonic control of the corporate world, is shattered. Both ideology and utopia are exposed to the light of critical scrutiny.

APPENDIX "A"

Samples of six print advertisements


Products and services provided by Connecticut General Life Insurance Company and other operating subsidiaries of CIGNA Corporation.
Help.
Lullabies at 7. Diaper changes on the hour. 2 a.m. feedings. You put in a day's work before you put in a day's work. How can you find time to take care of yourself? At CIGNA HealthCare, we've created programs just for a woman's special health needs. Beginning with basic gynecological care, Pap smears, and for women who need them, mammograms. We'll even send you a reminder on your birthday to come in for a check-up. Because wouldn't it be nice to have someone take care of you for a change?
CIGNA HealthCare
A business of Caring

IDEAS

The Guardian Life Insurance Company of America is offering new solutions for affordable, quality healthcare.

It takes more than just eating fresh fruits and vegetables to improve everyone's health. So The Guardian is working hard to increase healthcare quality while reducing costs. For example, The Guardian has created a complete portfolio of quality medical coverages and is pioneering the development of new, dynamic products and services to respond to consumers' contemporary needs. From our traditional indemnity product — long considered one of the best that money can buy — to nationwide PPO plans — to regional HMO partnerships, The Guardian is committed to providing exceptional employee health benefits.

Here's A Fresh Idea.

Make The Guardian the centerpiece of your company's employee benefits program. In addition to our selection of medical products, we offer a broad range of new solutions, including: affordable life and disability insurances, outstanding group dental plans (indemnity and managed care products), newly developed vision care programs, Section 125 services and a variety of retirement plans and investment options.

And The Guardian's consistent, outstanding financial performance over the past 137 years has provided the financial strength to protect its policyowners, pay excellent dividends and deliver personal services which are second to none.*

Call 1-800-662-1006
or visit us at www.theguardian.com

The Guardian®
The Intelligent Choice®
Since 1860

Life Insurance • Employee Benefits & 401(k)
Disability • Mutual Funds & Variable Annuities **

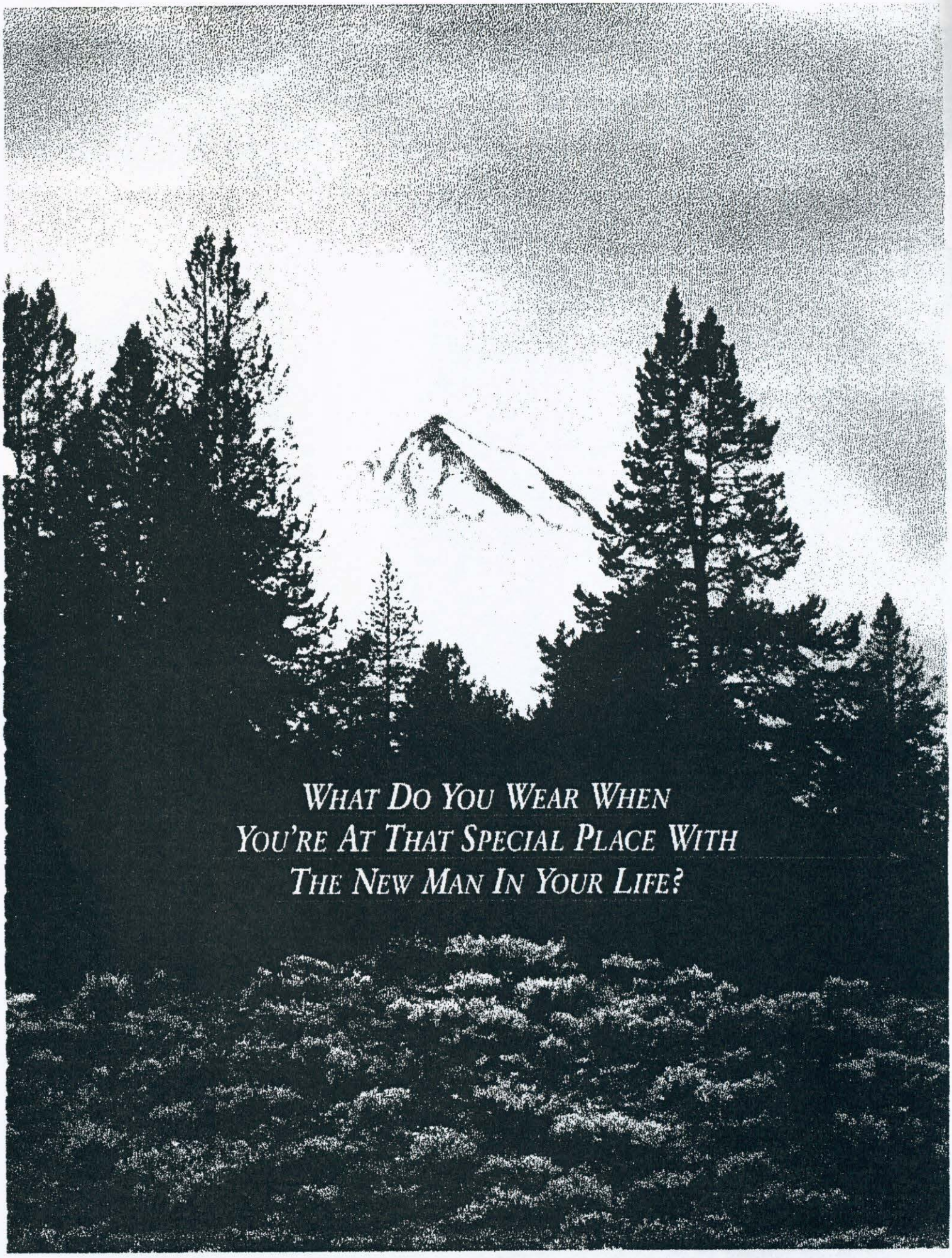
* Financial information for The Guardian Life Insurance Company of America as of 12/31/95. Assets = $12.1 billion; Liabilities = $10.9 billion (includes $8.5 billion in reserves); Surplus = $1.2 billion.

**401(k) products and variable annuities are issued by The Guardian Insurance & Annuity Company Inc. (GIAC), a wholly owned subsidiary of The Guardian Life Insurance Company of America, New York, N.Y. Securities products are distributed by Guardian Investor Services Corporation (GISC), 201 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y., 1-800-221-3253, Member NASD, SIPC. GISC is an indirect wholly owned subsidiary of The Guardian Life Insurance Company of America.

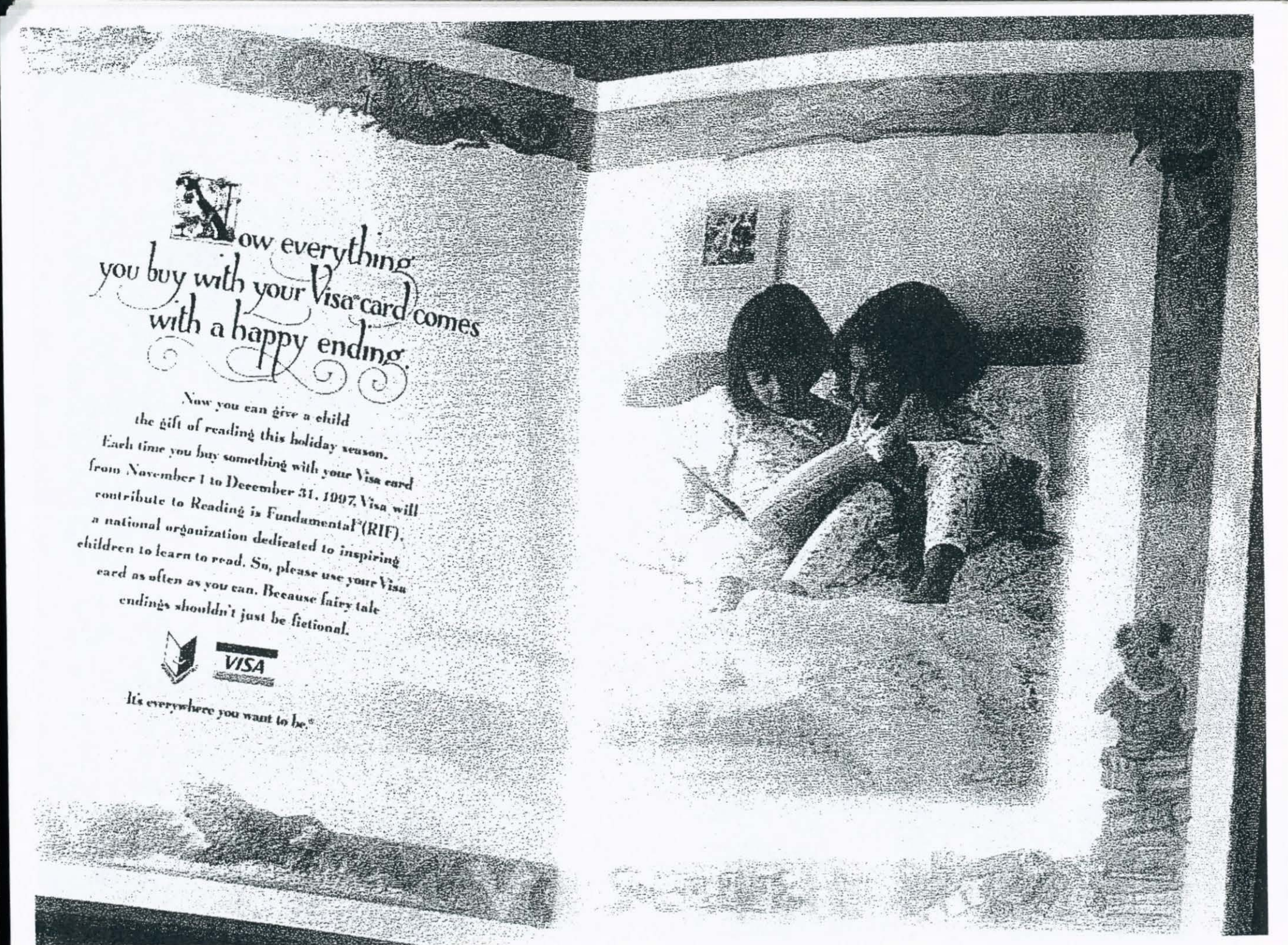
Reservations at seven. Sitter's got strep. Use AT&T Wireless to tell Dad, "Hold a cozy table for three."

AT&T

it's all within your reach


WHAT DO YOU WEAR WHEN
YOU'RE AT THAT SPECIAL PLACE WITH
THE NEW MAN IN YOUR LIFE?


REAL. COMFORTABLE. JEANS.
wrangler
W
for women


Now everything you buy with your Visa® card comes with a happy ending.
Now you can give a child the gift of reading this holiday season. Each time you buy something with your Visa card from November 1 to December 31, 1997, Visa will contribute to Reading is Fundamental® (RIF), a national organization dedicated to inspiring children to learn to read. So, please use your Visa card as often as you can. Because fairy tale endings shouldn't just be fictional.
VISA
It's everywhere you want to be.®

[i]. Sut Jhally, AImage-Based Culture@ In Gender, Race, and Class In Media, Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995, p. 79.

[ii]. Susan Faludi, Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women. New York, NY:Doubleday, 1991.

[iii]. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (translated from the German by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils), New York, NY: A Harvest Book by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936.

[iv]. Ellen McCracken, Decoding Women=s Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms., New York, NY: St. Martin=s Press, 1993, p. 96.

[v]. Stern and Fraiberg as cited in McCracken.

[vi]. Juliet Mitchell, Woman=s Estate, New York, NY: Pantheon, 1972.

[vii]. L. Althusser, AIdeology and Ideological State Apparatuses,@ in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, London: New Left Books, 1971. Althusser=s conceptualization of ideology as false consciousness surfaces in Althusser=s discussion of the Ideological State Apparatuses, (with the media and communications industry as one such apparatus). Apparatuses serve to maintain the dominant order through ideology. Also see, Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, London: Marion Boyars, 1978.

[viii]. See chapters 4-7 in Margaret L. Andersen, Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender (3rd ed.), New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993 and chapters 9, 11, 12, and 14 in Rhoda Unger and Mary Crawford, Women and Gender: A Feminist Psychology (2nd ed.), New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Companies, 1996.

[ix]. Raymond Williams, AAdvertising: The Magic System in Problems in Materialism and Culture, London: Verso Editions and New Left Books, 1980.

[x]. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

wen, Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture, New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

[xii]. Diane Barthel, Putting on Appearances: Gender and Advertising Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1988.

[xiii]. Althusser=s theory of interpellation has been criticized as a deterministic doctrine that assumes people offer no resistance and are unthinkingly shaped to be what they are Ahailed@ to by the text. However, in support of Althusser=s conceptualization, the study of the process of interpellation can create conscious awareness of how ads address the reader, resulting in the encouragement of critical analysis.

tonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (translator and editor Q. Hoare and G. Nowe , New York, NY: Lawrence and Wishart.

[xv]. Stuart Hall, AThe Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies,@ in Culture, Society and the Media, eds. Michael Gurevitch et al., London and New York: Routledge, 1982, pp. 56-90.

VIDEO VISIONARY: THE ELECTRONIC ART OF NAM JUNE PAIK

BY CHRISTINE FISHER

INTRODUCTION

"I'm painting with a cathode ray tube and I can make 200 paintings a minute."

BNam June Paik in *Electronic Super Highway*

Since the early 1960s, Korean-born American artist Nam June Paik has expanded the boundaries of art by employing modern technology, pioneering the use of video as a leading form of late 20th century artistic expression. In today's world of television and computers, it is difficult to imagine that just thirty years ago the phrases "global community" and "information superhighway" were not an integral part of our language and everyday lives. These concepts are embodied in the work of Paik, whose visionary use of video as a medium has involved work on three continents and synthesizes a multiplicity of cultural ideas and images.

His primary themes of global society, communication, and the humanization of and individual interaction with technology have influenced not only later generations of artists, but have had a significant impact on information science and mass media.

Paik has succeeded during his own lifetime in becoming internationally recognized as an artist. His work is represented in major museum collections around the world, including the Museum of Modern Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum, Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum, Berlin's Nationalgalerie, and the National Museum of Modern Art at the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris. The Smithsonian's Hirshhorn Museum recently acquired *Video Flag,* acknowledging Paik's importance as a contemporary artist.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NAM JUNE PAIK'S *VIDEO FLAG*

Video Flag is a strong example of Paik's later work. *Video Flag* (1985-96) stands in a large passageway on the third floor of the Hirshhorn Museum between painting galleries and figurative sculpture. It is a video sculpture composed of seventy thirteen-inch monitors housed in a black wooden case on heavy casters (approx. 12' wide x 9' high x 3' deep). The

case conceals plugs, wires, and laser disc players, leaving only the television screens exposed. *Video Flag* is divided into two basic sections: sixteen television monitors in the upper left corner form the "stars," and the remaining fifty-six monitors form the "stripes" of the American flag. The ***stars*** section presents myriad variations on the star form. The shapes multiply, divide, advance, recede, circle, and spin in dizzying rhythms. Interjected into this recurring theme are other video clips. A spinning Statue of Liberty is used as backdrop to an eerily smooth morphing sequence of American presidents beginning with Truman and ending with Clinton. The official portrait of each president is transformed into the portrait of the next president (Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, etc.) until the series is complete. The choice of presidents is a commentary on the subject of television itself; Truman was in office at the beginning of broadcast television (1945-53), and Clinton's presidency (1992-2000) will end with the 20th century, in an era dominated by the presence of television. Paik is saying that TV has shaped America since its invention and will continue to shape our society as we move into the next century.

The smoothness and rate of speed of the presidential transformation is in stark contrast to the other images in the ***stars***, which are presented at lightning speed in an erratic jump-cut style. Sometimes images can be distinguished, but, because of the abrupt presentation and withdrawal of each visual, one is never sure of what one sees. Faces appear and disappear. Home-grown icons of American culture (such as Abraham Lincoln and Marilyn Monroe) are seen, as well as appropriated American icons (such as the Ayatollah Khomeini - who has become ours, in a sense, because of frequent appearances on our living room television screens). Familiar news faces who introduce such remote personages are also fleetingly visible. Paik presents faces of Asia: a child, a woman in traditional dress, a bearded sage. People from distant cultures, from thousands of miles away, are here too -- a global community which is becoming more of a reality every day. It is difficult to know whether the people flying by are symbols or celebrities, but Paik's style makes that question irrelevant. In another artist's hands, the political and social content of the images might be interpreted as a condemnation of American politics, or current society, or the media, but Paik manages to present the subject with an even-handedness that inspires thought and question without leaving the viewer feeling uncomfortable. He does not make value judgments in his

presentation, but instead makes a visual statement that is at once playful and serious with rhythm and energy.

Later in *Video Flag*, the succession of presidents repeats, giving a sense of place in time, of where the entire sequence of images begins again. For one attempting to decipher some literal message, it is like a musical pause or rest which gives a sense of security and a new starting point. The slowdown and wavelike quality of the morphing sequence is echoed in a segment of the ***stripes,*** which through use of decreased speed, color, and line gives the appearance of gentle rippling-like an actual flag blowing in a breeze. The stripe theme is played against other images which are presented in rapid-fire succession. Although some human figures appear in the ***stripes***, Paik does not present portraits, but rather short sequences of action (flying babies, dancers) often mirrored in tandem motion. Other motifs presented in the ***stripes*** are: hearts in various sizes and configurations, electrical components flying through computer-generated space, and a rhythmic recurring sequence of "on/off" commands and "zeroes" and "ones" -- a reference to the binary coding on which computer programming is based, and on which -- at the end of the 20th century - a majority of the systems we depend on in nearly every aspect of our lives are run.

The colors of *Video Flag* are most often blues and violets in the ***stars*** -- and reds, oranges, and fuchsias in the ***stripes***, but any vivid cathode ray hue is probably shown at one time or another. Backed by the brilliance of light, the colors have a kaleidoscopic or mosaic quality. When *VideoFlag* is viewed with the purpose of detecting and defining individual images, the movement can seem jarring and frustrating, but if the sculpture is viewed as impressions or sensation it becomes almost meditative in its atmosphere -- although a glittering, exciting atmosphere.

The surface of the picture plane is in constant motion. Paik succeeds in producing visual unity by allowing ***stars*** and ***stripes*** to remain separate from each another, and the monitors within each section to be in precise choreography with the others, and in a counterpoint to those in the other section. While Paik maintains his basic themes of stars,

stripes, hearts, technology, global unity, American politics, and world culture throughout, he interprets these themes in seemingly endless visual variations and tempo changes.

Who is Nam June Paik and how, as an artist, did he arrive at this type of expression and statement?

Biography

Nam June Paik was born in 1932 in Seoul, Korea - the youngest of five children of a successful textile merchant. His family relocated to Japan after the start of the Korean War in 1950. Paik graduated from Tokyo University with a degree in aesthetics, after presenting his thesis on composer Arnold Schoenberg. Paik says that he chose Schoenberg as a model of study because, of the composers with whom he was familiar at the time, Schoenberg was the most radical ("Pensées" 17). After attaining his degree, Paik pursued his interest in avant-garde music by going to Germany, at that time the center for electronic music. There he studied piano, music composition, and music theory at Freiburg Conservatory, the University of Munich, and at Radio Cologne's Studio for Electronic Music. He began to experiment with tapes and electronics in his own music.

In 1958, Paik met John Cage, who was beginning to rely less on electronics and more on theatrical performance in his music, initially as a tactic designed to keep audiences from falling asleep during electronic music concerts (Marks 278). Paik had not performed much because of his shyness, probably because of his inability to speak either German or English well. He was not only impressed with Cage's background as a former student of Schoenberg, but also with Cage's willingness to appear ridiculous if necessary when performing his chance-based pieces. When Paik adopted Cage as his artistic father and incorporated the idea of performance art into his own music, it was a definite turning point (Keller 133).

A frequently told story about one of Paik's earliest performance art pieces is of his 1960 *Étude for Pianoforte*. After Paik completed his piano rendition of a Chopin piece, he jumped off the stage and stood directly before John Cage in the front row. He then cut off Cage's necktie with a pair of scissors, rubbed shampoo into his hair, and ran out of the theater. Cage recalls, "His actions were such [that] we wouldn't have been surprised had he thrown himself five floors down into the street...all of us sat paralyzed with fear, utterly

silent, for what seemed to be an eternity." Several minutes later, a phone call came to the theater. It was Paik announcing that his performance was over (22).

Paik's further involvement in the *avant garde* led him to the European neo-dada group, Fluxus, which was dedicated to fighting against "the exclusiveness and elitism of art" (Marks 278). Association with Fluxus and subsequent performances helped hone Paik's sense of personal statement, humor, and the interactive possibilities of artistic expression. Paik continued to work with electronic music at Radio Cologne (WDR), and since there was also a television station there, he began to think in terms of TV as a possible artistic medium. In 1962, he bought thirteen used television sets and experimented with them in an attempt to alter the broadcast images. Then, at the Galerie Bruce Kurtz, in 1963, Paik presented the world's first show of video art. The TV images were manipulated in various ways, including with magnets and reversed polarity, resulting in visual distortion of broadcast signals. Paik had found his primary medium. As he later said, in 1968, "The piano has only eighty-eight keys, now we have, in color TV, twelve million dots per second, which I have somehow to control for my work. It is like composing a piano concerto using a piano equipped with twelve million keys" (qtd. in Marks 278).

Paik moved to New York in 1964, bringing with him *Robot K-456*, a walking, talking, remote-controlled robot he had developed in Japan with engineer Shuya Abe the previous year. In New York, he became acquainted with Charlotte Moorman, classical cellist and organizer of *The Second Annual New York Avant Garde Festival*. Paik and Moorman collaborated on several performance pieces over the next decade using *Robot K-456*, music, and video as elements in their "happenings." After a publicized arrest prompted by a performance featuring a topless Moorman in *Opera Sextronique* (1967), Paik's reputation crossed over into a kind of notorious celebrity which even included an appearance on The Tonight Show.

Paik has always been at the forefront of technological changes. In 1965, he bought one of the first non-broadcast portable video cameras, and, in 1970, along with Shuya Abe, invented a $30,000 analog video synthesizer "that could mix, distort, polarize, and colorize existing images from several video and audio sources and create, deliberately or at random, totally new video patterns and colors" (Marks 279). Paik developed his video synthesizer

technique using the studios WGBH-TV in Boston and WNET-TV in New York, and in 1973 produced his breakthrough work, *Global Groove*, which mixed excerpts from French, German, Japanese, Austrian, and African television into "a frenetic collage of synthesized images and sensations. Rather than the individual images, it was the symphony of exploding color, rhythm, sound and constant motion that captivated the viewer" (West 3). The video synthesizer manipulated images in a manner which - aside from the distinctive RGB coloration and light of television -- was innovative in terms of speed, sequence, and plasticity, a new way of seeing and interpreting visual data. As Paik commented on the video synthesizer "There is no logical and sensible explanation other than its ability to produce pictures that we can neither expect in advance nor completely understand subsequently" (qtd. in Schmidt 88).

In Paik's 1982 Whitney Museum of American Art retrospective, the artist was finally able to display the full range of his work as well as many of his video sculptures, including *TV Buddha* (1974), *Moon is Oldest TV* (1956-76), *Video Fish* (1978), and *Fish Flies on Sky* (1975). The retrospective, containing over sixty works, was the largest exhibition of video art up to that time (Marks 280). Paik's style helped smooth the transition from visual media of the past into the new medium of video. "The unreal world of telecommunications...needed Paik's Dadaist spirit to embrace and embarrass the deadly world of the new communication technologies" (Odin 130).

On January 1, 1984, Paik made media history by creating the first intercontinental art project transmitted simultaneously via satellite to San Francisco, New York, Paris, Cologne, and Seoul. Paik persuaded Joseph Beuys, John Cage, and Allen Ginsberg to participate and donate work to help finance the project. Paik himself used his own income from two years of work to support his realization of a global art experience (van Assche 123).

COMPARISON: PAIK'S *MY FAUST* AND MONET'S *ROUEN CATHEDRAL*

The video sculptures and installations of Nam June Paik have taken many diverse forms. His centerpiece for the 1988 Seoul Olympics, *The More the Better,* consisted of 1,003 monitors of varying size formed into a column, both a "technological monument and a 'sacred idol'" (Stoos, "Video Time" 13). Paik's 1990

Video Arbor is an actual greenery-accommodating structure composed of TV monitors in a public outdoor space in Philadelphia. Sometimes Paik works in a series form, such as in *My Faust* (1989-91), which features neo-Gothic structures and addresses global topics, such as education, communications, and religion. Each structure is equipped with twenty-four monitors, and individual paints, props, and separate video commentary relating to each topic.

Visually, *My Faust* has links to Monet's *Rouen Cathedral* series, which is quite appropriate in view of an early analogy Paik made by way of contrasting broadcast television to video art. In this analogy, Paik compared television's hard "realism" of image to the painting tradition beginning with Giotto and ending with Ingres, and video art's fleeting, colorful imagery to the later impressionist painting of Monet (Schmidt 85). The tabernacles of *My Faust* are reminiscent of Monet's cathedral paintings, in which Monet studied the effects of light on Rouen Cathedral one hundred years earlier.

For Monet, nature never could be grasped as a whole...since "nature" was in a constant tremor...since the whole of reality was in perpetual movement. By deciding upon painting the cathedral, Monet demonstrated that...light in its intangible, immaterial, invisible essence, embraces even the solid, massive, impermeable stone structure of a cathedral and transforms it...from hour to hour, so that the cathedral will perennially appear to differ from itself. (Pissarro 25).

In a similar sense, Paik also grapples with this cognition of reality by placing the light and movement of kinetic video art into various immobile structures such as arches, houses, churches, and towering robots - rendering them penetrable and changeable not only by the effects of the art of television - but also metaphorically, by the reflection of the individual on the larger structure of society. Paik's work could be considered, at the millennium, or *fin de siecle II*, as revolutionary today as Monet's was in his time, the *fin de siecle I.*

A Visit to Carl Solway Gallery

Another theme which has been explored in series form by Paik is his theme of robots. In 1986, Paik continued what he began 20 years earlier with *K-456* in *Family of Robot,* an

exhibition at Carl Solway Gallery. The first generation of these robot sculptures consists of biological family: grandparents, parents, aunt and uncle, and children. The robots are constructed from vintage television cabinets outfitted with new technology monitors displaying Paik's videos. The robot sculptures are expressive, combining the immobility of massive height and heavy cabinetry - with the motion and fluidity of video's color and light. The robots usually have a humorous, humanized appearance. Not long after these were exhibited, Paik followed with the second generation, portraits of his artistic family including John Cage, Charlotte Moorman, Merce Cunningham, and Joseph Beuys. The theme of family is central to Paik's work. "In one piece after another [Paik] has given homage, memorialized, remembered those who gave him life and direction" (Millet 112).

In order to get more information about Paik, I thought it would be interesting to see how some of his works develop on a physical level. In March, 1997, I visited Solway Gallery in Cincinnati, in operation for 35 years, and where many of Paik's sculptures are fabricated. Solway Gallery is located in a downtown warehouse district off the beaten path of galleries, restaurants, and boutiques. The building has a secure brick front and a heavy metal door bearing the Solway logo. Inside, the front part of the 25,000 square foot space is a gallery with upper and lower floors containing work by contemporary artists. On the lower level, behind the gallery and office space, is a large industrial area where vintage televisions are warehoused, and where construction of Paik's sculptures takes place. On this day, there are two artisans. One is constructing a robot made of welded metal boxes, the other assembling a figure designed from the "guts" of vintage sets. Even though the atmosphere is busy, Carl Solway begins by apologizing about a relative lack of activity due to Paik's having suffered a stroke the previous April.

Solway explains how he became Paik's dealer and headquarters for building Paik's sculptures. In the 1960's, Solway became friends with John Cage who, at that time, was an artist-in-residence in Cincinnati. Cage's first graphic work was even published by Solway. Through their friendship, and through Cage's association with Paik, all three became acquainted; eventually Solway and Paik developed both a friendship and a working relationship. Today, all of Paik's robots and many of his other sculptures are assembled at this location. Solway relates a story about Paik's first robot. "The first robot was *K-456*

which [Paik] made in Japan; it was made out of junk. It was radio controlled, and he and Charlotte Moorman performed with it many, many times at avant garde festivals in New York and Europe...at the opening of his 1982 Whitney retrospective, he took the robot out on the street at the beginning of the show and called the news media informing them that if they came to 75th and Madison they could witness the first 21st century disaster. The robot started to walk across the street and it got hit by a car. It was staged, but the news that evening reported that a robot was killed at 75th and Madison that day."

Solway says Paik's current robots are rarely commissions. Paik designs them and sends instructions to Solway's technicians on how to build the robots in the form of drawings, collages, and sometimes blueprints. Solway has scouts who find old television sets, then they are photographed. Solway sends the photos off to Paik in New York, who studies them and creates photo collages which often become the basis for actual construction. The video editing and laser mastering for accompanying video narratives are done in New York by Paik at his studio.

Paik not only recycles old radios, televisions, and other pieces of discarded technology, he also recycles his own video footage, reusing clips and remixing them with other clips: some old, some new, some original, some appropriated. The day before visiting Solway Gallery, I went to the Cincinnati Art Museum, which has several Paik sculptures including one titled *Powell Crosley, Jr.* Powell Crosley was a Cincinnatian who invented the car radio, manufactured early television sets, and started the first public television station. This portrait sculpture uses 1940s and 1950s visuals, some actually of Crosley and his business, mixed with new imagery, representing technology which did not exist during his lifetime. I recognized one computer-animated sequence from *Video Flag* and have since noticed repeated footage in some of Paik's earlier pieces, as well as in his newest *Electronic Super Highway* sculptures. Is Paik painting a literal picture of who the figure is, and why does he recycle the same images in completely different types of pieces? Solway explains: "It's narrative about the person but it's always a mixture of his own video footage. He sometimes takes existing footage relating to the period of time or something about that person, giving the viewer some insight into who this is, but it's not really semantic in a narrative way."

One theme which runs through all Paikss work is autobiography, shown in recurring footage of himself, his family, his mentors and colleagues, and sometimes even attaching his personal artifacts to a piece. In *Nam June Paik: Video TimeCVideo Space* this issue is discussed by Toni Stoos, former curator at the Kunsthaus Zurich, who suggests that:

> The inclusion of his own persona...among great universal themes may be the first statement of how Paik sees global subject matter as being determined by the creative individual...his background is invoked not because of narcissistic self-reflection but to point out how these essential providers of his life energy contributed to his quest for an enlightened 'global village.' (10)

Stoos' statement is echoed by John G. Hanhardt, curator of film and video at the Whitney, who has said that "Paik's art recycles his images and appropriates the world's cultures, not to distance us from the world around us, but in order to reengage us with the communities we inhabit"(82), and by John Cage, who observed that Paik works again and again with a "personal iconography" similar to Marcel Duchamp and Jasper Johns (22).

Another enigma about Paik's work concerns the absence of audio and music composition in his video sculptures. Since Paik studied music and began his career with sound pieces, and since there's the possibility for sound in video, why doesn't he usually employ sound as an element in these sculptures? Solway answers the question this way. "It's his humility that keeps him from doing it in a public space where other art works are around, the video itself already takes over the whole room. The installation at Documenta was one experiment...but again, he's making pieces that are going into public spaces and exhibitions. He still does performance work, he's done performance pieces even recently holding a video camera in each hand and playing piano, hitting the notes with the video cameras, and the cameras are taking live pictures of the action as well as the keys and there's a projection screen behind the piano showing what the videocameras are seeing as he's moving around playing the piano. It's typically very chaotic."

In the second floor gallery I talked to Carl Solway's son, Michael, a very active presence at the gallery. On this floor there is work by other contemporary artists in addition to two Paik pieces. The first piece is a sound sculpture. The music is, surprisingly, very pretty

and meditative. Because of Paik's audacious musical persona, I expected to hear something raucous and non-harmonic.

Michael discusses the origin of the piece, "This is in an edition of twelve, and was part of his project called the *Music Box Project*. Seventeen artists were invited to make a work of art utilizing, in most cases, their own music - and a music company in Switzerland transposed all their music onto music box mechanisms. Paik had studied to be a musician before he started getting involved in making visual art, and in 1954 he was living in Tokyo studying music. This is actually a piece of music called *Piano Piece Composed in Tokyo in 1954*. What you're looking at is a live picture. Inside the cabinet is a video camera, looking at a fifth of a 144-note movement. The camera's looking at the cylinder as it's turning. There's a little incandescent bulb, that illuminates the movement. Then the cabinet has a sort of perforated back which allows more light to come in so that you can see how the changes in light in the room affect the picture."

The other Paik piece on the second floor, *Bionic Man* (1993), is more like a painting and shows an internal diagram of a body from a Chinese acupuncture chart, which is overwritten with Chinese characters in neon, and has three small video monitors. Michael explains some of the piece's significance. "Nam June either writes in Chinese or Korean, and sometimes Japanese, but often Chinese, which is sort of the whole foundation of the language in terms of Asian writing. As a kind of a hobby, Nam June translates 13th century Chinese poetry just as something to do. So he often writes in Chinese because of his interest in the language. These characters mean mind and body, so the idea here is about the physiological relationships between mind and body."

The structure of Asian writing can also be considered influential in Paik's presentation of multi-layered imagery, as noted by Japanese professor of semiotics, Akira Asada:

> Phonetic signs such as the alphabet have necessarily to be set out linearly, whereas ideographic signs, such as Chinese characters, can be much more freely juxtaposed or stacked together. We might say they can be disposed among images in two or three-dimensional space...in Nam June Paik's work,

> the paradigmatic and multidimensional accumulation of signs and images far outweighs syntagmatic and linear integration. He piles up signs and images, takes accumulation to its most extreme point, and when it has reached a kaleidoscopic climax, paradoxically, one becomes aware of a kind of void -- a void full of images or the silence full of sounds. (126)

Currently, Solway Gallery is producing Nam June Paik's travelling exhibition, *Electronic Super Highway*, which features his vision of a global cybertown, including buildings such as a family house, school, town hall, and post office, as well as the cybertown inhabitants. The show makes many astute observations about our changing culture at the verge of the 21st century and illustrates Marshall McLuhan's prediction that we shall go from a language-based to a picture-based society ("Electronic Super Highway"). One sculpture, *Telecommuting: From Bali to Broadway* presents the idea of living in one location while working in a remote other, *More Log-On: Less Logging* refers to paperless culture, *Video Server* stresses the need for citizens to take control of the media before government and Madison Avenue are able to completely monopolize new technology. The commentary of *Electronic Super Highway* is an update of ideas Paik had discussed long before computer society became an everyday reality.

PAIK'S PHILOSOPHY

It is fascinating to discover the visionary nature of Paik's early ideas. In a 1968 paper, titled *Instant Global University*, Paik suggests the idea of computer-catalogued videotapes enabling a person from Western culture to take music lessons from the best Eastern musicians on Asian instruments, or for children to study art by drawing directly onto a cathode ray tube (Kaprow 114) - revolutionary ideas in the 1960s, but everyday occurrences in the 1990s. Paik has also contributed much to current standards of information storage and global communication. According to Howard Klein, former Director of Arts at the Rockefeller Foundation, the addition of video departments in major museums in the United States, preservation of speaking images of the great writers and thinkers, and the international public television conference (INPUT) are a direct result of Paik's early suggestions, which Klein was then able to initiate into action (120).

Equally interesting are Paik's views on modern technology as a parallel to development of information science and communication. In a 1986 proposal, Paik presents his ideas about the dissemination of information. He places video and computer technology in a historical context by comparing them to the types of communication available during earlier periods of history:

In medieval times illumination and information were often overlapping phenomena. In a church window, information came through as an illumination. In the medieval codices, pictures were painted in illuminating inks. In the age of video, this overlapping phenomenon has appeared again. Not only film and television, the so-called soft information, even the word processor Cthe hard information -- have all become a kind of illumination. With this change a shift in the character of information has come about...often hard information (political analyses or numerical statistics) and soft in formation (life-style, fashion, personalities) intersect.

Paik also notes in the same paper, a return to what he calls "nongravitational time-based information," akin to the ancient audio-visual culture of dance, music, and folktale, which was later superceded by written culture. Today, in a more global, video and computer-connected society, audio-visual culture has again become a paramount form of communication ("Sixtina" 76).

Conclusion

Paik's career as an artist has followed a path of logic, self-discovery, and deliberateness. This artistic course has modeled the discipline outlined by Paikss early influence, Arnold Schoenberg, in his book, *Fundamentals of Music Composition*:

> Proceed gradually, from the simpler to the more complex...It will be useful to start by building musical blocks and connecting them intelligently. These...blocks will provide the material for building larger units of various kinds, according to the requirements of the structure. Thus the demands of logic, coherence and comprehensibility can be fulfilled, in relation to the need for contrast, variety and fluency of presentation. (2)

In the context of its thirty-year development, it is clear that Paik has employed the building blocks of his early work throughout his career, and into his late work. Paik's work is much more than simply an entertaining use of technology. His work is about ideas. He attempts to demystify technology, while at the same time demonstrating its awesome capabilities. He reveres history and pays honor to it. He has inhabited several world cultures and unites them. He composes symphonies without sound, and communicates without words. In his work, he shines a light on who we are, where we came from, and where we are going. Nam June Paik is undeniably one of the most important innovators in late 20th century art.

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Brought to Light: Black Athene and the Problem of Historiography

By Ronald Hanaki

The publication of the first half of Martin Bernal's projected tetralogy, Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, continues to provide debate even today. In his books, Bernal has professed that Egypt was an African state. Traditionally, students have been taught that the West's rich cultural heritage was Middle Eastern and Caucasian in form and substance. Although Afrocentrists have long pointed to black African pharaohs and black Africa's contributions to Egyptian culture, it took a white scholar to make the case for the influence of Africa, including black Africa, before people took notice.

The two volumes published so far are both massive and amazing in scope and scholarship. The influence of the Levant and the Aegean on Western Civilization is not necessarily disputed. However, where Bernal gets in trouble is in how much he accepts of this as gospel. When it comes to secondary sources, Bernal admits that " I do not use the best-known works of the best known scholars."[1]His treatment of Greek culture is different not only because of this but also because of his training. Bernal is not an historian but a political scientist and linguist. Historians have been loath to accept his revolutionary theories and rightly demand strong evidence if they are to refute certain historical truisms that have been established by years of scholarship. Bernal is damned because "where the orthodox demand proof for new ideas -- though naturally not for conventional wisdom, I merely require competitive plausibility; and where they believe in underestimation, I prefer estimation." [2]Accused of piling hypothesis upon hypothesis, Bernal has replied, that "I think it should be kept in mind that conventional wisdom itself is merely a heap of hypotheses. The reasonable ancient historian continuously checks her or his construction against necessarily scattered and uneven evidence available and makes it clear what he or she is doing."[3] This goes to the problem of historiography, and it in this light that his work will be evaluated. Black Athena has several major theses which dispute traditional historiography

[1] Martin Bernal, Journal of Women's History, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 124.

[2] Ibid., p. 124..

on the origins of Western civilization. Previously, scholars have used two models to explain the origins of Greek Civilization. The "Ancient Model" has the Greeks living a primitive and rural existence and maintains that the invasions and commerce, introduced to them by the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, were what allowed Greeks to develop their civilization. The "Aryan Model," on the other hand, has the Greeks being conquered from the north by people speaking an Indo-European language called Aryan. Greek civilization and language consequently constitutes a blend of local and Indo-European influences. Both the invaders and the Greeks were white, and the main impact the conquest had was to create a linguistic mixture; hence, the Greeks remained pure.

Between the two models, Bernal considers the former the closer to offering a plausible explanation of events. His modifications, entitled the "Revised Ancient Model," makes some changes in the chronology and in the relative importance of the Egyptian and West-Semitic influences. Bernal believes that the "Aryan Model" was created by racist scholars with a streak of anti-Semitism.

Bernal's claims may not be as radical as they first appear. Upon closer inspection, it is no doubt true that Europeans claimed more than their share of cultural superiority and hegemony. European racism most certainly affected the scholarship and the paradigms within classical studies. African influence on Europe was neglected and distorted from the record. Today, these egregious mistakes can be acknowledged. Where he gets into trouble is in regard to the question of whether or not the Egyptians were black.

Whether or not "Athena" was black or white is only important in the context of racist thought. Although Bernal denies equating biology with psychological characteristics, the title of his book makes claims for race definitions based on biology. Since the publication of the books, Bernal has said that the choice of the title was an unfortunate one. Instead, the book should have been called *African Athena*. Apparently, the publisher decided that the other title would sell better.[4] Unfortunately, the title as is has made it easier for his ideas to be twisted.

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[3] Ibid., p. 125.
[4] Ibid., p. 130.

Bernal asserts that "the political purpose of Black Athena is, of course to lessen European arrogance." [5] This part of his work that has enabled Afrocentrists to make controversial claims for black superiority, claims that go beyond the author's intentions. The idea behind racism is to divide the world according to groups with certain physical characteristics, and call these groups races. This allows for the classification of racial groups as superior to or inferior to each other. Racism makes the further claim that racial purity is better than racial mixture, so that the question of racial purity of white Greece can become a mainstay for Eurocentrism. In the book, however, Bernal makes the statement that there are no pure races: the Egyptians were no more black than the Aryans were white.

Perhaps the answer to racist models is not to criticize the intentions of the authors but to create a new paradigm whose basic assumption would be true multiculturalism, the idea that different cultures created different modes of living, thinking, and expression, all of which contributed to the formation of civilization. This new model would have carefully to differentiate between history and geography, not by some vague concept of skin color or hair texture. Avoiding cultural superiority and inferiority, it would explicitly embrace racial, cultural and linguistic mixes as historical phenomena which often produced remarkably successful results. It would regard cultural transmission as a two-way street and accept cultural diffusion as a given. Thus, who was first is less significant than the process itself. This type of model would deal with regions instead of ethnic groups. Comparisons between different cultures would be possible without the need to rank them. Lastly, it would distinguish between genders and relate how this would affect culture. Bernal's volumes give short shrift to women because it was in the second and first millennium B.C.E., the patriarchal paradigm becomes defined, developed, and was institutionalized in the eastern Mediterranean regions. There is considerable research on this subject, and, if Bernal had consulted these works more carefully, he might have realized some of the limitations of his "Revised Ancient model" on the issue of gender. Nevertheless, Bernal strongly maintained that the definition of "Classics" was historically created and affected by the prejudices and political inclinations of its creators, and that it changed overtime.

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[5] Martin Bernal, Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, vol. 1, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), p. 73.

In response to scholars who have reified their methods, which are simply tools to reconstruct the past, Bernal's apparent success in doing this without their aid poses a threat to their disciplines and their relevance. But Bernal acknowledges that the critics are right with respect to the fact that advances of knowledge require both kinds of scholarship. Bernal wrote at the end of Volume I that "the scholarly purpose...of the volumes...is...to open up new areas of research to women and men with far better qualifications than I have."[6] Although disagreeing with the criticism that he uses such concepts as race, people, and influences too much, he claims to distinguish peoples by the categories used at the time by common convention. For example, he distinguishes Egyptians and Canaanites not for their genetic makeup but because their states, societies, and economies were very different and they perceived themselves to be distinct peoples. He also feels that it is important to see how these people interacted. His whole thrust in those volumes is that cultural mixture is frequently a basis for progress. To the criticism that he does not devote enough attention to women, Bernal has said that this is essentially true. While patriarchy was emerging in the Levant and the Aegean during the Bronze Age, he asserts that this did not fundamentally affect relations between the genders. Where gender becomes more of an issue is in the early Iron Age in the East Mediterranean where there is a correlation between the suppression of women's rights and democratic rule by male citizens. One of the reasons why Greek men from democratic cities found Egypt strange was that women played a greater role in public life there. Bernal is currently working on this time period, and this subject will be treated in forthcoming books. Volume III has not been published at the time of this writing.

As the above exchange shows, Martin Bernal's Black Athena is an abstruse and challenging work because it is so sweeping in the timelines he covers and in its sheer scope. Bernal offers nothing less than a new paradigm of Bronze Age archaeology, one freed from a Eurocentric bias. According to Bernal, he is the first scholar to consider the early development of Mediterranean civilization with proper credit given to pharaonic Egypt and the ancient Semite cultures of the Levant. Egypt is given special consideration, for Bernal believes that Egypt fundamentally influenced Greece, and because Egypt is in Africa, its people were racially black.

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[6] Bernal, Journal of Women's History, p. 121.

Because Bernal's work was published at the height of the campus culture wars and the political correctness debates of the late eighties and early nineties, it is relevant to consider the cultural context within which the work was received. Ideas and cultural constructs such as postmodernism were in vogue; thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Paul de Man, and Frantz Fanon were apotheosized. The reverend Jesse Jackson was leading Stanford University students in a rally demonstrating and denouncing the Western Civilization requirement found in many colleges and universities across the country. Traditional curricula were almost overnight being revised and amended to include other non-European writers in order to become more multicultural.

Because Bernal's book lends itself well as intellectual ammunition in the campus wars, many black scholars are taking his ideas to promote Afrocentrism. Conservatives, on the other hand, seem obsessed with the political correctness debate and have characterized Bernal as black[7]and others note the fact that Bernal's father was a major figure in the British Communist Party and that Bernal himself was at one time a Maoist. In fact, Bernal's formal academic training was in Chinese history and he writes that his "mid-life" crisis was occasioned by the collapse of Maoism in the 1970's, which prompted the shift in his focus to afrocentrism, [8]which adheres to what Bernal calls the extreme version of the "Ancient Model,"[9] which makes Egypt and hence Africa, the mother of Greek civilization. Ethnically, Bernal is an Englishman of partial Jewish descent[10]and is the first serious white scholar to call attention to the extant but largely ignored literature about the "stolen" legacy of African and Egyptian culture.[11]

Perhaps it took a white scholar to tilt against traditional paradigms and call into question the motivations behind scholarship that has unfairly ignored other influences on Greece. A black scholar making the same claims might have been taken seriously at all. The fact that so many scholars have an intellectual and necessary response to his work is an indication of how profound Bernal's thesis is. His books should not be dismissed as polemical and misleading. Every word, to a certain extent, is tainted by the tendentiousness

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[7] National Review: March 15, 1990, p. 15.
[8] Bernal, Black Athena 1, p. xii.
[9] Ibid., p. 22.
[10] James Aune, Quarterly Journal of Speech 79, p. 119.
[11] Mary r. Lefkowitz, Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became An Excuse to Teach Myth as History, (New York: Basic Books, 1996) p. 2.

of the author. Yet Bernal is almost royalty when it comes to scholarly pedigree: he is the grandson of the celebrated Egyptologist, Sir Alan Gardiner. Therefore, it is not suprising to note his interest in the contacts between ancient Egypt and classical Greece. Bernal is opposed to the idea that ancient Greek civilization was primarily or exclusively a European civilization. Clearly influenced by the works of Cyrus Gordon and Michael Astour on Greek and Semitic civilizations interacting, he rejects Colin Renfew's account of the autochthonous development of Agean cultures as only the most recent in a series of ethnocentric histories. Instead, Bernal supports the moderate diffusionism (itself dismissed by many scholars) of Oscar Montelius and Gordon Childe. This school of thought sees diffusion and migration from Egypt and the Near East as playing an important part in the prehistoric development of Europe. [12]

Bernal sides with moderate black intellectuals who do not picture all ancient Egyptians as resembling today's West Africans, but do not see Egypt as essentially African. Volume I of the series, entitled The Fabrication, is the more challenging of the two volumes thus far published. Here, Bernal traces the shift in Greek historiography from the Greeks' own ancient model of their prehistory as a synthesis of Indo-European (Pelasgian), Phoenician (West Semitic), and Egyptian elements, called the "Ancient Model."[13] He alleges that the Greeks themselves said that their country had received settlers from Egypt in the past, and that their religion, philosophy, and mathematics were in large part derived from Egypt and, to a lesser degree, from Phoenicia.[14]This model has been discarded in favor of the nineteenth century paradigm that at its most extreme explained Greek civilization as a result of the conquest of native "Pre-Hellenic" people by Indo-European speakers. This theory holds that the Greeks, being Indo-European people, may or may not have learned various things from the East but learned nothing of importance from Egypt. The Pre-Hellenic people were white, but not Semitic or African, and were not Indo-European speakers. Bernal argues that this model, the "Aryan Model," came to be accepted as a result of this racist scholarship. European and North American scholars could not accept the idea that the Greeks could have been conquered or instructed by Africans. At its height, from 1927 to the 1960's the most polar form of the "Aryan Model" was used to deny all non-European influences on Greece

[12] John Baines in Black Athena Revisited, (Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1996) p. 41.
[13] Bernal, Black Athena, vol. 1, p. 1.

seen by earlier scholars. Since that time, the less extreme "Broad Aryan Model" has come to accept, at least continuously, some influence from Egypt. This model has made a comeback on two bases, namely new archaeological evidence and the waning of anti-Semitism in academia. For these adherents, either the Sumerians or Iranians are the favored people, most likely to have influenced Greece.

Ultimately, Bernal wants to institute the "Revised Ancient Model," which accepts the nineteenth century typology of Greek as an Indo-European language and its implications of northern influence of Greece at some early stage. Yet he also finds room to accept the ancient stories of Egyptian and Phoenician settlements in the Aegean and maintains that these as well as other contacts in the Bronze Age and iron Age led to significant Afro-Asiatic cultural influences on Greece. Therefore, most of what the proponents of the "Aryan Model" call the non-Indo-European or Pre-Hellenistic aspects of the Greek civilization can in truth be seen as Egyptian or West Semitic. Bernal's contention is that this model has not been fully accepted because of racism and anti-Semitism as well as the inertia inherent in academic circles, especially in classical studies.

Bernal's volumes are ambitious works in progress. This perfunctory summary does scant justice to his detailed (some would say unbelievable) account of the works of modern authors. He would argue, somewhat plausibly, that coming as an outsider to the discipline of history is a strength, not a weakness, which allows him to see the forest despite the trees. Further, he would contend that as an outsider, he is better able to point out the traditional excesses and wrongs of scholarship that trained historian is not able to do. He writes, "if I am right...it will be necessary not only to rethink the fundamental bases of Western Civilization but also to recognize the penetration of racism and 'continental' chauvinism into all our historiography."[15] Some classicists even agree with him. Gregory Nagy, a professor of classics at Harvard University, is quoted as saying "the part that I think is extremely useful, the part that makes the book important, it is the way Bernal exposes the cultural provincialism of some of the early classicist of the last century."[16] Despite classicist and other historians agreeing with him about some things, they question the way he uses

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[14] Jasper Griffin, The New York Review of Books, June 15, 1989.
[15] James Muhly, The Washington Post Book World, July 21, 1991, p. 4.
[16] Ellen K. Coughlin, Chronicle of Higher Education, July 21, 1991, p. 4.

historical evidence to promulgate his point of view. It should be duly noted that many scholars dismiss the books as too preposterous to be taken seriously. However, to do so would be to overlook some of their merits. Most important is the question of historiography, and just how important it is for historians to interpret and assess historical evidence objectively.

Bernal marshals an awesome amount of evidence from archaeology, linguistics, history, and mythology in support of his points. In fact, his reading is so sweeping and broad that it would not be hyperbole to say that he is a one-man university. A critic reviewing Black Athena has said that one is "faced with a dense world of documentary sources, art history, mythology, philosophy and anthropology which can only remind him of his own inadequacy. The natural way out is to assume that Bernal is superficial and is bound to expire sooner or later in his own contortions."[17] The sheer range of this scholar makes it hard for one particular specialist to review his work. No one person could actually analyze all aspects of this brilliant but vexing work.

The major rebuttal of Bernal has come from Mary R. Lefkowitz, a professor of history at Wellesley College, first in the pages of The New Republic and later in her own book, Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History. She has also co-edited the definitive critique of Black Athena entitled Black Athena Revisited with Guy Maclean Rogers. It collects individual works by experts and specialists in the disciplines of the classics, linguistics, archaeology, and literature. Any serious scholar seeking to come to terms with the implications of Black Athena must consult this text. It has to be conceded that a student paper cannot tackle all the issues and problems raised by Bernal and his critics. Nevertheless, there are some salient issues that must be dealt with, and my discussion will commence with the major points Bernal raises.

The first is that, taken together, the ancient evidence from the fifth century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E. indicates that the Greeks did indeed recognize their debt to Egypt and Phoenicia, as per the "Ancient Model." Second, this debt to Egypt and the Levant remained an untrammelled part of the European historiography tradition on Greek origins until the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[17] John Ray, Times Literary Supplement, October 18, 1991, p. 4.

however, and simultaneously with the establishment of "classics" as a modern academic profession, both the Egyptian and the Phoenician contributions to Greek civilization were denied. Somewhat due to Indo-European linguistics but mainly due to European social and cultural forces, the "Aryan Model" superseded the "Ancient Model." Although Semitic influences have been made increasingly apparent, the ancient tradition of Egyptian influence on Greece is still denied, and a modified "Aryan Model" persists in academia today. Bernal argues for historical revision on the basis of competitive plausibility, which is dubbed "Competitive but not very plausible" by the critic James Muhly.[18]

Bernal dedicates Volume I to his father, an historian of science, "who taught me that things fit together, interestingly."[19] Some would object that things fit together too interestingly, but many would concede that the book's major virtue is that he is the first to integrate fully his survey of theories on Greek origins into a sociology of knowledge that explains the shift of theories as the result of largely racist social and political forces. At best, this work would compel scholars to renew efforts to study Greece within a Mediterranean context in order further to examine the mechanics and processes of cultural interchange and sharpen the definitions of the ways in which the ancient Greeks were both like and unlike their neighbors. Perhaps Bernal's interdisciplinary approach would encourage specialist to transcend their traditional spheres and to cross the divide separating the classics from near Eastern studies and Egyptology.[20] The question of who stole what from whom is not as important as the text provoking scholars to assess and reassess and perhaps re-present their traditional ideas about the past.

Bernal can be criticized for his " Ancient Model" because he relies too much on ancient sources, particularly Herodotus.[21] Herodotus included traditions of Egyptian colonization in Greece and is regarded as a good source, while Thucydides, who failed to mention these stories, is claimed to have been motivated by national prejudice. Bernal appears to reject the total skepticism of some of his critics regarding the historical usefulness

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[18] Muhly, p. 4.

[19] John Baines, New York Times Book Review, August 11, 1991, pps. 12-13.

[20] Molly Myerowitz Levine, Arethusa 25, pps. 97-109.

[21] Frank M. Turner, Arethusa 22, pps. 97-109.

of the ancient mythic sources and selectively argues that those sources which support his argument are reliable. Bernal and the nineteenth century historians whom he criticizes both use source criticism to support their arguments. They simply disagree on which sources are to be believed. The critic B. Branham has said that the ancient sources are "at best... dubious sources for the history of the second millenium B.C.E.," which is Bernal's focus.[22] The breakup of the early Mycenean world in the twelfth century B.C.E. was followed by a "Dark Age," which hangs like an impenetrable curtain between the Greek Bronze and Archaic Ages. The break in this historical record is being filled by Aegean archaeology, and was assumed to indicate a cultural break. Therefore, it can be argued that "the pattern of civilization...which we call 'Greek' and which has directly influenced all subsequent Western history, was evolved only in the countries between 100 and 650 B.C."[23]

Bernal must deal with this period of cultural discontinuity in Greece, both in order to support his reliance on his classical sources for the earlier period and to prove the formative effect of Egyptian and near Eastern Bronze Age contacts an Classical Greek civilization and thus on Western culture. Bernal argues that ancient historians had a "feel" for the societies they describe in a way that contemporary scholars cannot equal, but he also attempts to shorten this "Dark Age" by moving the "Ancient Model" back from Classical to Archaic (776-500 B.C.E.) and Geometric Greece (950-776 B.C.E.). He argues for religious continuity on the basis of the Linear B tablets and astonishingly argues for an early date for the transmission of the West Semitic alphabet to Greece (before 1400 B.C.E.), despite the lack of any surviving Greek inscription before the eighteenth century B.C.E.[24] If this line of reasoning were to be accepted, writing would become the means for cultural continuity through the Dark Age, and hence the importance of Bernal's forthcoming volume focusing on language. Confirmation or rejection of this argument would have to come from archaeologists. This also highlights how much easier it is for historians to accept this type of argument than archaeologist, because such distinctions look cleaner on paper than in the field.

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[22] B. Branham, Liverpool Classical Monthly 14, pps. 56-60.

[23] Chester G. Starr, The Origins of Greek Civilization 1100-650 B.C., (New York: 1961), p. 5.
[24] Martin Bernal, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 267, pps. 1-19.

There is also the matter of Bernal's championing of diffusionism. Bernal, like many nineteenth century scholars before him, accepts cultural transmission. This theory posits cultural influences flowing from Levant and Egypt to Greece, rather than flowing from the North to South and East, as claimed by the "Aryan Model." Diffusionism is a potentially incendiary issue because it can be politicized and misapplied, generating racist theories of origin. It should be noted that the middle ground allows for the possibility of indigenous development with cultural borrowings, and places the emphasis on transformation. This idea specifies that "cultural reception rarely operates mechanically; the receiving culture is at least as actively engaged in interpretation, evaluation and adaptation as the donor culture is in the production and dissemination of its cultural wares."[25]

The most controversial aspect of this work is of course the nineteenth century historians' focus on the origins and race of the Greeks. Who were they? Greeks considered themselves an indigenous people and were not particularly concerned about where they came from. Afrocentrism claims that Africa is the mother of all civilizations: Egypt is in Africa; Africa is black; Egypt influenced Greece; ergo Western civilization comes from black people. This is a simplistic construct, but in discussing the sociology of black historical knowledge, the sociologist Orlando Patterson provides this caveat:

It is sometimes possible to ask too much of history. If, under our present circumstances, we cannot achieve a status which, by itself, ensures our pride, then no amount of wishful thinking back will help us. All we should do then is to make of our past the sand in which we hide our heads. The unemployed Roman pauper has no more pride than his despairing Harlem counterpart, even if he makes his bed each night beneath the walls of the Colosseum. In the final analysis, a stark truth confronts us: "that the present gives meaning to the past as much as the past informs the living".[26] The search for past origins, if done at the expense of present achievement, can become a fatalistic and fruitless diversion in an American Society that attempts to locate identity in the present rather than the past. Afrocentrists conveniently omit the Semitic part of Bernal's arguments to buttress the mythology of black Egypt (called Kemet) as the mother of Western Civilization. Lefkowitz cites as an example a student who was told by another instructor that Socrates, because of his

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[25] Branham, p. 59.
[26] Orlando Patterson, Harvard Educational Review 41, no. 3, pps. 297-315.

flat nose, was black. This instructor emphasized that classicists universally fail to mention the African origins of Socrates because they do not want their students to know that the ancient Greeks stole from Egypt. As Lefkowitz points out, because Socrates was an Athenian citizen, he had to have Athenian parents and because foreigners could not become naturalized Athenian citizens, he had to come from the same ethnic background as other Athenians. If Socrates came from Africa, he could not become an Athenian citizen.[27]

To the question of whether or not Egyptians were black, Frank Snowden, Jr., professor emeritus of classics at Howard University and the authority in scholarship on blacks in classical antiquity, argues that "Black Athena" is a misnomer for "Egyptian Athena," He mentions that Bernal is wrong in equating Egyptians with Negroes or blacks not only by Herodotus himself but also by other classical as well as Egyptian sources. Snowden avers that to find classical equivalents for the concept of black or Negro, the equivalent in classical times would be the Ethiopians. To see antiquity through the prism of modern notions of color and race, Snowden argues, would be misread history.[28]

Modern physical anthropologists recognize the Egyptians as one end of a continuum of interrelated populations stretching across the African continent whose color intensity varies in rough proportion with their distance to the equator. This discussion is also obfuscated by the fact that the Southern Egyptian population changed over time. Recent studies suggest that the earliest pre-dynastic Egyptians were both less variable and closer to tropical African populations and those that came later. The southern populations of Egypt grew more variable and shared more traits with Egyptians from Delta, who themselves shared more commonalities with peoples from the Near East from dynastic times on. Many Afrocentrists choose to use the word "black" as an umbrella term for people of color. Bernal claims, on shaky grounds, that "even if I were to concede…relativism [that is the impossibility of arriving at any absolute historical truth], I would argue that the scheme set

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[27] Lefkowitz in Black Athena Revisited, p. 3.

[28] Frank M. Snowden, Jr., Arethusa 22, pps. 83-95.

out in Black Athena is better on ethnical grounds, that it is more congenial to our general preferences-to the general liberal preferences of academia-than that of the Aryan Model."[29]

Bernal's attempt to remove racist bias from nineteenth century scholarship is admirable, but to profess another racist version of history in its place is plain wrong. Further, Bernal makes this statement:

Some of my classicist friends have asked me whether I am not disturbed by the use made of Black Athena by Black racists. My answer to this is that I am disturbed because I hate racism of any kind. I would prefer to be in my position than theirs, however, as I am infinitely less concerned by black racism than I am by white racism, and white racist, directly or indirectly, make constant use of orthodox views of the classical world and the Aryan Model. In any event, regardless of the politics of the situation, the reason why I am devoting the second half of my life to this project is not simply as an attack on white racism but because I believe in the Revised Ancient Model to be a less inaccurate representation of the history with which it is concerned and I know that untangling its ramifications is fascinating".[30] As a demonstration of his methodology, it is illustrative to turn to chapters 2 and 3 in the second volume dealing with Egyptian influence on Boeotia and the Peloponnese in the third millenium B.C.E. According to Bernal, the similarities between Egyptian methodology and Boeotian cults indicate the presence of Egyptians in Boeotia in the early Bronze Age, or the third millenium B.C.E. However, many civilizations have myths that share common themes with their cultures, even in individual details of stories (such as a flood story common in the Bible and other cultures' creation myths).

The Egyptian presence on the Greek mainland in the third millenium B.C.E. is an important part of Bernal's assertions. The first chapter of the second book, however, deals with Crete before the Palace period (7000-2100 B.C.E.). Bernal, rejecting any theory of indigenous development during this time period, not only on Crete but also in the Aegean region generally, claims that there was a massive and sustained influence from the Near East and Egypt. It is highly doubtful that any archaeologist today would reject the existence of

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[29] Bernal, Black Athena, vol. 1, p.73.

[30] Martin Bernal, Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, vol.II, The Archaeological and documentary Evidence, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), p. xxii.

some outside influence in pre-palatial Crete, but there are no physical remains, at this time, to support the idea of widespread contacts or occupation. Bernal's diffusionist explanation of cultural development in the prehistoric Aegean and the isolationist explanation creates unnecessary barriers that are not supported by the evidence and scholarship that he cites and sets up in opposition. Justifiably distrustful of current archaeologists for their anti-Semitic and racial heritage, which dates back to eighteenth century Germany, treated at length in volume one, he wrongly ignores the conclusions they draw from the actual, physical evidence. Egypt's role is inflated beyond its borders, and this without much in the way of substantive evidence.

Chapters 4 through 12 further examine Egyptian and Levantine influence on Greece in the Bronze Age. The most conspicuous element of Bernal's reconstructions is a resurrection of theories popular in the 1920's and the 1930's that made the Hyksos, a foreign group that inhabited the Nile delta in the first half of the second millenium B.C.E., the dominant presence in the eastern Mediterranean. More is known today about these people because of recent excavations, which report that the pottery and architecture found at this delta site point to a Canaanite origin for the Hykos, who oversaw a thriving trade in wine and oil. Bernal rejects this mercantile view for these newcomers to Egypt from the Levant. He alleges that these Hykos should be seen as warlike invaders ruling a vast empire from Anatolia to Greece. They are alleged to have become the initiators of Mycenaean civilization in Greece. As for the role of Indo-European Aryans in the composition of the Hykos, His explanation fails to illuminate. Bernal writes "where I accept the Aryanists' interpretation, I refuse to accept their basic Social Darwinist premise that conquest or domination through violence somehow makes a people or linguistic group morally or creatively better than those who are conquered or dominated."[31] Historians have long since stopped considering violent invaders to be morally superior to those they subdued.

Bernal places himself in the company of outsiders like Heinrich Schliemann and Michael Ventris, both of whom revolutionized the study of the classics. The difference is that Schliemann found Mycenae and Troy; Ventris discovered that Linear B was a syllabic script for an early form of Greek. These are real accomplishments based on physical,

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[31] Ibid., p. 360.

palpable evidence. How much of Bernal's reconstruction can an honest historian rely on? Even more amazingly, Bernal puts forth the argument that early in the second millenium (1930's to 1920's B.C.E.), the pharaoh, Sesostris, undertook a military campaign up the coast of Asia Minor through Anatolia, perhaps into the Cyclades, across the straits at Troy and into southern Thrace. His forces then went north up the west coast of the Black Sea, through Scythia at the top of the Sea, back through Colochis (northeast and east of the sea), where they left black settlers, and then back home to Egypt (187 – 273). Bernal offers a variety of mythical and historical figures and themes: for example, Herodotus's mention of a black population in Colochis, although only speculation can solidify the meaning of the historian's terms. The methodology is similar for the following section which convincingly raises the date of the volcanic eruption of Thera to 1628 B.C.E. on the basis of radio-carbon dating, dendrochronology (use of tree rings), and Artic ice core layering, as well as myths and other evidence from all over the world.

If the raising of the date of Thers's eruption can be taken to be true, then this affects any number of things from the dissolution of the Minoan civilization to ceramic datings and commerce. Further, Bernal claims that the invasion of Egypt by Hykos took place late in the eighteenth century B.C.E. and while these people may have been of mixed race, they were primarily Syro-Palestian. Supposedly, after the invasion of Egypt, creating the 15th dynasty, they went on to conquer Crete, the Cyclades, and the fertile plains of southern Greece. He maintains that Hykos warriors are buried in the Mycaenean Shaft Tombs. The fact that there is no archaeological evidence as yet for these startling assertions is explained away by the "speed of the movement."[32]

If these claims were taken to be true, then these invaders of Greece and the Aegean could not be black, as he continues to insist, although they may not have been Semitic. No evidence is presented to substantiate the belief that the Egyptians are black. As Emily Vermeule, professor Emerita at Harvard University, Points out, the Egyptian pharaohs often led armies "against black neighbors to the south in the Land of Kush," meaning that they

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[32] Muhly, p. 3.

were perceived as different in some way.[33] The Egyptologist, John Baines, remarks that "the ancient Egyptians depicted themselves differently in paintings. Egyptian men were depicted as reddish brown, women yellow, and people living to their south black."[34] Baines would even say that "Egyptians would not have known the meaning of the term Africa."[35]

Arguments and scholarly debate will certainly continue over this controversial word. Volumes III and IV promise to offer evidence of the Afroasiatic roots, this time in language, myth, and religion. The book has inspired conferences and even special issues of scholarly journals devoted to this word alone. In fact, there is a lively debate going on in academia, ostensibly hidden from public view. Bernal deserves a tremendous amount of credit for challenging orthodoxy and provoking, even necessitating, the reevaluation and reassessment of traditional modes of scholarship in such assertive manner. However, to the extent that Bernal commits the same kinds of mistakes that he accuses other eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars of making, he deserves censure. Nevertheless, his work and the forthcoming volumes have stirred up and continue to stimulate debate, and his methodology has reinforced the need for strong standards in historiography.

Bernal would concede that the texts themselves could be better written and constructed. To his credit, he even accepts the criticism that he has been somewhat coy in offering up his ideas, but he would defend himself by claiming that his caution and circumspection are due to the simple fact that he himself does not have all the answers. His frequent use of the first person pronoun in the books is due to the fact that he has no consensus for which to appeal to, since his ideas are so revolutionary and unorthodox. Bernal concedes that all this makes for bad style and turgid writing.[36] Further, despite the lack of treating women in his work, Bernal would be the first to assert that women have been instrumental in the criticism of his work. Such a scholar is Margaret Washington, who points

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[33] Emily Vermeule, The New York Review of Books, March 26, 2992, pps. 40-43.

[34] Baines, The New York Times Book Review, p. 13.

[35] Ibid., P. 13

[36] Bernal, Journal of Women's History, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 123.

out that both racists whites who saw Egyptians as Caucasians and black people who saw Egyptians as Africans were instrumental in preserving the "Ancient Model" in nineteenth century America.[37]

Michael W. Tkacz, philosopher at Gonzaga University, has reasserted that the multicultural tradition is instrumental in the development of the Western tradition.[38] For his part, Bernal has written that "I foresaw reception of my word as passing through four stages: ignore, dismiss, attach, and finally absorb."[39] What the classical scholar, Amaldo Momigliano, said remains especially salient: What I think is typically Greek is the critical attitude toward the recording of events, that is, the development of critical methods enabling us to distinguish between facts and fancies. To the best of my knowledge no historiography earlier than the Greek or independent of it developed those critical methods; and we have inherited the Greek methods.[40]

Momigliano was an Italian Jew and a refugee from the Holocaust. What he was saying was that the Western heritage belonged to him, just as it belongs to all of us, and history, if anything, has shown us that the intellectual riches of the Western heritage extend beyond and across civilizations, European, and non-European, allowing diverse people to receive it and make it their own.

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[37] Margaret Washington, Journal of Women's History, vol. 4, no. 3, o. 107.

[38] Michael W. Tkacz, The Intercollegiate Review, vol. 33, no. 1, pps. 10-17.

[39] Martin Bernal, Journal of Women's History, p. 130.

[40] Arnold Momigliano, The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 30.

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The Ghosts of Yoknapatawpha County

By Susan Bauer

Madonna or whore? These are the two categories into which Southern society sorted its females. In his fiction, William Faulkner created "disruptive" females who rebelled against or denied this categorization. These disruptive females cross back and forth between gender roles, refuse to stay on the pedestal, or conform to other stereotypes. They represent aspects of Faulkner's struggle against the injustices and inequities of the Southern aristocracy.

I became familiar with the stereotypes Faulkner used by reading Faulkner and Southern Womanhood by Diane Roberts. The femininist perspective of this book, in some ways, seemed to support my first impression that Faulkner was also guilty of marginalizing women by placing them into stereotypes as well as into violent, no-win situations. However, the depth of feeling which I perceived throughout his literature convinced me that it could not be that simple. There had to be a deeper, more profound message, and I decided that in order to find that message I had to look more deeply into his literature.

In her book, Diane Roberts states that Faulkner did attempt to free women of stereotypes by "Moving the extreme ends of the hierarchy towards each other, undermining the social edifices on which the binary is built" (Roberts xiii). If this is true, then Faulkner's literature is destabilizing the social structure rather than supporting it and so are the stereotypes he uses. His novels depict how society, not he, contains, diminishes, and silences females.

By creating rebellious, non-conforming females in his literature, Faulkner takes women off the pedestal and frees them from the containment of their stereotype. Unfortunately, once free of the stereotype, they are condemned, betrayed or abandoned by society.

Of the six stereotypes outlined in Diane Roberts' book, I have chosen the three which best illustrate Faulkner's attempt to disrupt the system: The Confederate Woman, a self-sacrificing, chaste, subservient yet simultaneously superior woman; The New Belle, a modern, educated Confederate Woman who is not only rebellious but becoming aware of her

sexuality and the power it wields; The Night Sister, an unmarried, bitter, and sexually repressed woman considered useless because of her unmarried and childless state.

The five women I have chosen to examine are Granny (Confederate Woman) from The Unvanquished, Drusilla Hawks (Confederate Woman) from The Unvanquished, Temple Drake (New Belle) from Sanctuary, Joanna Burden (Night Sister) from Light in August, and Miss Rosa (Night Sister) from Absalom, Absalom!

The character of Granny precisely fits the role of a Confederate Woman as pure, contained, controlled, and asexual. Because of the war, Granny was forced to break out of her stereotype and cross into roles which, prior to the war, had been exclusively male. In this instance, gender-crossing was acceptable, for a time, because Granny was responsible for the preservation of the family, the plantation, and the Southern community. However, Granny is murdered when she steps outside the protective boundaries where her role as a Confederate Woman affords her no status.

After her silver and mules are stolen by Yankee soldiers Granny is determined to retrieve them. With the help of a Yankee Colonel, she is successful. Granny then decides to forge the initial order given to her by the Yankee Colonel and repeatedly uses it to steal mules back from the Yankees. The mules are then given to members of her community who need work animals. Once embroiled in this role, Granny is reluctant to abandon her mule-requisitioning scam even after it becomes too dangerous. Granny becomes a casuality of the war when she overreaches herself and becomes involved with corrupt, amoral men. Grumby, who murders her, and Ab Snopes, who collaborates, are men outside the Southern Aristocratic tradition. Because she is a product of that tradition, she mistakenly assumes that being a white, upper-class "lady" excludes her from harm and that even a criminal will respect and protect a lady.

This same situation can be seen from a different perspective in Sanctuary. Temple is very secure in her role as a New Belle. She is a modern woman, rebellious and educated. However, just like Granny, Temple's background and upbringing never prepared her for dealing with criminals without moral or ethical codes. I believe Temple is content and secure in the confines of her stereotype and that she was annihilated mentally and emotionally by her rape, kidnapping and bondage in a brothel. By the end of the book, when Temple is further humiliated in front of the entire town at the trial, "She sat in an attitude at once

detached and cringing" (Sanctuary 284), "Gazing like a drugged person" (Sanctuary 289), "Her face quite rigid, empty" (Sanctuary 287). She is mentally and emotionally lost, empty, and defeated.

Where Granny's breaking out of her stereotype is necessitated by the war, Temple is a victim of events and circumstances out of her control. She is catapulted out of her secure niche into a world which has no rules; she is betrayed and abandoned by the *unchivalric* Gowan Stevens, who, according to the Southern code of behavior, should have protected her, and she is eventually brutally and repeatedly raped because of his ineptitude. She can not possibly cope with what happens to her. Temple's victimization is complete when, after the trial, one of the men states, "Jeez, I wouldn't have used no corn cob" (Sanctuary 294).

Both Granny and Temple, even though they accepted and found security in their roles, were abandoned and betrayed by society once they stepped outside the confines of those roles. I believe the most grievous betrayal of these women was their enforced naivete, caused by society's insistence that women needed to be protected and sheltered. Society led Granny and Temple to believe that their status as a "lady" protected them, and that everyone, including criminals, embraced those beliefs and standards. For Granny, this belief is confirmed early on when she is even "protected" by a Yankee Colonel, an enemy of the Old South.

Through the characters of Granny and Temple, Faulkner has challenged the roles of Southern ladies and gentlemen which was the foundation of the Southern Aristocracy. Granny succeeded admirably in a masculine sphere, not only in the area of self-preservation, but also in fighting the hated Yankees. Granny's mistake, which led to her death, was her misplaced trust that *all* men espoused what she believed. Temple also put her faith in the wrong man. The difference in Sanctuary is that Gowan Stevens is *assumed* to be a Southern gentleman. If Gowan Stevens had done what society taught Temple he should do, she never would have been placed in such a dangerous situation. Further, a gentleman would have at least *tried* to protect her. At the conclusion of the novel, Temple is safely back under the protection of her father and brothers but is now condemned by society as a fallen woman. She is further marginalized and betrayed by society when the brutality of her rape is diminished by men in the town, who see only a "looker" and not a young girl who has been destroyed.

Like Granny, Faulkner portrays Drusilla Hawks as a Confederate Woman caught in the war-induced confusion of gender roles. Perhaps because she is a young woman, Drusilla challenges patriarchy more overtly. Drusilla reveals and threatens patriarchy when she defies the privileged status of "lady," trying to retain the freedom she experienced as a "private" soldier during the war. This situation is untenable to her mother, who, with the help of the town ladies, is determined to "save" her daughter. Faced with the combined power of the family and community, Drusilla cannot retain her precarious hold on freedom and is forced to submit to the wishes of a patriarchal society. However, even then, Drusilla does not fit into either the feminine or masculine worlds. She refuses the containment and restrictions of the feminine and she has no place in the masculine.

Even though Drusilla rejects the feminine role assigned her by society, I don't believe she is rejecting her femininity so much as she is rejecting her society:

> Living used to be dull you see. Stupid. You lived in the same house your father was born in, and your father's sons and daughters had the sons and daughters of the same Negro slaves to nurse and coddle; and then you grew up and you fell in love with your acceptable young man, and in time you would marry him, in your mother's wedding gown, perhaps, and with the same silver for presents she had received, and then you settled down forever more while your husband got children on your body for you to feed and bathe and dress until they grew up too; and then you and your husband died quietly too and were buried together...Stupid, you see" (The Unvanquished 100-101).

When Drusilla realizes that she cannot accept the feminine role assigned her and that there is no place for her in the masculine sphere, she leaves. "'She's gone' Aunt Jenny said" (The Unvanquished 253) and the sprig of verbena she leaves behind is a flower, feminine but strong, "the only scent you could smell above the smell of horses and courage" (The Unvanquished 220).

Through Drusilla, Faulkner challenges the definitions of gender and class which are imposed upon females and the unrealized potential due to these restrictions. The need for self-expression by individuals of *both* genders is seen when Drusilla recognizes the same struggle against society's expectations in Bayard and, because of this bond, believes she is in love with him.

More than any other of Faulkner's women, the Night Sisters defy tradition and

demand to be heard. As explained earlier, the Night Sister is an unmarried woman who is defined as a bitter, sexually repressed, man-hating woman whose non-conformity is in her unmarried state and who is often the most abused because she is seen as empty and useless.

Joanna Burden from Light in August is a Night Sister. She not only doesn't conform, she identifies herself with the forbidden. She is a "Yankee" who openly associates with blacks. Much to the white community's horror, rather than disguising her Yankee tendencies, Joanna befriends members of the black community by offering her assistance when needed, accepting their companionship in return, and establishing a fund for the education of black children. Because of these flagrant "transgressions," she is ostracized by the white community.

By portraying Joanna as a Night Sister who has an affair with Joe Christmas (who is presumed part black) Faulkner addresses two extremely controversial issues: Southern feminine gender roles and the Southern male's need to "protect" white women from black rapists.

Faulkner challenges feminine gender roles by having Joanna find fulfillment in a society that denies her femininity and deems her unfulfilled because of her unmarried and childless state. Joanna finds fulfillment through her efforts in helping the black members of the community. She then finds sexual fulfillment through Joe Christmas as well as an understanding of her sexuality and her femininity. The sexuality is unnatural, however, because her social status denies her normal, sexual relations.

Joanna crosses gender boundaries in her liaison with Joe Christmas who, at times, seems powerless in their relationship (which suggests a feminine response). Their physical union resembles a battle for control, bordering on rape (his and hers). Even Christmas feels this when he remarks, "It was like I was the woman and she was the man" (Light in August 235).

Light in August contains gender-crossings other than Joanna's and Joe's. Most notably, Gail Hightower, after he is ostracized from the community, crosses gender boundaries into the feminine sphere. Like Joanna, Hightower is an outcast, rejected by the community and a recluse. His role in society is diminished and marginalized, and his reaction to violence (even against himself) is passive and non-resistant (all considered feminine traits). Both Joanna and Hightower come full circle in the novel. Joe Christmas murders Joanna because she

reverts back to her stereotype as well as to the traits of her religious upbringing. Gail Hightower, after twenty-five years of exile, begins to feel like a man again after delivering Lena's baby. He feels "A surge of something almost hot, almost triumphant (Light in August 404)". After he eats breakfast, he resists the urge to wash the dirty dishes, then sleepily thinks, "If I were a woman, now. That's what a woman would do: go back to bed to rest" (Light in August 405). Instead, he goes to his study and chooses to read Henry IV instead of Tennyson: "This time also he chooses food for a man" (Light in August 405).

Through the gender-crossing of these and other characters, I believe, Faulkner was trying to point out the "other" side of every male and female which is hidden and repressed rather than seen as another dimension of ourselves. It is the "masculine" in Joanna which attracts Joe, as much as the possibility of his being part Negro which attracts her. They are both attracted to the "other" in each other.

Joanna ironically attains status in the community after her murder (and presumed rape). Joanna is abandoned by and ostracized from her community because she refuses to conform to traditional ideals of Southern womanhood. However, she attains this new status after her death because she is now the *victim* of a black man and the enraged community demands that her murder and presumed rape be avenged in order to justify their lust to spill Negro blood. Her victimization by Joe reinforces the hierarchy and her final victimization by the old order.

It is, perhaps not coincidental that both Joanna and Hightower die when they revert to their stereotypes after brief fulfillment in the role as other, Joanna as male-seducer and Hightower as mid-wife.

The racial paranoia which gripped the South is succinctly portrayed through the character of Percy Grimm who violently restores the South's illusion of stability based on stereotypes. After he shoots and then emasculates Joe Christmas, he states, "Now you'll let white women alone, even in hell" (Light in August 464).

In contrast to Joanna, Miss Rosa, a Night Sister from Absalom, Absalom, at first appears to conform to her stereotype. Miss Rosa's rebellion is disguised behind this facade. Her poetry, while a passive voice, is still a voice, and until she tells her story to Quentin, it is the only voice she has. Miss Rosa's bitterness stems not from her unmarried state but from the status denied her by society because she is unmarried. She entertains the thought of

marrying Thomas Sutpen, whom she truly hates, only because marriage would raise her status in the community and give her a voice. When this becomes impossible, she finds a better way to make sure her story is told. She tells it to Quentin.

In her narrative, Miss Rosa not only has a voice in which she describes the destruction of Southern women by Southern men, she also challenges the masculine voices that continue to marginalize her by referring to her as a "ghost," "an outraged spinster," an "also-dead." By telling Quentin her story, she retains control of the narrative as well as establishes its authenticity and legitimacy. Faulkner's portrayal of Miss Rosa is clever. At first, she seems to be exactly as she is portrayed and described by Mr. Compson: "Years ago we in the South made our women into ladies. Then the War came and made the ladies into ghosts" (Absalom, Absalom! 7). However, by the end of the novel the reader has come to perceive Miss Rosa as much more than a woman who is shriveling and fading, lost in her bitter memories of the past and embalming herself in a tomblike house. Rather, she emerges as one woman who refuses to be marginalized and diminished by society and who knows she has to beat society at its own game in order to make her voice heard.

Through the character of Miss Rosa, Faulkner not only breaks a woman out of the stereotype, he also gives her a legitimate voice. He wraps her in tradition and conformity but reveals underneath the heart of a rebellious, non-conforming Night Sister! While Faulkner may not always have exhibited in his personal life the sensitivity to women he so eloquently expressed in his novels, those novels possess a rare insight into the debilitating effects of a society which marginalizes women. I have come to appreciate his attempts to challenge and re-define the gender roles into which women have been cast, appreciating as well the inner turmoil this struggle with old traditions and new values must have created within him, "...A life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before."

Indeed, I now see in William Faulkner's work what he expressed in his Nobel Prize Address: "The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail."

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The Effect of the Great Depression on Arthur Miller's Word

By Lisa Denig

Most people will admit that their lives were shaped by certain experiences they had growing up. This idea is often apparent in the work of authors and playwrights. For some, their youth provides them with settings and characters that they can use in their stories. For others, there are events which so traumatize them that they form certain moral judgments which become a continual theme in their work. This latter principle applies to the playwright Arthur Miller. For Miller, "the Great Depression was a central experience in his youth, and his concern with the American economic system testifies to [the Depression's] abiding effect on him" (Porter 75).

Much has been written regarding Miller's moral insight and strong sense of social responsibility but few critics are aware that this outrage grew out of a young man's coming of age during a national crisis. For the generation which grew up during the 1930's, "the process of disillusionment, which is perhaps a natural rite of passage from adolescence to maturity, coincided with a stripping of masks at a national level" (Bigsby 117). The moral convictions Miller formed during the Great Depression are evident in his plays, three of which I examine in depth: the somewhat obscure The American Clock, the more famous Death of a Salesman, and All My Sons. In these three dramas, Miller explores "the dangers of rampant materialism, the struggle for dignity in a dehumanizing world and the erosion of the family" (Discovering). These are just a few of the issues that Miller carried with him when he emerged from the Great Depression to begin his career as a writer.

Arthur Miller was born October 17, 1915 in New York City. His father was a "prosperous businessman until the stock market crash led to the collapse of the economy and to a scarring of Miller's psyche from which he never fully recovered" (Masterplots). He was a mediocre high school student who worked various odd jobs after graduation until finally being accepted at the University of Michigan. It was there that Miller began writing plays and even won several student awards. His first Broadway play, The Man Who Had All the

Luck, was produced in 1944 and, although it closed after only four performances, it established Miller as an important young playwright. He went on to write such classics as Death of a Salesman and The Crucible, as well as several essays, novels and some non-fiction work. He married Mary Slattery in 1940 and divorced her in 1956 to marry the famous actress Marilyn Monroe, whom he also divorced five years later. Miller is currently married to Inge Morath, a photojournalist. Although he has not had a commercial success with his more recent plays, Miller continues to write drama and even traveled to Beijing, China, to direct a version of Death of a Salesman.

One of Miller's more recent endeavors is The American Clock, which he published in 1980. Miller was, at first, dissatisfied with the play and reworked it, causing there to be two distinctly different versions of it now in publication. As Miller himself testifies in the play's introduction, "The seemingly endless changes it (the play) went through reflected my own search for something like a dramatic resolution to what, after all, was one of the vaster social calamities in history -- the Great Depression of the thirties" (Clock XII). The play is structured as a series of vignettes that chronicle the hardship and suffering of that period. Miller introduces the audience to a numerous characters, each facing the Great Depression in a different way. Using this approach, Miller emphasizes the fact that this was one of "the few experiences genuinely shared by the American people as a whole" (Bigsby 117). The entire cast sits on-stage throughout the play and even occasionally commenting on scenes in which they are not directly involved.

One of the more prominent set of characters is the Baum family. Here, Miller draws directly from his personal life. The Baums are an upper-middle class family who loses everything when the Market crashes. Eventually, Moe Baum's business goes under, just as Miller's father's business did. The relationship between Moe and his son, Lee, is eerily similar to that between Miller and his father. In fact, at one point, Moe has to ask his son for a quarter so that he can buy lunch that day. In some way, this small act affords Lee a better understanding of his father and what has happened to him. Miller wrote in his autobiography Timebends, that eventually he, too, saw his father "as a kind of digit in a nearly cosmic catastrophe that was beyond his powers to avoid" (114). The character Lee not only depicts Miller's relationship with his father but also is virtually a duplicate of the author himself. Lee withdraws all his money from the bank to buy a new bicycle only to have the bike stolen

a week later. This exact episode is drawn directly from Miller's youth. Lee's reaction to the Depression is to turn to Marxism, a path that Miller temporarily traveled in search of answers. As Miller later wrote, "Adolescence is a kind of aching that only time can cure, a molten state without settled form, but when at the same time the order of society has melted and the old authority has shown its incompetence and hollowness, the way to maturity is radicalism" (Timebends 115). Miller captures this feeling perfectly in the character of Lee Baum.

Not only does the playwright use his family and experiences, he also infuses the play with a particular atmosphere, a certain spirit that can be found only in those who grew up during the Depression. Using songs and references to famous figures of that time, Miller brings to life the seemingly contradictory feelings of joy and despair that thrived in this era. The American Clock is his attempt "to expose the fundamental betrayal of American values which he believes to have occurred in the twenties and thirties and yet the play still retains a certain nostalgia" (Bigsby 118). This idea is thoughtfully remarked on in the play by Robertson, a Wall Street banker. "Remarkable," he quips, "the humor they still have, but of course people still blame themselves rather than the government" (Clock 154). Miller, himself, would later comment on this accountability. In his autobiography, he wrote, "What kept the United States from revolution in the depths of the Great Depression was the readiness of Americans to blame themselves rather than the system for their downfall" (Timebends 113). The people of this period forged a bond with each other that the author evokes through interwoven plot lines and the effective use of all of the characters on stage witnessing all of the others' scenes. Miller summed up this theme best when he said that the play "evoked the idea, quite simply, of 'other people,' of sympathy for others, and finally of what I believed must come again lest we lose our humanity--a sense of sharing a common fate even as one escaped from it" (Welland 143).

By far, Miller's most successful play was Death of a Salesman. First produced in 1946, it is the story of Willy Loman, a down-and-out salesman struggling to support his family and to come to terms with his relationship he has with his two sons. When the audience first meets Willy, he has returned from an attempted sales trip because he can no longer see when he is driving. Subsequently, it is learned that his sales have dropped off so badly that he must continually borrow money from his neighbor. Nonetheless, Willy still

impresses upon his sons the idea that success will fall inevitably to the man with the right smile, the best line, the most charm. Willy tries to portray himself as this man but his older son, Biff, sees right through him. Biff believes his father is a failure. When Willy finally reaches this conclusion himself, when all his self-delusions are washed away, he takes the only action he feels he can in order to reclaim his lost dignity--he commits suicide so that his family may collect his insurance money.

In Death of a Salesman, Miller again portrays a father-son relationship that echoes his own experience. Willy "champions a success ethic that is both shallow and contradictory--the cult of popularity, good looks and a winning personality" and when this no longer works for him, society casts him aside (Discovering). Biff realizes his father's fallibility and is unsure how to handle it. He is equally upset that Willy seems unable to face his financial downfall. Trying to make Willy see the truth, Biff angrily yells, "Pop! I'm a dime a dozen, and so are you!" (Death 217). Likewise, Miller wrote of his own father after the collapse of the family business, "I knew perfectly well it was not he who angered me, only his failure to cope with his fortune's collapse...I was filling with pity for him" (Timebends 112). Willy's failure may not have been caused by the Great Depression as Miller's father's was but the reaction of the sons is quite similar. It has been noted that many male writers had fathers who had actually failed or whom the sons had perceived as failures. Fitzgerald, Faulkner, Hemingway--the list is quite long. As Harold Bloom expresses in his notes, "How many times have we heard contemporaries exclaim that Willy reminds them of their own fathers, and that they find a deep loving sorrow in the reminiscence" (46).

Both the playwright's father and his character, Willy Loman, were considered unsuccessful by their sons as well as by society at large. It is "impossible to understand an individual without understanding his society" (Discovering). So it must be determined what society considers a success in order to discover how these two men failed to measure up. The answer for Willy can be easily found in his own dementia. Willy had recurring flashbacks of his brother, Ben, who became quite wealthy mining diamonds in Africa. Ben is Willy's idol. He is everything that Willy aspires to be. Ben awes Willy with his tale of financial wizardry. "When I was seventeen I walked into the jungle, and when I was twenty-one I walked out. And, by God, I was rich" (Death 157). This is Willy's picture of success. In Willy we are examining the malady not of an individual but of a society (Bloom 34).

Miller can hardly conceal his contempt for this selfish, materialistic society which respects economic success as it flaunts underlying moral law. Death of a Salesman is nothing if not an "indictment of the American system" (Discovering). The Great Depression was the biggest factor in forming and fueling Miller's disgust for these shallow values. It was not financial stress alone that shook the foundations of American life at that time but a false ideal which the preceding generation of the twenties had raised to the level of a religious creed--the ideal of success. Miller would later write, "I knew that the Depression was only incidentally a matter of money. Rather, it was a moral catastrophe, a violent revelation of the hypocrisies behind the facade of American Society" (Timebends 115). Miller saw how his father's fate was shared by those who had blind faith in the so-called American Dream and he presents this to his audience in the form of Willy Loman. He pays tribute to these Depression-era men by causing his audience to have sympathy for Willy. In his book Timebends, Miller writes, "A fine dusting of guilt fell upon the shoulders of the failed fathers, and for some unknown number of them there would never be a recovery of dignity" (113). The Depression caused many of these men to take their own life, the same decision that Willy chooses for himself. He lays down his life to secure one thing -- his sense of personal dignity. The tragedy is that Willy Loman, like so many failed businessmen of the thirties, destroys himself and his family "through the guilt that economic failure in a highly material culture inflicts" (Martin 4). It is apparent in Death of a Salesman that the Great Depression left Arthur Miller with a bitter taste for his society's materialistic success ethic.

In All My Sons we again see the influence of Miller's upbringing. The play is set during World War II, centering on Joe Keller and his family. Keller, a manufacturer, has knowingly sold defective parts to the United States Air Force, resulting in the deaths of several American pilots. When his sons learn of this, one, a pilot himself, commits suicide by crashing his plane; the other demands that Keller take responsibility for his actions. As the play closes, Keller accepts his obligation to society, recognizing that all the lost pilots were, in effect, his 'sons.' He then takes his own life to atone for his crime.

The father-son relationship between Joe Keller and his son Chris again resembles that of Miller and his father but this time with a different nuance. In All My Sons, Chris is the moral center of the story. He cannot comprehend his father's seeming indifference to the broader consequences of his actions. Joe Keller has a moral perspective "no larger than the

fence that surrounds his factory or the grass growing evenly around his own house" (Blumberg 52). He is merely interested in providing food and shelter for his family, nothing more. This is precisely the light in which the idealistic young author saw his own father. In fact, Miller recounts in his autobiography an argument he had with his father wherein the elder Miller tried to explain to the younger the basic tenets involved in doing business. "But," quipped Miller's father, "if there's not going to be a profit..." To which the younger Miller screamed, "Profit is evil, profit is wrong!" (Timebends 114). A somewhat distorted version of this same fight is played out between Joe and Chris Keller. Joe is trying to impress upon his son why he knowingly shipped out faulty parts. He explains that he did so in order to stay in business. "I did it for you," cries Joe, "a business for you." To which Chris, a veteran of the war, replies, "For me! I was dying everyday and you were killing my boys and you did it for me? What the Hell do you think I was thinking of, the Goddam business? Is that as far as your mind can see, the business?" (All My Sons 116). Obviously, both Joe Keller and Miller's father were products of a time in which self-preservation became an everyday battle and this was difficult for their idealistic sons to accept.

With All My Sons Miller again indicts the American system but this time he holds the individual responsible. It may be one thing for a society to prize success at all cost but it is truly another thing for a man to commit a crime in order to attain that success. But even as Miller insists that Joe Keller be held responsible, he also includes some biting commentary on America's business ethics. As if walking down the streets of his youth and seeing the boarded up shops, the author writes through a character in his play, "This is the land of the big dogs, you don't love a man here, you eat him! That's the principle: the only one we live by" (All My Sons 124). Miller watched during the Depression as giant corporations swallowed up small, failed family businesses. Joe Keller seems to portray this quite clearly when he says "...you got a process, the process don't work, you're out of business, they close you up, they tear up your contract, what the Hell's it to them?" (Porter 78). Miller doesn't endorse Joe Keller's actions but I believe his personal history, his growing up in such a time, causes him to understand Joe, if only a little bit.

Psychologists say that we are all products of our environment, including experiences that shape our childhood. This is very much the case in regards to Arthur Miller and his work. The Great Depression caused his father to lose his business, therefore making it

extremely difficult for him to support his family. Miller responded to this with various emotions, many of which we see played out between Willy Loman and Biff or Joe Keller and Chris. Also, the hardship inflicted on Miller's family and others during the thirties caused Miller, early in life, to form the moral judgments so prevalent in his work. "The seemingly whimsical economic forces of the Depression became, for the individuals who suffered because of them, intensely personal in their effects" (Porter 83). Even fifty years later, as Arthur Miller penned his autobiography, one can sense the anger and heartbreak that the Great Depression left him with. He wrote of the people of that era, "It was hope that had gone out of them, the life illusion and the capacity to believe again. America was promises and, for some, the Crash was in the deepest sense a broken promise" (Timebends 114). This shattered dream would provide immense raw material for the gifted playwright, Arthur Miller.

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Maroon Gift

By Jessica Libero

A soft light sweeps over the body of a young blonde woman rising up from her bed in the morning hours. The female narrator begins: "don't you just hate to be woken up from your beauty rest by the unreliability of your maxi pad?" The next scene explores the menstruate's deep purple velvet couch, where she collapses onto it and sighs. The narrator chimes in: "women of today need reliability and comfort in their sanitary napkins!"

Maxi pads, tampons, rags, blood clots, seepage, mouse traps, diapers, sanitary napkins, plug, the Red Sea, flow, time of month, and special friend are a few of the words used to describe the female experience known as menstruation. As an eleven year old girl, I knew more vulgar terms for my soon to be acquainted "friend," than I knew about the actual event itself. Menarche was a source of embarrassment and bewilderment for me. Although my mother tried her best to educate me and soothe my fear of eternal damnation, I was confused, angry, and disgusted with my body. My junior high years were peppered with excruciatingly painful menstrual cramps and a scent that seemed to fill my lungs once a month. Adolescence reeked of panic and shame. I was ashamed to be female. I was ashamed that blood leaked forth from my vagina like the great flowing Mississippi river. I was ashamed to ask the teacher to use the lavatory for fear that everyone would know that I was going to be up close and personal with "Ms Stayfree." When I forgot to bring a pad to school, the sheer thought of asking the nurse for one scared me so much that I would make my own out of those hard brown paper towels in the school bathrooms. To my dismay, they weren't too absorbent, and many times I left a bloody stain on my chair. I was teased by my classmates so much that each month I faked an illness to stay home from school for those 5-7 days. If I was menstruating, my older brother harassed me incessantly and found it utterly disgusting when I washed out a pair of bloody underdrawers in the sink. I felt like a freak and wanted out of the raw deal I felt God had handed me. It seemed so unfair to me that men didn't menstruate. They seemed to get away with everything.

When I went to an all-women's college and was surrounded by intelligent and self-accepting role models, I found a new perspective. I began to see that an experience that so defines my gender should be treated with respect. Rather than celebrating our menstruation experience, my fellow society members and I scorned, hid, detested, and ignored it. When I searched within myself for an answer, I realized that I generally found the experience to be quite beautiful. In fact, I felt lucky and grateful to experience something men couldn't. Menarche was my rite of passage into womanhood, my maroon gift.

It occurred to me that I had felt so negatively toward and ashamed of menstruation because I was living in a state of unawareness, like most adolescents in the world. I pledged to myself that any situation I was in that reeked of menstrual shame was my cue to shout, " I am a menstruating woman!! Isn't that the most beautiful thing you've ever heard?"

The shame of menstruation and the negative connotations associated with it have a beginning and an end that spans the distant past into the hopeful future. In many countries, women are treated with disrespect when they are menstruating. In fact, sex with a woman who is menstruating, has even been considered deadly. Certain religions have strict rules and taboos regarding a menstruate. The cultural exploitation of menstruation makes it evident that the shame associated with a woman's period is a product of a "man's world." Men conceive these ideas and roles for women out of fear and envy and when women accept these roles the process of shame strengthens. In order to heal from the harm already done and to halt the process of self-hatred swirling into motion, women must search within themselves and join forces to break down yet another barricade of freedom.

"Taboo" comes from the Polynesian term, "tapua," which literally "sacred" and "menstruation." Taboo expresses power, calls for attention, and implies a ban or prohibition excluding something from use, and if those taboos or cultural rules are not obeyed, a severe and harsh punishment can ensue. Taboos exist to protect human beings from danger. Taboo deals with the "sociology of danger itself because it is concerned with both the protection of dangerous individuals from themselves and the protection of society from them" (Delaney 7).

Menstrual taboos exist regarding sex, physical contact with menstrual blood, and eye contact with and the activities of a menstruating woman. Buckley and Gottlieb state that "menstrual taboos are cultural constructions" (24).

Defined from a male point of view, menstrual taboos exist in every part of the world. Women are expected to accept them without question. Taboos are so imbedded in a culture's subconscious that the first and hardest step towards progress for women is the realization that these taboos exist.

Although in America menstruates may not reside in seclusion huts, a special hut built for women to live in during their cycles, a deeply rooted shame still exists. Shame is kept hidden by women, instead of accepted and explored . Around others, particularly men, few women are ready to admit they are menstruating at that specific time. For instance, Sophia Conlon admitted she would not ask a girlfriend in front of men for a tampon because not only would she feel ashamed, but more importantly the men would feel "uncomfortable" (Conlon, Sophia. Interview. 10 Dec. 1997). Mrs. Conlon's response provides evidence of the learned behavior that menstruation should remain a secret and be kept hidden from men.

In advertising for menstrual products there exists an attitude to be neat and clean. Ads for tampons and maxi pads promise women "nothing will show" and "your secret will be safe." The message is clear—if there is something to hide then it must be a shameful and embarrassing experience. Advertisers are telling women to be ashamed, using words like "neat," "discreet" and "tell-tale outlines." Menstrual products are sold as psychological products instead of as technological ones. If the necessary precautions aren't taken, then someone, a man particularly, may find out. The female fear of being found out damages a woman's relationship with herself and her body. In a sense, men don't need to feel their menstrual fear any longer because it has been projected onto women successfully. Women experience this projection as shame. As we panic and scurry in the stalls, slipping tampons into our life-giving vaginas, we are denying our true nature as female beings and the true nature of menstruation as a beautiful aspect of our lives. Historically, the shame placed on menstruation can be linked to many religions. In the Book of Genesis, the inferior role of Christian and Jewish woman is described in the Testament when Eve eats the apple and God shall punish her and all women for her sin.

That God will "multiply thy sorrow and thy conception" (3:16) refers to the pain of childbirth and menstruation. In the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and, most importantly, in the words of Leviticus 15:19-33, the role of menstruating women is clearly defined as an unclean

image- "And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even."

Not only was the menstruate considered unclean, but anyone or anything that came in physical contact with her was also considered to be tainted with her dirty blood. Although Christianity has ended the practice of these rules, Orthodox Jewish women, believing they are following the word of God, perform sacred cleansing baths (*mikvahs*) and sexual abstinence seven days following their periods. Muslims presently perform similar taboos regarding menstruation diligently. A woman's adet (menstruation) is considered a source of fear and women are treated as objects of control . During menstruation women are forbidden to touch the sacred text (Koran), partake in the spiritual pilgrimage to Mecca, or to bake sacred bread, for fear that menstrual blood would contaminate the spiritual world. Menstrual blood is considered impure and anything it comes into contact with is impure as well. Delaney theorizes that in Islam "menstruation condenses the conceptual cluster having to do with corporeality, time and decay -- unlike seed, which carries meanings of creativity, spirituality, and the eternal." (88). In the Muslim world, spirituality and religion reinforce and uphold menstrual taboos.

In medical textbooks the description of menstruation is extremely negative, which explains another component of the shame women feel and the fear men inhabit. Many texts describe a woman's progesterone and estrogen action in the uterus as a "preparation" for the embryo and explain the endometrial changes as the sole purpose of "producing" large amounts of nutrients for the fertilized ovum. If a fertilized egg does not implant, a text explains the events of menstruation with words such as "deprives," "debris," "loss," and "hemorrhage." Perhaps these negative explanations are a result of the male view that menstruation is a failed production of a women's role. Martin argues that "seeing menstruation as failed production contributes to our negative view of it" (Fee 224). Women are not producing children and therefore must be out of control and threatening. Women are not "reproducing, not continuing the species, not preparing to stay at home with the baby, not providing a safe, warm womb to nurture man's sperm" (Fee 225). Symbolically, women are, in a sense, by menstruating, rebelling against the male image that women should constantly bear "their" children.

Menstrual blood is documented as terrifying to men. Indeed, the repulsed attitude of men regarding menstrual blood is a form of fear. "The deeply engrained dread which primitive man universally entertains of menstruous blood," is cause for the seclusion of menstruates, as well as the taboos that prohibit menstrual sex (Frazer 603). "Menstrual blood is considered volatile fluid capable of wide-ranging destruction" (Weideger 85). In Mae Enga there exists a belief that "contact with menstrual blood can make a man vomit, can kill his blood, waste his flesh, darken his skin, ruin his vital juices, and dull his wits" (Delaney 20). If a man comes into contact with the blood of a menstruating woman, punishment from the heavens can result in death among the Bri-Bri Indians of Costa Rica. The blood symbolizes the "failed production" of a woman's childbearing role.

If menstrual blood is considered impure and unclean so are female genitalia. Blood empties out of the vagina from the sexual organs. If a women believes in the attitudes expressed by the taboos, she will believe that her sexual organs and her sexuality are unattractive and impure. This attitude prevents women from fully understanding their own unique cycles and sexual bodies. Sexual freedom cannot exist. We don't fully explore or understand our bodies by our own sense of touch or through verbal communication with our fellow females. The deeply ingrained thread of shame tightens around our vaginas like a noose.

There is a story regarding the ancient tribe of the Changa in which men are envious of menstrual power and attempt to mimic the experience. "They developed an initiation ceremony in which a plug is put into the anus. After initiation, they assert the existence of a unique male biological capacity- they no longer need to defecate. The men take care never to defecate where a woman might see them, so that no woman will ever learn that the 'secret' power is a simple trick" (Gannon 106). This menstrual envy is still practiced, particularly in America, where male rage and jealousy are projected onto women as shame. Envy exists because men have never and most likely will never bear children and menstruate. Man can never experience the relationship between a mother and child. Menstruation is another aspect of the female gift. In order to appease themselves, men try to dominate, regulate, and construct taboos. Men fear women's ability to reproduce and menstruate because if women don't procreate there is no alternative. Women have the ability to end the process of reproduction through abstinence and other methods.

The seclusion of menstruating women is a very common taboo. In the Torres Strait Islands, a woman was an object of control, the menstruating "girl was believed to be in danger of sexual assault by her father, but the father was also facing the same dangers that would befall any man in contact with a menstruating woman, loss of his masculine powers" (Delaney 29). The father's daughter was now able to marry, which gave him an economic advantage through the bartering system. She needed to be placed in absolute seclusion for fear the father's plan should be destroyed. A woman was an object of control. The male Creek and Kindred Indians of the United States found menstruating women a "most horrid and dangerous pollution" (Gannon 48) and expelled them to live in huts far from their village during their cycles. In Indian law, a menstruating woman is considered highly polluting and can contaminate the family house and food supply. Therefore, she often dwells in seclusion in a menstrual shelter built next to the home. Although several Indian women feel the seclusion hut is a place to "go into yourself and make yourself stronger" (Buckley 190), men have designed this law to dominate and control women out of fear.

The shame of menstruating women is further perpetuated by the response and dialogues between a doctor and patient. For instance, many doctors perceive a woman in physical menstrual pain as having mental problems and PMS has been referred to as "nervous disorder." Premenstrual Syndrome (PMS) is a serious and real occurrence for most women. During PMS women can experience depression, increased sexual drive, anxiety, fatigue, headaches, and increased creative energy. The phrase, "it's all in your head," which many gynecologists and doctors tell premenstrual women, deprives and undermines a woman's ability to listen to her own body. In the past, gynecologists believed that a woman's physical pain was her internal fight against her femaleness, which reiterates the idea that if women are menstruating they are not fulfilling their proper role.

Menarche is a beautiful beginning into womanhood. Unfortunately, most young girls receive little education about the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of menstruation. Investigating my family, I traced my own shame to my great grandmother. Sophia Conlon, my grandmother, stated that her mother, my great grandmother, did not once mention even the word "period" to her (Conlon. Interview. 10 Dec. 1997). As a response to her experience she tried to be open with her daughter, my mother, Judith Libero. Unfortunately, my mother was already treated with a high dose of cultural menstrual shame

and would hear none of what my grandmother said (Libero. Interview. 9 Dec. 1997). As the story goes, I listened to my mother's advice and brief explanation, but it wasn't enough. I believe that further home and school education is essential for adolescent girls, but we need to dig deeper first. Women must uproot their footing on patriarchal soil and search for the seeds of shame. Uncovering the many layers of our mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters requires dedication to the futures of menstruating girls.

Indeed, to progress with healthy feminist approaches to the education of menstruation, women must first look within themselves for their roles in the acceptance of the male appointed shame. In order for women to experience fully, rejoice and believe they are blessed with the "maroon gift," an acknowledgment of harms done is greatly needed. Weideger states that "it is reasonable to expect that when women become aware of the menstrual taboo and that rejection and distaste are not natural responses to menstruation but manifestations of the particular psychic structure of men, these male reactions will not be as readily accepted" (126). In the future, menstruation will cease being associated with shame, disgust, debris, and pollution and will find its rightful place in life, fertility, creativity, spirituality, and the moon.

Christianity and Culture: How the Battle for the Family is Redefining the Church

By Marymae Jansson

Thesis: The Christian church in America, in its concern over the decline of the traditional family, is emphasizing the importance of the traditional family over the importance of the Family of God, which includes all believers in Christ regardless of marital status of family structure; and by so doing is redefining the purpose and mission of the church.

"And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptizes shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark 16.15-16). These words, spoken by Christ just before His ascension, are known as the Great Commission. It is the last instruction He gave his disciples.

This instruction may sound simple and direct, but for two thousand years Disciples of Christ have sought to understand exactly what the role of the church in the world should be. Early disciples took the last instruction literally and went on the fist missionary journey to Antioch, as recorded in Acts 11. Disciples of Christ in America today, the body of believers in Christ known as the church, irrespective of denominational affiliation, find their mission field in America and the saving of the traditional nuclear family their present battle. Traditional family structure, composed of a married couple with children, has marriage as its foundation. Divorce rates, which have approached the 50 percent mark and in the 1970s exceeded death as the leading cause of marriage dissolution, have been undermining the foundation of the traditional family (Stacey 9). David Seamands, a former missionary in India, professor emeritus of pastoral ministries and counselor in residence a Asbury Theological Seminary states, "The church can no longer take lightly the state of marriage in America. I have come the believe that on this issue we face nothing less than a mission-field situation." He urges Christians to plan a stratagem to "transform the standards of our culture." According to Seamands, American culture has generally sanctioned a Christian view of sexual morality, marriage and divorce, but with lax divorce laws and an amoral media, the view "has completely changed" (27). There is no segment of the church that is

more aware of the family focus of the church than single never-married adults. This is one of the largest growing segments of the America are going into, has been undergoing significant changes. Since 1970 the number of households composed of married couples with children has decreased by 15%. Households compose of persons living alone has risen 7%. Families headed by men without a wife present have risen from 1.2 million to 3.2 million. From 1970 to 1994, the proportion of never married men and women age 30 to 34 years has more than tripled. As of 1995, married couples accounted for only 53.7% of all households, with the remaining 46.3% of households represented by single-parents or single adults (Americas, 4; Never married, 1).

Modifications in family structure are largely the result of adaptation to societal changes, often linked with economic changes such as the Industrial Revolution. Where extended families once operated as units of economic production and consumption prior to the Industrial Revolution, they have since adapted to demands for increased mobility necessary to earn wages. This phenomenon usually occurs in urban rather than rural areas. Large families, once an economic asset in agrarian society, became an economic liability in an industrial society. The autonomy of the nuclear family in an urban society isolated from the support of kinship ties, coupled with the recent rise of feminism and the changing roles of women as they entered the work force, is correlated with an increase in divorce rates. Economically, women at the head of single-parent household were often plunged into poverty while working wives could boost the economic status of their middle-class families into affluence (Stacey 13). Yet, when these changes began to take shape at the turn of the century, American Culture generally accepted the idea that a married couple with children constituted a family (Hunter 177,178).

A lack of cultural agreement on what constituted a family became evident when social scientist brought the issue of changing the family structure to the attention of national policy makers and to the for front of national debate beginning in the 1960s. When the US Senate held hearings in 1973 on "American Families: Trends and Pressures," the plural term "families" was used, instead of the singular term "family," because of a lack of consensus among organizes of the hearing on what was supposed to be the American family (Hunter 178,179). White House involvement helped to bring the issue to the forefront of national awareness and sparked a national debate on what constitutes a family. The family, according

to James Davison Hunter, is the most conspicuous battlefield in a culture war that he examines in depth in his book Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America. Hunter, Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, suggests that the debate concerning the family is not so much concerned with the definition of the and family as it is concerned with judgement and fate of "on particular conception of the family and family life" (Hunter 177-180). The concept of family that he is referring to is the traditional family, sometimes referred to as "the Godly family" (Stacey 7).

Hunter identifies two main groups struggling to dominate American culture: "orthodox" and "progressive." Hunter prefers the terms "orthodox," rather than "conservative" and "progressive," rather than "liberal," to distinguish between the two groups because the terms "liberal" and "conservative" have political connotations, while they terms "orthodox" and "progressive" have religious connotations. He feels they are more accurate since these two views stem from religious roots and refer to "formal properties of a belief system." Orthodox, of cultural conservatives, are committed "to an external, definable, and transcendent authority... consistent and unchangeable measure of value, purpose, goodness, and indentity." In contrast, for culture progressives, moral authority " tends to be defined by the spirit of the modern age,... rationalism and subjectivism... truth is viewed as process.... reality is unfolding." Progressives tend "to resymbolize historic faiths to prevailing assumptions of contemporary life" (44-45)

Regarding the family, the positions of these two views are as follows. The orthodox define family as the traditional family, by which they mean persons living together who are related by blood, marriage or adoption. The orthodox view of family is

> An idealized form of the nineteenth-century middle-class family:
>
> Male-dominated nuclear family that both sentimentalized childhood and
>
> Motherhood, and at the same time celebrated domestic life a an utopian
>
> Retreat from the harsh realities of industrial society (Hunter 180).

The progressives see the idealized nuclear family as

> Not only the symbol but the source of inequality and oppression for

Women in society… Where the women's movement has called for a

Recognition of individualism, the family has insisted upon subordination

Individual interests to those of the group (Hunter 180).

The progressive view of family is one of relationships based on companionship as opposed to the orthodox view of family based on biological configuration (Hunter 181). Single, never married adults, who do not have children or are not living with someone in a committed relationship, are not mentioned in either concept of family. Yet, it is generally accepted that everyone is a member of a family.

Whether one lives in a traditional or a non-traditional family is often a meter of personal choice for the individuals involved. Where single-parent families are concerned, however, it is often not a choice; it is often a consequence of failed marriages. What both sides seem to be unaware of is that they are merely reacting to each other and to societal changes for which they were ill prepared and over which they had little control. Progressives blame the traditional family structure for oppressing women.

Orthodox blames progressives for undermining traditional family structure. Both progressive and orthodox are each lobbying for government sanction of their particular concept of family. By seeking the allocation of collective funds, without a collective consensus on what constitutes a family and how it should be supported, there is little reason to believe that either side in the current culture war will soon call for a cease-fire.

While both orthodox and progressives seek government sanction for their concept of what constitutes a family, religion columnist Mike McManus, writing in Policy Review, asserts that the debate is a direct result of the degeneration of two-parent families and that at the core of that degeneration is that "…couples no longer marry for life, and the federal government can do nothing to strengthen marriage commitment. Historically, that has been the job of organized religion…"(50). Both orthodox and progressives have taken the concept of organized religion to new heights in their efforts to advance their viewpoints through myriad of organizations. One such organization is Focus on the Family, an orthodox organization with a reported 2 million supporters. James Dobson, psychologist and founder

of Focus on the Family states, "We are in a civil war of values and the prize to the victor is the next generation-our children" (Hunter 64)

Many of these organizations are classified as non-profit ministries and are funded by the donations of individuals who support their cause. Donations also come from a growing number of Christian-owned and operated companies who often donate considerable sums to organizations and the political candidates they support. Norman Millers, chairman of Interstate Battery, is one of the growing number of such businessmen profiled in the U.S. News and World Report featured on "Christian Capitalists." Miller's"...highly visible blend of commerce, religion and politics... struggles to redirect the country's cultural compass" (McGraw 53-54).

Doug Bandow, senior research fellow at the Cato Institute, writing in The American Enterprise; reports on the development of what he calls" Christianity's Parallel Universe" The social and political aspects of this parallel universe include orthodox organizations, such Focus on the Family, the Christian coalition (with approximately 117 million supporters), the Traditional Values Council (representing approximately 31,000 churches), and the National Association of Evangelicals (58).

Progressive organizations include the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, The National Council of Churches, and the Progressive Evangelical Network. Many of these organizations are classified as non-profit ministries and are funded by the donations of individuals. Both orthodox and progressive organizations utilize "...fax networks, church bulletins, newsletters, Sunday school classes, and pastoral exhortation..." to advance their viewpoints (Bandow 58).

Bandow also reports on the more commercial side of ...Christianity's Parallel Universe, encompassing art, education, journalism, music, politics, and more." There are over 6,000 Christian bookstores nationally with sales of approximately $3 billion, over 160 religious television stations, over 1,300 religious radio stations, more than 20 religious cable networks, scores of independent producers of Christian video and film, and a contemporary Christian music industry in excess of $700 million. In an economy that is increasingly consumer-driven, Christianity has certainly become big business (Bandow 58).

It is not only "Christianity's Parallel Universe" that is consumer-driver, but churches at the local level have succumbed to the influence of the business of Christianity. Local churches are taking the business of Christianity seriously and increasingly utilize research and marketing techniques to counter dwindling memberships. The use of research and marketing techniques is transforming how individuals are viewed, whether presently in or out of the church, from one of members or potential members of the Family of God, to one of customers of the church. Advertising Age reports of one such church, Mecklenberg Community church in Charlotte, NC, that "hired a research firm to find out what its customers would want" (Miller, Churches 1). There have been impressive results, such as Willow Creek Community Church, sometimes called "McChurch," whose services now attract about 15,000 people. "There are no religious icons...instead people...sit back for a service that features modern music, dance, drama, and even a few movie clips" (Miller, Churches Keeps5). Despite impressive results, the use of marketing techniques has not escaped criticism. "The idea of promoting the word of God in the same way sneakers or soda pop are sold has offended some" (Miller, Churches 1). Allen Angle, Marketing Manager for Mennonite Media Ministries, dismisses and controversy saying, "I wouldn't doubt that if Jesus were around, he'd be using the some sort of marketing techniques" (Miller, Churches 5). While Seamands urges Christians to organize and transform the standards of our culture has transformed the standards of our culture, the question that needs to be asked is if the culture has transformed the standard of the church.

Dr. Philip D. Kenneson of Milligan College, TN, is a sharp critic of church marketing. In an essay for Theology Today he states that marketing strategies focus on matters of church life that are measurable. This approach redefines "the character and mission of church in terms of manageable exchanges between producers and consumers," And not only masks " the church's confusion about its own identity and it's relationship to the wider culture, but exacerbates it as well" (323). He then points out that "God's grace is given freely; it is not an exchange" (328). The problem with marketing the church is that to do so, specific individuals or groups who are not targeted, despite the clear directive of the Great Commission to preach the gospel to *every* culture.

Kennison asserts that Christian education and Sunday school paradigms fortify the consumer mentality by "grouping people according to certain need-driver criteria such as age, gender, marriage-status, or common interest" (330). Attention is focused on individual pursuit rather than unity and cooperation, and the traditional family becomes a "....extension of individual self-interest"(341). The church loses its identity as the "household of God...," and its purpose ,to"...gather regularly to worship its Lord" (341). The Great Commission is being transformed from a command to preach the gospel to *every* creature into a marketing technique to solidify a customer base by meeting the needs of various groups. Such efforts often end up with churches competing with each other for customers who shop around for the church that best meets their needs.

The book Marketing the Church, by George Barna, is associated with the increasing interest in marketing techniques to promote church growth. Ironically, it is Barna who addressed the issue of singles in the church in his report Unmarried America. This group is largely ignored in church culture, but Barna recognized them as a market. His choice of the word" unmarried" to identify this group reflects the church's perception of these individuals. The word unmarried "stigmatizes by describing people in reference to what they are not" (Christoff viii). Barna identifies young, never-married as the"...least churched of Americans" (53), and for them,"... religion –is most notable for its relative absence" (21). However, it is singles who feel that they are "relatively absent" in the culture of the church. According to Barna, never-marrieds"consider church to be a family affair...They do not see [Christianity] as a faith for all people or social status" (58). This is not necessarily because of what the church says, rather it is because of what the church does. Barna relates a story in which a single pastor in a large church told his class a single life can be a full life and the singleness could even be a gift from God. His class met his remarks with skepticism because "the single pastor was telling them one thing, the church's culture quite another" (58).

The culture of the church is centered on the problems facing the traditional family, rather than the clear understanding of the identity and the purpose of the Family of God. This evidence by the materials developed for church discussion groups: "...books on divorce, co-dependency, growing up in single-parent homes..." (McManus 51). The culture of the church operates on "[t]he common assumptions—that we are all meant for marriage, that marriage is the highest order in God's creation, that divorce is failure—" (Brown 35). It is

typical for seminaries to have "seven shelves of books on marriage and three-quarters of a shelf, about thirty titles, on singleness" (Sloane 55). Single persons entering a church and experiencing the church are likely to ask, "Aren't we supposed to be a family? Aren't we all brothers and sisters in Christ? I don't hear anyone talking about that." After all, it was Christ who said, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother"(Matt. 12.50).

Singles, in response to a lack of acknowledgment and inclusion in church culture, have formed singles ministries in local congregations. There are several national seminars and gatherings in which representatives from these local single ministries meet to exchange ideas and support each other in their efforts to be vital members of the church. There are several publications, started by singles and for singles, such as Christian Single and SAM (Single Adult Ministries) journal.

This banding together of single adults in the church mirrors the banding together of social and common interest groups in American society in general and is evidence of the culture transformation the standards of the church. The Family of God, rather than being a unified body of all believers, is being dissected into its component parts, much as American Society has been dissected into its component parts as groups require recognition of their unique contributions as integral parts of society. This phenomenon was commented on by author and social commentator Stanley Crouch during an interview with Booknotes host Brian Lamb. Crouch states,...you know, the black people are supposed to go this way, and the women are supposed to go that way, and the Indians are supposed to go this way, and Asians are supposed to go that way, and the homosexuals are supposed to go. You know eventually, the midgets and the people who eat, you know, Strawberry ice cream ect., they'll start their own movement.

Chrouch's comments are about American Society, but the trend he describes is not unlike what is happening in the church, where we see women going this way, children going that way, men going here, singles going there, divorced going this way, married going that way... The underlying assumption in grouping of individuals for the purpose of education and personal growth is that people need someone just like themselves to relate to. The

church, which is supposed to be a unified body of believers, would do well to consider Crouch's comment regarding this trend: "You know, we've got to get out of that."

The Family of God includes all believers in Christ, young, old, married, and single. "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God..." (Rom. 3.23). Following that the truth of the church, the varied members of the Family of God will find that they will always be relating to someone just like themselves. Perhaps then the church will again embrace its identity as the Family of God, a sovereign embodiment and witness of the gospel message that it was commanded to preach. (Rom. 3.23). Following that the truth of the church, the varied members of the Family of God will find that they will always be relating to someone just like themselves. Perhaps then the church will again embrace its identity as the Family of God, a sovereign embodiment and witness of the gospel message that it was commanded to preach.

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The Ontological Argument: A Well Reasoned Leap of Faith

By John Longobardo

Since the dawn of rational thought, man has postulated the existence of a God. For whatever reason, we have attempted to prove that there is a being beyond us, possessing capacities we lack, or possessing our qualities in a perfect or infinite way. Various arguments have been formed to support this idea, but few arguments have held the success of the Ontological argument, or, argument from reason. The most important version of the Ontological argument was drafted by St. Anselm over eight hundred years ago, and it has served since as an *a priori* proof of God's existence. Anselm's argument has not gone without criticism, however. Soon after it was written, objections began to arise. Over the past eight hundred years, a series of objections have led to revisions of the Ontological argument, the final effort being brought forth in the late 1960's by Norman Malcolm. The previous objections that have been raised can help us to understand the flaws in the Ontological argument, and the introduction of new criticisms may finally remove the potency of this argument.

The history of the Ontological argument begins with St. Anselm's original version. Anselm believed that the statement, God does not exist, can only lead to a contradiction. For Anselm, God was "Something than which no greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427). The logic behind this argument is brilliant. Anselm has basically stated that God is greater than the greatest possible being that you can think of The "Fool" (Moore and Bruder 427), as referred to by Anselm, was one who did not understand this concept of God, and continued to doubt His existence. Once the fool had the slightest understanding of the being, "Than which no greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427), he was trapped in Anselm's logic. If one said that the greatest possible being did not exist, it would reasonably follow to say that the idea of the greatest possible being was more real than the absence of such an idea, and from this it followed that the existent being was greater than the mere idea of such a being. The idea of God that Anselm gives us is, "One whose non-existence is not conceivable" (Moore and Bruder 426). This is the Ontological argument, and to refute it,

according to Anselm, is to say, "That very same thing than which a greater cannot be thought is something than which a greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427). The most immediate objection to Anselm's argument came from a Benedictine monk, Gaunillo, who criticized the argument on two key points. Using Anselm's logic, Gaunillo created the idea of the perfect island in his mind, and the island in his mind could not be as great as the actual island, so therefore, there had to be a perfect, existing island. The point of Gaunillo's objection was to show that Anselm's logic could be used to prove the absurd, and must be flawed. Why would anyone place their faith in an argument that could quickly be altered to prove the existence of the perfect island, or the perfect house'? Anselm swiftly, yet unconvincingly side stepped Gaunillo's objection by saying that only God's non-existence is inconceivable. Anselm responded to Gaunillo by stating, "I can confidently say that if anyone discovers for me something existing either in fact or at least in thought, other than 'that than which a greater cannot be conceived,' and is able to apply the logic of my argument to it, I shall find that 'Lost Island' for him and shall give it to him as something which he will never lose again" (Sober 120). Anselm challenges Gaunillo's notion of the perfect island and attempts to show that such an idea is not the equivalent of God, but, he offers no proof other than restating that God is, "That than which a greater cannot be conceived" (Sober 120).

Gaunillo's second, more convincing argument noted the impossibility of conceiving a perfect being. There was no way, to Gaunillo's way of thinking, that one could understand a being without limitations. The human mind is not capable of comprehending a perfect being; we can not formulate God, if Anselm's logic holds true. How many revisions would be necessary before we were even remotely close to the idea of a perfect being'? A great point that can be raised through Gaunillo's second objection lies within the thought of the perfect being and the actual perfect being. Anselm did not distinguish between the idea of God and the actuality of God. Gaunillo realized that before we can accept such a being, we have to understand the concept of the superior nature of such a being. "First of all, it should be proved by some most certain argument that some superior reality, that is, a nature which is greater and better than everything that is, actually exists. From this we can then prove all the other qualities that must not be lacking from that which is greater and better than all things" (Sober 12 1). What Gaunillo has done here is to challenge Anselm to provide the characteristics, the actual qualities a superior being would have to retain in order to be God.

Anselm's response to Gaunillo can best be described as an explanation of the defining characteristics of God, "When you try to think of a greater or higher being, you can't do it" (Moore and Bruder 427). Anselm held that God was, "Something than which nothing greater can be thought"' (Moore and Bruder 427), and believed that Gaunillo was unclear on the idea of God. God was the being whose non-existence was inconceivable, and the idea of such a being is not as great as the actuality of such a being. Anselm believed Gaunillo's objection to be invalid because God was, "That than which a greater cannot be conceived" (Sober 120). For the second time, Anselm avoided Gaunillo's objection by restating the Ontological argument, but, as we shall see later, Gaunillo's objection may hold the key to the Ontological argument.

The next objection to the Ontological argument came from St. Thomas Aquinas, and it followed the lines of Gaunillo's objection. Aquinas did not believe that the essence of God, the nature of God, could be determined from a concept. Aquinas held that, "You cannot prove God exists ... merely by considering the word God" (Moore and Bruder 428). The Ontological argument as interpreted by Aquinas rests on the assumption that we know God's essence. God's attributes could not be self-evident to humans in the way that the attributes of a square are self-evident. Examining the concept of God left one with nothing but a heightened understanding of the concept, and certainly not with an understanding of God. A key point raised by this objection is in the difference between the recognition of God and the essence of God. To recognize that there is a perfect being is by no means saying that you grasp the core, the nature of such a being. Saying that there is a perfect being- is not the same thing as saying that I understand why this being exists, and what this being feels, and thinks. So, by analogy, I could say that there is hate in the world; I just do not know why people hate. I do not know the essence of hate. Anselm was not alive to respond to Aquinas' objection, but we can infer a response from the Ontological argument. Anselm never claimed to know the essence of God; he simply understood that God was the greatest possible being, and subsequently, God had to exist. Anselm's argument was based on reason, not on empirical evidence. Anselm did not have to understand why there was a God, just the fact that the existent God was the have to understand why there was a God, just the fact that the existent God was the greatest possible being. Aquinas' need for empirical evidence of God's existence was not shared by Anselm. Anselm would have felt that

empirical evidence of God was irrelevant to the Ontological argument, which was based on his *understanding* of the being, "Than which nothing greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427). Anselm believed that God possessed one defining quality, the necessity of existence. It is not possible to doubt the existence of God, because the minute that you accept, the idea of God to deny it, you get caught in the premise that anything less than the existent God is not God. There was no account of essence in Anselm's argument, just shallow logic.

Rene Descartes penned his version of the Ontological argument while searching for certainty in the world around him. Descartes attempted to challenge each belief he held in order to find solidity in his own existence, and the existence of things around him. After Descartes proved his own existence to himself, he challenged his own idea of God. Descartes believed in the concept of God as a being that possesses all perfection and held' existence to be a perfection. If existence truly was a perfection, it would follow that Descartes could not conceive of God as a non-existent being, and, therefore, God had to exist Descartes' Ontological argument served to streamline Anselm's original version. What Anselm held as the being, "Than which nothing greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427), was narrowed down by Descartes to explain why no greater could be thought to exist. Descartes' method sought to define God as the amalgamation of all perfections, one of which was existence. Descartes gave insight as to why God's nonexistence was impossible, and indirectly addressed Gaunillo's second objection.

To date, the most compelling criticism of the Ontological arguments, as written by Anselm and Descartes, has come to us from Immanuel Kant. Kant doubted the validity of the Ontological proof and explained why this could not be used as proof of God's existence. The main similarity that Kant noticed between the two Ontological arguments was the use of existence as a predicate, or a property of God. Anselm alluded to this fact by saying that existence was a part of God, a part of the definition, and Descartes straightforwardly said that one of God's characteristics of perfection was existence. Kant pointed to this common idea to criticize the Ontological arguments. "By whatever and however many predicates we may think a thing - even if we completely determine it - we do not make the least addition to the thing when we further declare that this thing *is"* (Moore and Bruder 454). What Kant is says that existence is not a property, but, instead, existence pre-supposes that a thing has

properties. According to Kant, to say that "God does not exist" is not a contradiction, unless you believe that God exists. We can say that a unicorn must have one horn to be a unicorn, but that does not indicate that unicorns exist, only that if unicorns exist, they must have one horn. If you believe that unicorns exist, you must concede the fact that they have only one horn, but if you do not believe in the existence of unicorns, it will not matter how many horns they have. Anselm's Ontological argument states that God has to exist because He is the being, "Than which nothing greater can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427), but if you reject the entire idea of God it would not matter whether or not God existed. We can apply Kant's criticism to Descartes' argument in a similar way, stating that, "If *there is* a being that 'possesses an perfections, then God exists, for existence is a precondition of something's having any perfections at all. But this fact does not mean that God actually exists" (Moore and Bruder 45 1).

The rebuttal to Kant's objection came many years later, in the form of Norman Malcolm's Ontological argument. Malcolm considered Kant's objections when revising the argument, and setting out to eliminate the relevance of this objection. Malcolm went back to Anselm's version of the Ontological argument, and realized that it consisted of two main arguments. The first part, as I have discussed, is the idea that God is a greater being if He exists than if He does not, but the second part reveals the existence of a "Divine predicate" (Miller 299). God is a greater being if he can not exist. This aspect, relevant only to God, is what separates himself from the perfect island, as introduced by Gaunillo. Malcolm formulated his own argument on the basis of a disjunctive syllogism. A disjunctive premise grants that there is P, or there is Q. If P turns out to be false, then Q must be true. Using this form of logical argument, Malcolm was able to arrive at the conclusion that the existence of an unlimited being is either necessary, or impossible. "If God, a being a greater than which can not be conceived, does not exist, then He cannot come into existence or have *happened* to come into existence, and in either case He would be a limited being, which by our conception of Him He is not. Since He cannot come into existence, if He does not exist His existence is impossible. If He does exist He cannot have come into existence, nor can He cease to exist ... So if God exists His existence is necessary" (Miller 300). Using these ideas, Malcolm came to the conclusion that God's existence was either impossible or necessary, and if such a being was not self-contradictory or logically absurd, it would follow that this being

would have to exist-necessarily exist. What Malcolm has done differently from his predecessors is to bring forward a second option. Both Anselm and Descartes ended their respective arguments with only one possible conclusion, an existent God, but Malcolm has presented two possible endings, impossibility or necessity. Could this be a way of confirming the Ontological argument? What if we can prove that such a being is impossible?

Malcolm has written his argument with consideration of past objections and truly believes that he has ended the debate over the validity of the Ontological argument. Any attempt at criticizing Malcolm's argument must first and most importantly consider the premise that the existence of an unlimited being is not self-contradictory. What would it mean to be unlimited, and can there be rational proof of such a being'? The most convincing proof against Malcolm's argument is evident in the world around us, the problem of evil. The undeniable existence of evil - however it is defined - reveals God's limitations. It is self-contradictory to say that a benevolent being knows that an evil occurrence is about to take place, has the power to stop it, (and coincidentally, the power to create it), and does not do so. The existence of war, disease, natural disasters, and even crimes such as rape and murder suggest the limitations of any being. John Stuart Mill observed the "evil" in the natural world, and the consequences that these observations would present to an unlimited being. It is logically impossible for a being to exist unlimited, because no being can be both omnipotent and benevolent. To represent this more clearly, Ishall use the example of rape. A woman is on her way through Central Park, and waiting in the shadows is a rapist. An unlimited being would know what was about to happen, have the power to prevent such a tragic occurrence, and desire to stop it. That such a being does know, can stop it, and yet does nothing is self-contradictory, as anyone can tell who has opened any newspaper in New York and has read about women who have been raped in Central Park. As Mill pointed out, no being can maintain omnipotence and benevolence, and therefore no being can be unlimited. Malcolm's remarks, "Thus God's existence is either impossible or necessary. It can be the former only if the concept of such a being is self-contradictory or in some way logically absurd" (Miller ~300). As we can see, using the observations of Mill, such a being *is* logically absurd, self-contradictory, and therefore impossible.

Theological arguments (mostly fallacious) attempt to reduce the problem of evil and to explain it, but are generally unsuccessful. So I choose know to attack the very heart of the

Ontological argument. The versions of the Ontological argument written by Descartes and Malcolm stem from Anselm's original argument. What about this argument has allowed it to remain a legitimate proof for the existence of God? The key to Anselm's argument has been its language, but a more analytic look at the language may prove to be its major flaw, particularly the notion that, "No greater can be *thought*" (Moore and Bruder 427). Would it not have been more powerful to say that no greater *can* exist'? Why does Anselm choose to rest his proof on thought'? Anselm might have responded to this by saying that the thought of God is more real than the absence of such a thought, and it would immediately follow that the existence of a God is greater than the thought of a God. The problem here is in how Anselm takes the subjective God and parlays it into the objective God, the one that has to exist. Can one draw such a conclusion from the existence of a thought'? I think of God, therefore, God exists'? Would that not be the same as saying that the thought in my mind of the perfect glass of water is superior to the actual glass of water that I can drink'? If I am stranded in the desert and about to die from dehydration, I would probably have the thought of the perfect glass of water. To follow Anselm's logic, the actual glass of water that I can drink is far superior to the one I can only think about. The previous statement is definitely true; the actual glass of water would be better than the thought of water, but, that does not mean that I will have a glass of water. The fact that I can think of something that, if paired with the actual representation of the thought would be greater, does not in any way bring that thought into existence. This objection may appear similar to Gaunillo's argument, and we can look back at Anselm's response to Gaunillo to determine how he would respond to me. The idea that the actual water is superior to the thought of water will not bring such a thought into existence, for only God possesses the "Divine predicate." Anselm argues that only God retains necessary existence, as in his response to Gaunillo's objection. Anselm was able to sidestep Gaunillo by restating his Ontological argument, but that can not work in this situation. Using Gaunillo's second objection, we can ask what the qualities of this God might be, and demand some sort of logical proof. Anselm did not offer any proof beyond his conception of God, and his thought can not translate into existence unless we believe, as he does. Descartes' streamlined version of the Ontological argument attempted to define what made God necessary, and he used the idea of existence as a perfection possessed by the perfect being. As we have learned from Kant, existence is not a predicate, but instead pre-

supposes a thing having properties. Malcolm's revision of the Ontological argument directly attacks Kant's criticism, but can not serve as a logical proof in light of the observations of John Stuart Mill.

The Ontological argument takes what can best be described as a leap of faith, but not a leap based on truth. Anselm does not distinguish between the objective God and the subjective God. Can one imply thought from reality'? If I am thinking of the. Greatest possible being, one so great that a greater can not be conceived, how does that carry over into reality'? Anselm might have countered this by saying that the fact that I have an understanding of such a being implies that the greatest possible being has to exist, but it does not work that way. I could have the thought of the perfect chord arrangement, and could reasonably say that such an arrangement would be better if I actually played it, but that does not translate into the sound of music. All it does is state that actually playing the music would be greater than thinking about it, but that serves little purpose in playing the actual progression. The thought does not carry over into reality based on the fact that it would be better. How do I know that it would be better'? What if I have a thought in my head that can not translate- into reality'? If I envision, that is to say that I construct, the thought of the perfect child, can any child I father or encounter meet such a criteria'? In my construction, the perfect child would demonstrate substantial ability at an early age. This child would not cry at night, nor early in the morning, would not write on the walls or refuse to cat his or her strained peas. If you had a child that demonstrated these abilities, you could simply expand upon other qualities that the child lacked to recreate the image of perfection. The perfect child would represent the opposite of everything that your child does wrong: that is the beauty of imagination. No matter what is real, we can always imagine something better. Anselm has placed God in our thoughts - the being than which no greater can be thought to exist - but our thoughts and ideals change as our views change. What I think are qualities of the perfect job today may change tomorrow. Thoughts are subjective. Furthermore, one can always prove reality to be less than that which is not contained in reality. Say, for example, that you have just lost your job. The thought of that next, better job is far greater than your current state of unemployment, but when you come back to the real world, you are still unemployed, and when you begin your next job it will pale in comparison to that perfect job that you were thinking of. As long as we have God as, "Something than which no greater

can be thought" (Moore and Bruder 427), we have no cause to assume God into reality.

Thoughts become "real" only when we act upon them, when we create the adaptation of said thought into reality. If I am thinking about robbing a bank I have committed no crime, but when I actually rob a bank I am a criminal. Can Anselm create such an actual representation of his thought of God as I can of crime'? Would this mean that everyone has to actualize God? That would seem problematic because we could conceivably have billions of existent Gods. Why is Anselm's idea of the greatest possible being better than mine'? What if my imagination is more capable of assigning qualities, or if I assign a quality that is not in Anselm's mind'?

Anselm has placed God in our thoughts but can not translate that thought into reality. Just as we can not draw an analogy from in-organic to organic, we can not draw an analogy from imagination to concrete. Imagine saying that the missiles dropped on Baghdad created mass destruction, but not as much destruction as was created when Godzilla stormed Tokyo. That comparison is ridiculous, for Godzilla does not exist, even if I have the concept of Godzilla in my mind. How great is Anselm's God'? Certainly we would be asking the same question if we inquired how great Superman was, How can the greatest being thought to exist imply the greatest being that does exist'? It becomes a version of the egocentric predicament. We can not escape the restraints of our own mind, and neither can our thought of God. No matter what Anselm attempted to say, our thought of the greatest being provides no reason to imply the actual greatest being.

Using this flaw in Anselm's argument, we can point to the same flaw in Descartes' argument. Descartes' Ontological argument rests on his concept of the perfect being. What does that mean? I have a lot of concepts in my head -- does that lead to the conclusion that all of them are true'? Like Anselm, Descartes takes a leap of faith from the thought of a being into the reality of such a being. The entire basis of the Ontological argument, in any form, is nothing more than a leap of faith. I do not know why these men chose to make this leap, but they can not logically prove its validity. Gaunillo was the first to notice this, but was quickly cast aside by Anselm. Anselm used his idea of the greatest being to say that God's non-existence was impossible, but that means absolutely nothing. The amazing similarity between Gaunillo's perfect island and the Ontological argument's perfect God is the fact that they are both concepts. There is no divine existence, because existence can not

be a property; it can only be a pre-condition to having properties. What the different versions of the Ontological argument attempt to do is prove that God is the greatest being that can be thought to exist, and therefore exists, but before they can make that claim they have to prove that He exists. Three writers of the Ontological argument have pre-supposed the existence of God based on His properties, which can not be proven, logically or otherwise.

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An Investigation Into Pile Structure and Evolution, and Its Significance to Insect Tetraphenylporphyrin

By Susan Packard

Abstract

Insect metabolism, unlike that of mammals and birds, is dependent on body and environmental temperatures. Some insects, such as bumblebees, are able to create heat through muscular contractions, while others must depend on the sun's heat. Because temperature is so critical to these organisms, many insects have evolved adaptations to help them retain heat in inhospitable environments. For my project, I have been investigating the role that "fur", or pile plays in insect temperature regulation. I found that this insulation is necessary to retain flight temperatures in bumblebees. In addition, a barbed pile structure, which helps the bristles to stick together and provide better insulation, is evident in several different pile-bearing species.

Introduction

For over two years, I have been studying the structure and thermoregulatory role of pile ("fur") in several insect species, but most thoroughly in the bumblebee, Bombus vagans. The head, thorax, abdomen and legs of bumblebees and some **other** large insects are covered with this short, dense fur. Pile's connection to heat retention has been documented by several scientists, most notably by biologist Bemd Heinrich in his bumblebee thermoregulation studies (2-5). However, it has been questionable whether pile's insulating properties are critical to the insect, and whether it has evolved specifically to meet this need.

The flight muscles of bumblebees must attain a temperature of approximately 29°C before the bee is able to fly (7). Since bumblebees often forage in much lower ambient temperatures, they must employ some method to warm their muscles above air temperatures. Although they are considered poikilothermic, bumblebees can create heat through physical, rather than metabolic, means by "shivering" their wing muscles. This behavior, known as preflight endotheriny, allows the bee to warm itself sufficiently for flight in ambient temperatures (TA) that would be paralyzing to many other insects.

I hypothesized that thoracic pile, because it surrounds the wing muscles, would be critical to retention of the heat created by preflight endothermy. Bees with pile would have little trouble raising their metabolism and temperatures from 9.5°C (analogous to the cold fall morning during which they forage) to room temperature to flight levels. However, bees with much of their thoracic pile removed would recover only slowly from their cold-induced stupor and, because they are not insulated, might not be able to retain enough heat to reach flight temperatures. Therefore, pile would be critical to an insect's survival. I also theorized that the structure of the pile and its density would affect its efficiency. I hoped to find a similar structure in several different species of pileated insects that depend on endothenny or the sun's heat to counteract inhospitable ambient temperatures. In addition, I have investigated possible selection pressures affecting pile's evolution in insects and leading to its present function.

Methods

I. Preflight Endothermy

The rate of heat production during preflight endothermy can be estimated by the frequency of abdominal pumping. The bumblebee expands and contracts its abdomen, forcing nutrient-enriched blood and oxygen from the air sacs to the massive wing muscles that pack the thorax (6). An increase in the rate of contraction implies an increase in metabolic rate, and therefore relative heat production. A metabolic chamber was used to confirm these results.

I used several 3-4 month old bumblebees *(Bombus ~vagans)* of varying sizes. All bees were caught while foraging and were refrigerated at 9.5°C within an hour. Refrigeration put the bumblebees in a harmless comatose state, reducing energy exertion that would have affected test results.

To determine the insulating properties of pile during preflight endothermy, it was necessary to remove much of the thoracic pile of the experimental bees. Pile was removed from the dorsal thorax and below each wing, between the head and the wing's point of attachment to the thorax. To avoid possible injury to the bees, pile was not removed within a millimeter of the wings. A straight razor was used to depileate the bumblebees while they were anesthetized (Flynap, Carolina Biological Supply), and they were tested at least an hour later, long after the chemical had worn off.

Abdominal pumping rates were measured first in pileated bees as they warmed from a starting body temperature (TB) of 9.5°C to 2 5°C (room temperature), and attempted to reach flight temperatures. The average number of pumps per second was calculated (IO).

Metabolism chambers (Lab-Aids) were then utilized to confirm the results of the previous tests (Fig. I). Both experimental and control chambers were set up at 2 1°C, each consisting of a chamber, capillary tube, 15 potassium hydroxide pellets to absorb $C0_2$, and a detergent solution, which created a mobile seal for the capillary tube. The experimental and control chambers were identically prepared, except the control contained a dead bee of near or equal weight to the bee being tested, along with small balls of paper or foil to approximate the volume of the experimental chamber. After the two chambers were set side by side and the index solution was added, measurements were taken every 15 seconds. (Fig. 2)

The metabolic rates of both pileated and depileated bees were similar from 60 to 165 seconds (IO). From my research, I can assume that the bees were still recovering from the cold and had not yet begun preflight endothermy. After 165 seconds, however, there was a noticeable difference between pileated and depileated bees in total 0_2 consumption Metabolism in pileated bees increased an average 00487ccO_2/g/s, while 02 consumption in depileated bees actually slowed to average .0023 cc0_2/g/s. These results imply that depileated bees retain so little metabolic and ambient heat that they are unable to warm themselves so they can further increase their metabolism.

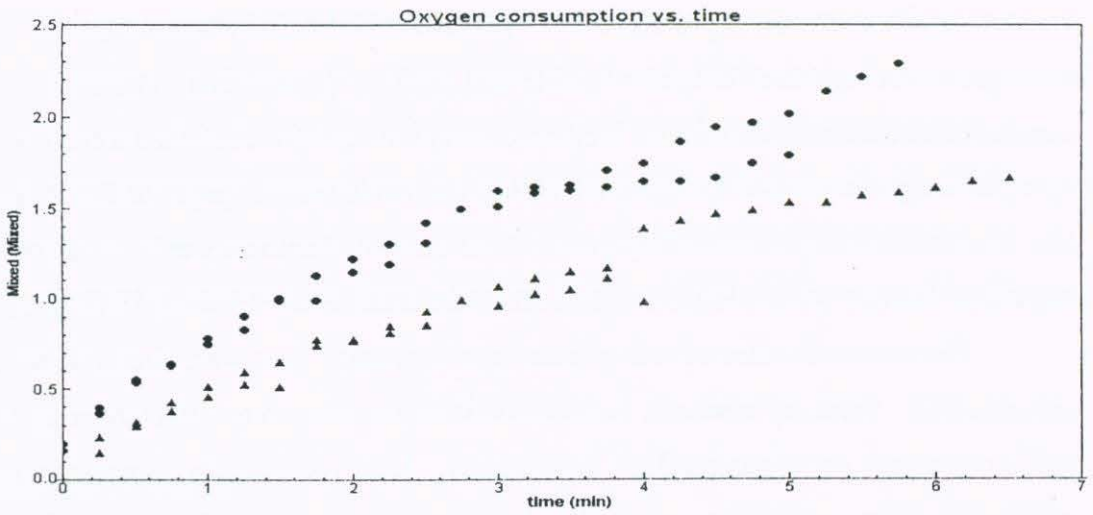
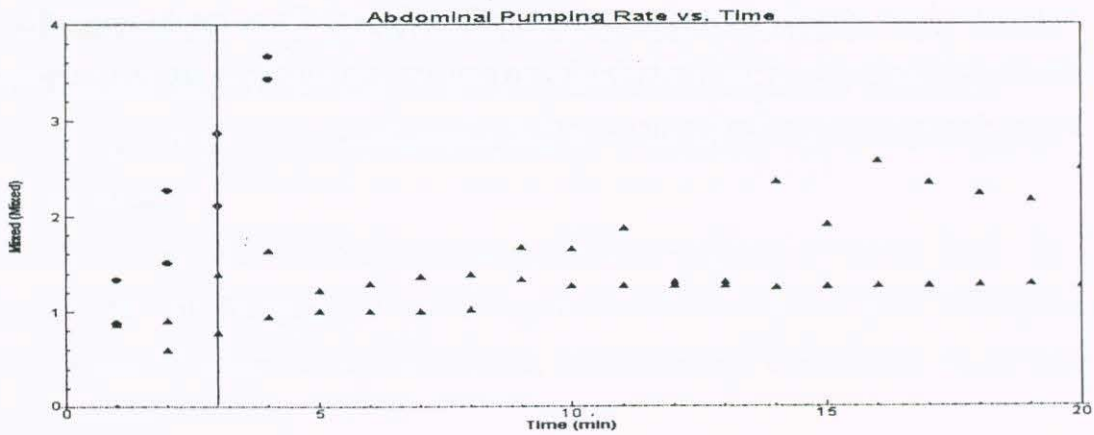

Oxygen consumption vs. time
Mixed (Mixed)
time (min)
0.0
0.5
1.0
1.5
2.0
2.5
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Fig. 1


Abdominal Pumping Rate vs. Time
Mixed (Mixed)
Time (min)
0
1
2
3
4
0
5
10
15
20

11. Investigation into pile structure

The structure and distribution of the pile are important factors in heat retention. A barbed or irregular shape helps the pile to stick together and form air pockets that trap heat. Its retention ability increases with density (3). When viewed under a light microscope at 4~OX magnification, the barbed structure of pile is clear. A similar shape is also found in the pile of caterpillars (*e.g. Isia Isabella)* that depend on the retention of the sun's heat to increase their metabolism. Not all pile is barbed, however; that of the winter moth is smooth and similar in appearance to true hair, but still remains tightly packed against the organism's body. In general, the longer the pile, the fewer barbs. Perhaps long scales weigh themselves down, but shorter pile would stick up and create air resistance without some mechanism to hold it together.

I took samples of both the dorsal thorax and abdomen of a depileated bee to check for a difference in pile density between the two points. A dark, circular pore marks the pile's point of insertion in the exoskeleton. The average density of the bristles was determined by an average of the pores in ten random samples of each piece of exoskeleton. The concentration of pores was significantly higher on the thorax (325 pores/mm^2) than the abdomen (I 94 pores / mm^2).

Discussion

1. Importance of Insulation for Preflight Endothermy in Bombus vagans

As discussed before, preflight endothermy is critical to many large insects that forage and fly in TA below the body temperature necessary to maintain flight. The data collected points towards the necessity of pile for flight and foraging behavior. While the metabolic and pumping rates of normal bees increased steadily during warm-up, the depileated bees were much slower to recover from their stupor. Because they could not retain as much endothermic heat as furred bumblebees, they had to rely to a greater extent on TA (which was below the required flight temperature). The muscles of poikilotherms can contract only intermittently at low temperatures, if at all. Therefore, depileated bees most likely could not greatly quicken their metabolism from its virtual standstill, much less raise TB above TA.

II. Adaptation of the pile to thermoregulatory purposes

Like bird down, which has a dendritic shape that helps the feathers to mat together and

create air pockets, the pile's barbed structure most likely increases the efficiency of heat retention. That the same shape has evolved in the pile of several non-pollinating insects further implies that this structure has evolved as a function for thermoregulation, not just pollen gathering.

It is significant that the pile density of *Bombus vagans* is higher on the thorax than the abdomen. The thorax, packed with flight muscles, experiences a high rate of heat production, and a potentially high rate of heat loss as well, especially during flight. The dense, barbed pile is probably flattened into a heat-retaining mat during flight that retards cooling.

III. Possible Evolutionary Pathways

One question regarding pile is whether it has evolved strictly to meet thermoregulatory needs, or if other factors have affected its structure. Pile is not actually hair, but modified scales. In insects that depend on the sun or their own metabolism for heat, selection pressure would most likely favor longer or denser scales to retain warmth. In flying insects, pile that cuts convective heat loss in flight by matting down would also be beneficial. Length, however, is limited by natural selection. The action of flight in itself requires a great deal of energy, and the additional air resistance created by long, bulky pile would be detrimental to insects in terms of both energy and speed.

The function of pile in pollen collection has been documented (2). While it is true that it effectively "catches" pollen, thus making pollinators more efficient, pile is present in several non pollinating insects and absent in some important pollen bearing species. Rain beetles *(Plecoma spp.)* and many species of caterpillars are pileated, and rain beetles exhibit endothermy similar to that of bumblebees, raising their body temperature to 30-40°C even at temperatures below 15°C. In contrast, the nearly hairless euglossine orchid bees of South America are among the chief pollinators of orchids. They carry pollen packets not on hairs, but between the plates of their exoskeleton and anywhere else it will adhere (2). Even in flightless, non-endothermic insects such as caterpillars, pile helps to retain the sun's heat while the insects bask. However, their bristles tend to be longer and stiffer than those of bees, and also serve as protection against predators and as detectors of vibration and sound. It is possible that these elongated scales first functioned solely as insulation in caterpillars, but because length was not as limited as it is in flying insects, bristles gradually gained a

secondary use as sensory organs and protective spines as well.

Further Study

This research has been ongoing for the last two years, and further work is underway. The experiments described here will be repeated this spring using materials supplied by the college to insure more accurate and reproducible results. Juvenile bees of near or equal weight and age will be used to account for variables in hardiness. A manometer will record much more accurately than the metabolism chambers the oxygen consumption of the bees. I also plan further study of such characteristics as pile length, color and air resistance, and their effects on the bee's control of body temperature.

Conclusion

The data I have collected shows that pile is a critical factor that makes the energy budgets of large insects more efficient. Heat from the sun is trapped and retained as the insect basks, as is the heat created in endothermy. For large insects with high metabolism, conservation of energy is extremely important. In addition, insects that must spend a great deal of time in basking and endothermy in order to fly due to poor insulation become easy targets for predators.

Although thermoregulation in bees and other large insects has been extensively studied, there are still aspects of pile that have not been investigated. How, for example, are some hirsute tropical bees able to disperse the heat created as a result of flight? Further research into insect insulation may yield the answer to this question, as well as insight on the phenomenon of heat production in poikilothermic organisms.

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10. I used a stopwatch to determine the time needed for 10 abdominal pumps. I divided 10 by each time to find pumps/second.
11. The first 60 seconds of measurements were disregarded to allow the chambers to reach equilibrium.

BEACON '98 PARTICIPANTS

Bergen Community College (NJ)
Brookdale Community College (NJ)
Bronx Community College (NY)
Dutchess Community College (NY)
Charles County Community College (MD)
Harford Community College (MD)
Holyoke Community College (MA)
Howard Community College (MD)
Gateway Community-Technical College (CT)
Lehigh Carbon Community College (PA)
Monroe Community College (NY)
Montgomery College (MD)
Northampton Community College (PA)
Passaic County Community College (NJ)
Reading Area Community College (PA)
Rockland Community College (NY)
Sullivan Community College (NY)
Ulster County Community College (NY)
Union County College (NJ)
Westchester Community College (NY)

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