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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Wagner Forum for Undergraduate Research is an interdisciplinary journal which provides an arena where students can publish their research. Papers are reviewed with respect to their intellectual merit and scope of contribution to a given field. To enhance readability the journal is typically subdivided into three sections entitled *The Natural Sciences*, *The Social Sciences* and *Critical Essays*. The first two of these sections are limited to papers and abstracts dealing with scientific investigations (experimental, theoretical and empirical). The third section is reserved for speculative papers based on the scholarly review and critical examination of previous works.

This issue contains a special section for articles motivated by courses that bring about an awareness of global concerns, explore the diverse peoples of American society and enhance the students' ability to examine the influence of different cultures, ethnicities, etc. These "I" and "D" courses are an essential component of the College's general education core and its mission.

The interested reader will find much on the pages that follow. The first section contains the abstracts of papers and posters presented at the Eastern Colleges Science Conference hosted by Wagner College on April 25th, 2009. Dr. Donald Stearns, President of the ECSC and a member of this journal's Editorial Board, along with Prof. Linda Raths and Ms. Stephanie Rollizo, organized the event which was attended by faculty and students from twenty peer institutions. Moving on are scientific theses addressing the use of electrical fields to inhibit bacterial growth, the therapeutic community that emerges following a disaster and behavior therapy for anxiety disorders. The interested reader will then come upon a reprint of Jenna Pocius' critical analysis of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and her new paper on Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*. Also, be sure not to miss Shayne Zaslow's article on homosexuality and transgender and, last but not least, the special section entitled "Intercultural Understanding".

Read on and enjoy!
Gregory J. Falabella, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief

[1] Sabbatical replacement for Dr. Peter Sharpe

Section I: Eastern Colleges Science Conference[1]

Abstracts

[1] Papers and posters presented at the 63rd Eastern Colleges Science Conference held in Staten Island, NY on April 25, 2009.

Section II: The Natural Sciences

Full Length Papers

Section III: The Social Sciences

Full Length Papers

Section IV: Critical Essays

Full Length Papers

Section V: Intercultural Understanding

Section I: Eastern Colleges Science Conference

Linear and Non-Linear Oscillation of a Pendulum

Jacqueline Scanlon (Physics) [1]

A study of linear and non-linear oscillations of the simple pendulum will be presented. Precise statistical measurements of the acceleration due to gravity will also be presented using linear data.

The Study of Chromosomal Aberrations in *Vicia faba* as a Result of Exposure to UVA and UVB Radiation

Ryan Patricia Rogers (Biology) and Dr. Ammini S. Moorthy (Biological Sciences)

The *Vicia faba*, a species of bean, is a popular subject for cytogenetic studies. Its diploid chromosome number is equal to twelve and the chromosomes are fairly large, making them more easily identified. Research conducted with Vicia faba has provided the scientific community with an abundance of information regarding mutations. These occur as a result of mutagens that cause breaks in the chromosomes. The aim of this study was to determine the chromosomal aberrations caused by Ultraviolet A and Ultraviolet B rays on the chromosomes in the *Vicia faba* bean plant. This was achieved through statistical analysis. For the purposes of this experiment, the root tip was viewed at the highest magnification under an oil immersion lens (1000X). This allowed for proper identification of the kinds of aberrations caused by UV light. To study these effects, several groups of root tips were treated in different conditions. Three groups were treated with colchicine to remove the spindle fibers, while three were left alone so the phases of mitosis can be observed.

The Effects of Oscillating Electrical Fields on *Escherichia coli* and *Staphylococcus aureus*

Yuliya Seldina (Microbiology) and Joseph Scala (Microbiology)[2]

The discovery of disease-causing microorganisms and the formulation of the Germ Theory of Disease prompted research aimed at inhibiting the growth and reproduction of

[1] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Otto Raths (Physics)
[2] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Gregory Falabella (Physics), Dr. Kathleen Bobbitt (Microbiology) and Dr. Roy Mosher (Microbiology)

pathogens. At first a variety of methods were investigated. The discovery and success of antibiotics in curing bacterial infections and increasing human life expectancy, however, biased efforts towards chemical treatments. Viruses and degenerative conditions such as cancer and AIDS have not responded well to this approach and continue to claim many lives. Furthermore, the number of antibiotic-resistant strains is rapidly increasing as is the price/number of medications consumed by the average person. With the cost of health care soaring, one wonders if maybe a more efficacious (albeit less profitable) or complimentary means of tackling the problem has been overlooked. This study was conducted to investigate the effects oscillating electrical fields have on *Escherichia coli* and *Staphylococcus aureus*. The question posed is, can the frequency of the field be tuned to induce a resonant effect specific only to the organism itself? Tests conducted using a sinusoidal waveform at frequencies ranging from 10-300,000 Hz were conducted and yielded encouraging results in the 3±0.5 kHz range. Further studies are being conducted to better understand the actual effect of the electrical fields on the bacteria.

The 3N+1 Problem[3]

Crystal Kilkenny (Mathematics)[4]

This presentation presents preliminary work done on the 3N+1 Problem (also known as the Hailstone or Syracuse Problem). Typical number spectrums and path statistics will be presented.

More Than Just Mean Girls: Intervention on Bystanders to Relational Aggression[5]

Christina Herrera (Psychology)[6]

This quasi-experiment was conducted as a preliminary study in order to develop a quantitative measure of student's responses to relational aggression. Bystanders to relationally aggressive acts often have a limited number of solutions to employ when faced with bullying. This study examines the ability of fourth grade students to identify solutions to acts of relational aggression from the role of the bystander. The SARA

[3] Recipient of Excellence Award for Platform Presentation in Mathematics and Physics
[4] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Otto Raths (Physics)
[5] Recipient of Excellence Award for Platform Presentation in Psychology
[6] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Amy Eshleman (Psychology)

(Students Against Relational Aggression) program was developed in order to reduce relational aggression in the classroom. SARA is a 10-week relational aggression intervention program in which participants learn to identify and resist relational aggression. The participants in this study included 41 students, both male and female, from two fourth grade classrooms. The classrooms were randomly assigned to either receive the intervention or to the control group (which received the intervention following the posttest for the current study). Participants completed two qualitative scenario questionnaires before and after the intervention. The results fail to reject the null hypothesis; students who took part in the intervention did not have a significant positive change in self-reported responses to relational aggression compared to the control group. This research explores how students respond to relational aggression and the effects of the SARA intervention.

Effects of Nutrients on the Transepithelial Voltage and Strong Luminal Alkalinization[7]

Sejmir Izeirovski (Biology), Dr. Stacia B. Moffett[8] (Biological Sciences),
Dr. David F. Moffett[8] (Biological Sciences) and Dr. Horst Onken (Biological Sciences)

Isolated anterior midguts of larval *Aedes aegypti* were bathed in mosquito saline containing serotonin (0.2 umol l-1) perfused with NaCl (100 mmol l-1). The lumen negative transepithelial voltage (Vte) was measured and luminal alkalinization was determined through the color change of luminal m-cresol purple from yellow to purple after luminal perfusion stops. Addition of 10 mmol l-1 amino acids (arginine, glutamine histidine or proline) or dicarboxylic acids (malate or succinate) to the luminal perfusate resulted in more negative Vte values, whereas addition of glucose had no effect. In the presence of TRIS chloride as luminal perfusate, addition of nutrients did not change Vte. These results are consistent with Na+-dependent absorption of amino acids and dicarboxylic acids. Effects of serotonin withdrawal indicated nutrient absorption is stimulated by this hormone. Strong luminal alkalinization was observed with mosquito saline containing serotonin on the hemolymph-side and 100 mmol l-1 NaCl in the lumen, indicating alkalinization does not depend on luminal nutrients. Omission of glucose or dicarboxylic acids from the hemolymph-side solution had no effect on luminal alkalinization, whereas omission of amino acids significantly decelerated it. Re-addition

[7] Recipient of Excellence Award for Full-length Manuscript in Physiology
[8] Washington State University, Pullman, WA 99164-4236

of amino acids restored alkalinization, suggesting the involvement of amino acid metabolism in luminal alkalinization.

Bohr Theory Studies

Peter Acerios (Physics)[9]

In the early twentieth century, Niels Bohr proposed a semi-classical model of the hydrogen atom. This study tests the model's ability to measure neutron mass, presents details of the model, and also considers other applications of Bohr Theory. The problem of multi-electron atoms is being investigated.

Morphological Characterization of Neurovasculature and Whole Blood of the Adult Zebra Fish (*Danio rerio*)

Marlene Streisinger (Nursing), Lauren Levy (Biology), Zulmarie Franco(Microbiology), Prof. Linda Raths (Biological Sciences), Christopher Corbo[10] (Biological Sciences) and Dr. Zoltan Fulop (Biological Sciences)

Blood vessels of the adult zebra fish brain (tectum opticum) were studied using both light and electron microscopy. We have found two atypical novelties pertaining both to the blood vessel structures and blood cell behavior such as: (1) Cellular islets within the capillary lumen at junctional positions are believed to function as gatekeepers. We refer to these structures as "junctional sphincters." What is unusual here is the internal location of these sphincter-like elements suggesting that these cells must be myo-epithelial by nature and could belong to the reticulo-endothelial cell family, similar to hepatic Kupfer cells. (2) The presence of solitary red blood cells (RBC's) within the brain parenchyma located between neurons and/or glial cells. Here, what is unusual is the existence of RBC's among healthy parenchymal cells of the brain, since extra-vascular RBC's are known to be toxic, such as in cases of internal hemorrhage, for example. In order to further characterize the nature of these zebra fish blood cells, whole blood was further examined on smears using different classical stains and scanning electron microscopy.

[9] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Otto Raths (Physics)
[10] Center For Developmental Neuroscience, CUNY Staten Island

Preparation of Thin Sections of Drosophila Ovaries for Examination by Transmission Electron Microscopy

Tanya Modica (Biology), Georgia Dellas (Biology), Christopher Corbo[10] (Biological Sciences) and Dr. Heather A. Cook (Biological Sciences)

The goal of this study was to identify a fixation and embedding procedure for the analysis of Drosophila oocyte development by transmission electron microscopy. Drosophila oocytes develop within tubular ovarioles within the ovary. One to two germ line stem cells reside at the tip of each ovariole. Oogenesis is initiated when a stem cell divides to produce a daughter stem cell and a cystoblast cell. The cystoblast further divides to produce a cyst of cells, one of which develops into an oocyte. The remaining cells support oocyte development. Genetic and immunocytological studies indicate that mutations in the small repeat-associated siRNA (rasiRNA) pathway genes may affect stem cell maintenance in the female germ line. Future studies will use electron microscopy to analyze stem cell maintenance and oocyte development in rasiRNA pathway mutants, armitage (armi), aubergine (aub) and spindle-E (spnE).

Sticky Situations: From Failing Prophecies to Peanut Butter and Jellies[11]

Dana Trottier (Psychology)[12]

The present paper examines individuals' ability to justify their dissonant behavior without the presence of a sufficient external justification. Thirty participants completed the task of making a peanut butter and jelly sandwich with only their fingers and selling the unsanitary sandwich to a confederate for two dollars without acknowledging the condition under which the sandwich was made. Some participants were told that the money they collected was for cancer research (sufficient external justification) and other participants were told the money they collected was for a selfish professor (insufficient external justification). The results support the hypothesis and demonstrate that participants rated the quality of their sandwich higher when they had little external justification (the selfish professor condition) than when they had greater external justification (the cancer research condition). The study suggests that individuals who

[11] Recipient of Excellence Award for Full-length Manuscript in Psychology
[12] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Amy Eshleman (Psychology)

experience dissonance will justify their actions internally in order to alleviate the experience of dissonance.

Use of Squashed Retina and Optic Tectum to Study Regenerative Capacities of the Visual System in Adult Zebrafish (*Danio rerio*)

Michael Gutkin (Biology), Anna Lysenko (Biology), Christopher Corbo[13] (Biological Sciences), Prof. Linda Raths (Biological Sciences) and Dr. Zoltan Fulop (Biological Sciences)

To study the regenerative capacity of adult zebrafish retinal tissue, the eyes of adult animals were exposed to 5 and 50 mW green laser beams for one- and two-minute time periods. The optic tectum and the eyes of anesthetized animals were removed at two minutes, two hours, and six hours after exposure. The retinae were separated and processed for semi-thin (1 micron) sectioning or squashed between two glass microscopic slides. Tissues were fixed and stained with toludene blue. Here we report our findings pertaining only to the control animals and the two-minute survival time of tissue exposed to the 50 mW green laser. Squashed preparations are advantageous, because on one slide, all the cellular components of the retina are exposed in a single focal plane. Our study thus far has revealed a surprisingly large number of mast cells present between the retinal cells throughout the whole squash preparation. Since mast cells are known for orchestrating regeneration, we predict the later survival time will show enlarged numbers of activated mast cells which may be accompanied with the regeneration of some retinal cells.

Evaporation Studies

Melanie Cambria (Chemistry) and Rachel Chille (Chemistry)[14]

We present a study of evaporation cooling using an electronic balance. Preliminary work was also done which may allow an estimate of fluid surface work functions and other microscopic parameters.

[13] Center For Developmental Neuroscience, CUNY Staten Island
[14] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Otto Raths (Physics)

Effectiveness of Selenium Supplementation in Combating Cytotoxicity of Arsenic due to Ingestion of Arsenic from Groundwater in Bangladesh

Erida Behri (Chemistry), Meaghan Robbins (Chemistry) and Dr. Mohammad Alauddin (Chemistry)

A recent study reports that administration of selenium in mammals promote biliary excretion of arsenic. There are evidences from studies in mammals for the in vivo formation and biliary excretion of seleno-bis-(S-glutathionyl)arsinium ion. Glutathione (GSH) plays an important role in the biomethylation of arsenic and biliary excretion of arsenic. The selenoprotein Glutathione Peroxidase (GPx) has been described as the body's frontline anti-oxidation system. It is believed to be at least partly responsible for the widely reported anti-cancer properties of selenium. The purpose of the current study was to investigate the extent of enhancement in GSH, GPx level in patient serum due to selenium supplementation. Increase of glutathione (GSH) due to selenium supplementation increases the probability of formation of GSH-As-Se complex and elimination of arsenic from the body. In this study we have measured GSH, GPx activity in serum from arsenicosis patients before and after oral administration of supplements. The paper will focus on serum GSH level and GPx activity in a select group of arsenicosis victims in our clinical study cohort. The GSH level and GPx activity significantly increased in arsenicosis patients due to selenium supplementation. Future studies in this regard will include monitoring other selenoproteins in patient serum or whole blood due to selenium supplementation.

The Role of Runx2 Y433a in Osteoblast Differentiation

Thomas Beesley (Chemistry), Dr. Gary Stein[15] (Cell Biology)
and Dr. Yang Lou[15](Cell Biology)

Osteoblast differentiation needs to occur in order for a mineralized skeleton to form. Runx2 is a transcription factor which is crucial for osteoblastic differentiation and skeleton formation. Runx2 interacts with WW-domain proteins which are essential for normal skeletal development and bone metabolism. In this experiment we used Runx2 point mutants to observe the effects of a mutation at the Y433 site. This mutation contributes to Runx2's interaction with the WWdomain proteins, and it also effects

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osteoblast differentiation. Overall, the induced mutations lowered the amount of osteoblast differentiation in the samples with an absence of BMP2. In the presence of BMP2, osteoblast differentiation was elevated compared to the previous. Generally, the fold induction by BMP2 in these samples was nearly equivalent in both our Y433A and wildtype cells. From this it can be established that the Y433A mutation did indeed affect overall osteoblast differentiation in the absence of Bone Morphogenic Proteins. Also, it is conclusive that the Y433A mutants are able to respond to BMP2 signaling as are the wild type mutants.

Gender Differences Created by Urinary Creatinine Adjustments Made to Heavy Metal Measurements[16,17]

Christopher Cappelli (Biology), Mary Gamble[18] (Environmental Health Sciences), X. Liu[18] (Biostatistics), Pamela Factor-Litvak[18] (Epidemiology), Vesna Slavkovic[18] (Environmental Health Sciences) and Dr. Joseph Graziano[18] (Environmental Health Sciences)

In large studies, spot urine collection is used to measure environmental exposure to heavy metals. While 24-h urine analysis is more accurate, it is not the preferable method, because it is more time consuming, labor intensive and costly. Creatinine levels in urine are used to normalize heavy metal measurements, because creatinine is excreted in urine at a constant rate per day. This study analyzes differences in heavy metal concentrations between males and females after adjustment for creatinine. Significant differences in creatinine-adjusted heavy metal levels were found to exist between the sexes. Moreover, age may also have an effect on heavy metal levels when adjusted for creatinine regardless of gender, because creatinine levels vary with age. As males develop more muscle mass during adolescence than females, gender has a large impact on the final adjusted heavy metal measurements. This finding is important for hospitals and other health-care facilities where the heavy metal data for men and women are grouped together yielding a single range of normal values, which is used to assay an individual's health and exposure to heavy metals. According to our findings, different normal ranges of metals adjusted for creatinine should be used when examining adult men and women.

[16] Recipient of Excellence Award for Poster Presentation in Health Sciences
[17] Recipient of Excellence Award for Full-length Manuscript in Health Sciences
[18] Columbia University, New York, NY 10027-6902

Electrical Suppression of Bacterial Growth & Reproduction

Joseph Scala (Microbiology)and Yuliya Seldina (Microbiology)[19]

Should pharmacological methods be used exclusively to treat illness? Should they always be the first approach? Are there other means of inhibiting the growth and reproduction of disease causing organisms? This research was conducted to investigate the effects that both static and fluctuating electric fields have on two types of bacteria. Encouraging results were obtained and have shifted our emphasis towards sinusoidal modulation at frequencies of approximately 3000Hz.

The Effects of Different Ethanol Concentrations on the Activity Level of Adult Zebrafish (*Danio rerio*)

Lauren Levy (Biology) and Dr. Brian Palestis (Biological Sciences)

Hormesis is defined as a phenomenon whereby harmful substances such as ethanol appear to be beneficial or stimulatory in extremely low concentrations. Previous research has shown stimulatory effects of low doses of ethanol on the behavior of zebra fish (*Danio rerio*). This study compared the effects of different ethanol concentrations on the activity levels of adult zebra fish. The fish were individually exposed to the following five ethanol concentrations for one hour prior to the experiment: 0% (control), 0.125%, 0.25%, 0.5% and 1.0% EtOH. During the 3-min experimental period, each fish was videotaped while moving in a fingerbowl, under which was placed a grid comprised of 3 cm x 3 cm squares. Activity level was measured by counting the number of grid lines crossed by each fish during the first minute and also during the entire 3-min experimental period. The results were analyzed and used to test the hormesis model.

[19] Research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Gregory Falabella (Physics), Dr. Kathleen Bobbitt (Microbiology) and Dr. Roy Mosher (Microbiology)

Section II:
The Natural Sciences

The Effect of Oscillating Electrical Fields on the Growth of *Escherichia coli*[1,2]

Yuliya Seldina (Microbiology), Joseph Scala (Microbiology),
Dr. Gregory Falabella (Physics), Dr. Kathleen Bobbitt (Microbiology)
and Dr. Roy Mosher (Microbiology)

According to the Germ Theory of disease, microorganisms are the cause of many illnesses. Throughout the history of scientific advances, researchers have been studying these microorganisms and finding different methods of inhibiting them. Different aspects of physics, such as magnetic and electrical fields, have also been studied as possible sources of inhibition for microbial growth. This study was performed in order to answer the following question: Can *Escherichia coli* be influenced by time-varying electrical fields and if so how do they respond? The *E. coli* was grown in BHI broth and placed in an apparatus which subjected it to oscillating electrical fields of specific frequency for 48 hours. The samples were then examined for changes in growth, cell division, shape and structure. Of the wide range of frequencies investigated, those around 3 kHz yielded the most unique results. However, the higher frequencies were the ones that showed a decrease in the quantity of growth of bacteria. Further studies are being conducted to better understand the actual effect of the electrical fields on the *E. coli.*

I. Introduction

Louis Pasteur is considered one of the founding fathers of microbiology, due to his many contributions to this science in the 1800s. His work with silkworm parasites and air-borne germs led him to propose the germ theory of disease (VanDemark, 1987). Robert Koch, a German scientist, proposed 4 postulates that would prove whether or not an infectious organism is the cause of disease. According to Koch: the agent must be present in all cases of the disease and absent in healthy individuals; it must have the ability to be isolated from the diseased animal and grown in a pure culture; the disease can be reproduced by inoculating the pure culture into a healthy individual; and the agent of the disease has the ability to be re-isolated from the infected individual (Boyd, 1984). Even though the theory was first under a lot of speculation, just like any other new discovery, it is now the basis for modern medicine and clinical microbiology.

[1] Research performed in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.
[2] This research was done in collaboration with Joseph Scala and his study of the effects of oscillating electrical fields on the growth of Staphylococcus aureus.

Different Methods of Microbial Inhibition

Since the times of Pasteur and Koch, incredible advances have been made in microbiology. By better understanding microbes and how they exist, various methods of inhibiting their growth have been studied. The most popular and known method of microbial inhibition is the use of antibiotics. Various antibiotics inhibit bacteria in different ways. Penicillin, for example, works by inhibiting the enzyme involved in the formation of the cross-linkage of bacterial cell walls (Mirelman and Bracha, 1974). Other antibiotics target other areas of a bacterial cell. Some are broad-spectrum and some are specific to certain bacteria.

Since there is a big problem with antibiotic resistance, other anti-microbial agents have been researched and created. These include oils, such as those of black peppers and germanium (Dorman and Deans, 1999), organic acids, such as lactic acid from bacteria (Aguire and Collins, 1993), etc. Different antimicrobial pesticides are also used to destroy microorganisms. Antimicrobial pesticides are substances such as sanitizers, disinfectants, and sterilants. Bleach, which contains sodium hypochlorite, is an example of an antimicrobial pesticide and it is one of the most popular ones. It kills a wide range of bacteria, fungi, and viruses and is commonly used in laboratories to clean up spills and other accidents. It works by breaking down proteins in microorganisms (Rutala and Weber, 1997).

Alternatives to these chemical approaches are also common. Bacteriophage therapy, for example, is used as a therapeutic method to treat pathogenic bacterial infections. It was developed in the former Soviet Union over 90 years ago, and is still an active area of study today. Bacteriophages are bacterial viruses that attack bacterial cells and disrupt their metabolism, causing the bacterium to lyse, or break open. Bacteriophages can be made to target specific pathogens thereby decreasing the chances of causing harm to the individual. Phage therapy has been used to treat illnesses such as laryngitis, conjunctivitis, and urinary tract infections among many others (Sulakvelidze et al. 2001). UV light has also been identified as a means of deterring microbial growth. It is often times used as a water disinfectant and is a potential substitute for chlorine. Furthermore, irradiation by UV light prevents the spoilage of meat by hindering the proliferation of *E.coli*, *Salmonella*, *Staphylococcus aureus*, *Shigella*, etc (Djenane et al. 2001).

Previous Research Performed with Electrical Fields

Interest in the influence of electrical and magnetic fields on microorganisms began in the 1900s but it lost scientific appeal after the discovery and isolation of

penicillin prompted researchers to focus more on pharmacological approaches. In the 1960s, however, interest in electromagnetic fields resurfaced as scientists began to notice similarities in mitotic division and electric dipoles (Rosenberg, 1965). They also found that some bacteria seemed to be able to orient themselves along the Earth's magnetic field lines (Blakemore, 1975).

Over the past forty years scientists have made various discoveries including directional growth in response to electrical fields (Rajnicek, 1994) and the lethal effects of pulsed fields on Gram-positive bacteria, Gram-negative bacteria and yeast cells (Hulsheger, 1982). In so far as the latter is concerned, further study has pointed towards an irreversible formation of pores in the cell membrane as the mechanism for lysing (Schoenbach, 2000). Hence, pulsed electric fields are applied as a method of microbial growth inhibition in biofouling prevention, debacterialization of liquids, and in medicine.

PEF research was done with *E. coli* and it was observed that, when subjected to 60 pulses at 41kV/cm, there were changes in the cytoplasm and the cell surface appeared rough. The *E. coli* cells' outer membranes were partially destroyed which allowed leaking of cell cytoplasm. Another study by Mittel et al. included *Listeria innocua, Leuconostoc mesenteroides* and *Sacchromyces cerevisiae* as well as *E. coli* and confirms the aforementioned findings (Aronsson, 2001).

Although little has been done with regard to oscillating frequencies, Grospietsch conducted a study on the effect of modulated and unmodulated 150 Hz electromagnetic fields on the growth of *E. coli.* He observed that modulation frequency was not responsible for the growth effects (Grospietsch, 1994). Jacobs et al. examined *Bacillus coli* and *Staphylococcus auerus* enclosed in glass containers and subjected to high frequency electric fields of various intensities (Jacobs, 1950). They found no evidence of any mortality due to exposure.

The present research endeavor differs from past studies in that it investigated the use of electric fields modulated over a wide range of frequencies (10-160 Hz) as opposed to a specific subset. It was also unique in that it then conducted additional trials focusing on the region of greatest interest.

Escherichia coli

Escherichia coli are a large and diverse group of gram negative rod-shaped bacteria commonly found in the intestines of warm-blooded animals. Most strains of *E. coli* are harmless, but there are some that cause UTI's, respiratory illness, pneumonia, diarrhea, etc. (CDC). Probably the most known pathogenic strain of this bacterium is the enterohemorrhagic virotype (EHEC): *E. coli* O157:H7, producing the shiga toxin.

Anyone can get infected with this strain, but the elderly and very young children are more susceptible to developing severe illness and hemolytic uremic syndrome (CDC, 2008). The other virotypes of *E. coli* are enterotoxigenic (ETEC), enteropathogenic (EPEC), and enteroinvasive (EIEC). The ETEC occurs mostly among travelers, who consume food contaminated with the microorganism. The infection causes a disease known as Traveler's diarrhea which involves watery diarrhea, abdominal cramps, nausea and malaise. The EPEC most often affects infants, especially those that are bottle fed and ingest contaminated formula. The infection causes infantile diarrhea with symptoms of either a watery or bloody diarrhea. EIEC strains are responsible for causing bacillary dysentery-like symptoms, usually acquired through the ingestion of any foods contaminated with feces of an ill individual. The symptoms include a mild form of dysentery with blood and mucus in the stool. The microorganism is very invasive but the disease is self-limiting and usually results in no complications. (CDC)

Oscillating Electrical Fields

Electrical charges exert forces on one another. The effect that a particular configuration has on a region of space is known as a field and often represented pictorially by imaginary field lines (see figure 1). The direction of these lines and their spacing indicate the force that a charged particle at a given location would experience. The field can also act to polarize or separate charges within a neutral object sometimes prompting further response.

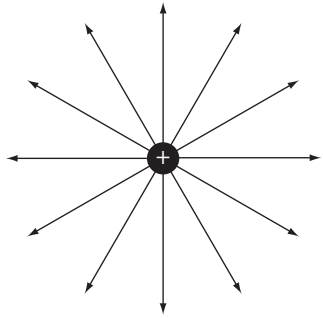


Figure 1: The electric field associated with a positive point charge

Unfortunately, fields being vector quantities often needlessly complicate the solution of practical everyday problems. That is why a scalar representation called electric potential or voltage is commonly used. The difference in voltage between two points indicates the

field strength while the path of maximal change provides the direction. If two regions at different potentials are connected by a conducting material (e.g. the terminal of a battery joined by a wire) a current or flow of charge results. Even in the absence of a closed circuit potential differences give rise to electric fields resulting in forces that act to produce or tend to produce motion.

One means of creating a spatially uniform field is to connect two large, closely spaced parallel plates to a power source. The source charges the plates and creates a specific electrical potential. The field strength is directly proportional to the applied voltage and inversely proportional to the spacing. For example if a 12V battery is used and the plates are placed 10cm apart the resulting field (see figure 2) will have a strength of 120V/m (which is equal to 120N/C) at all locations (neglecting end and edge effects).

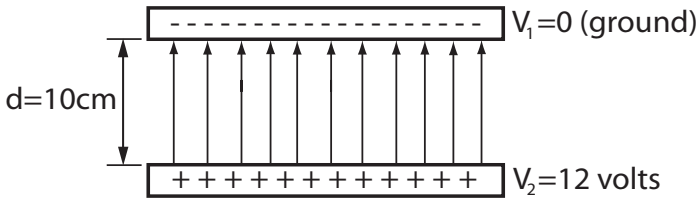


Figure 2: Two closely spaced parallel plates

Electrical power is often supplied such that the polarity of the field reverses over a specific time interval. The number of complete cycles per second is known as the frequency and measured in Hertz, Hz. Such changes can vary smoothly as sinusoidal (generation and transmission in the United States utilizes sinusoidal modulation at 60Hz) or suddenly with square waves or pulses.

The advantage of A/C electricity is that the voltage can be efficiently adjusted using a device known as a transformer and transported over large distances with a minimal current flow and therefore acceptable resistive losses.

In this experiment, oscillating electrical fields were applied to *Escherichia coli* to observe if there is any effect on the bacterial growth.

II. Objectives

The research study was performed to answer the following question: Can *E. coli* be influenced by oscillating electrical fields and if so how do they respond? Do the reactions occur in a broad or narrow set of parameters? The project was constructed in order to increase the level of understanding dealing with the interaction between

electrical fields and bacteria. Antibiotic resistance is a growing public health issue and scientists are trying to create new methods of defense against pathogenic microorganisms. If the research project is successful, results can be modified and perfected and used as a new source of microbial inhibition.

The research was performed parallel to that of Joseph Scala, who studied the effects of oscillating electrical fields on *Staphylococcus aureus.*

III. Materials and Methods

Bacteria Used

ATCC 35218

Phylum: Proteobacteria**.** Class: Gamma Proteobacteria. Order: Enterobacteriales. Family: Enterobacteriaceae. Genus: Escherichia. Species: *coli*

E. coli is a gram negative rod-shaped bacterium. It is a facultative anaerobe and non-sporulating. It uses mixed-acid fermentation in anaerobic conditions, producing lactate, ethanol, succinate, acetate and carbon dioxide. It undergoes optimal growth at 37°C.

Creation of a Modulated Electric Field

The set up used to create the oscillating electric field is shown below in figure 3. It consisted of two large (8cmx8cmx0.4cm), closely spaced (4.5 cm apart) aluminum parallel plates in an open 37°C incubator (Figure 4). The necessary potential difference required to power the apparatus was delivered by alligator clip cords from the source, a Goldstar FG-2002C frequency generator (Figure 5).

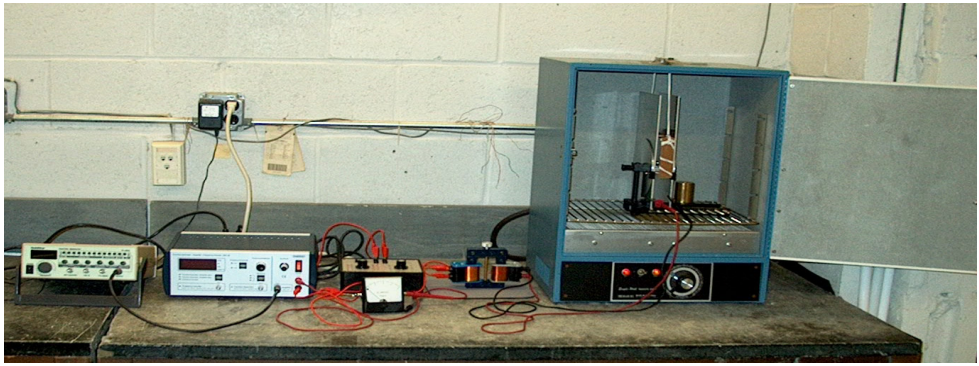


Figure 3. Overview of the apparatus

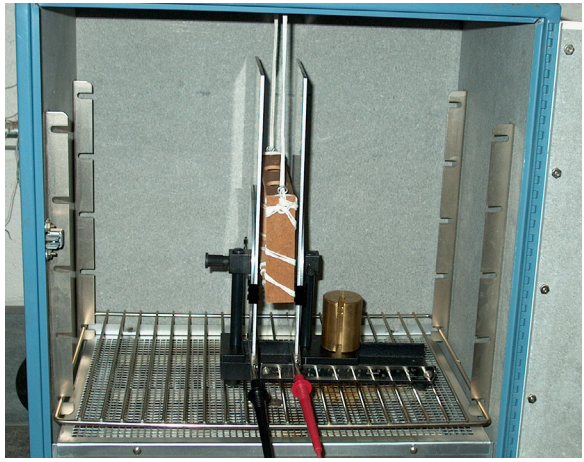


Figure 4: The parallel plate assembly housing
the test tubes in a uniform electric field

Figure 5: The function generator which produced the time-varying electric field.

At low frequencies (10-20,000Hz) both a transformer (Figure 6) and an amplifier (Figure 7) were employed to augment the voltage . A resistor was inserted between the two to protect the amplifier (Figure 8). At higher frequencies 20,000-160,000 Hz, only an amplifier was necessary. A digital voltmeter was used to check the field strength at the beginning of each trial, maintaining it at 2-3 kV/m for each case (figure 9).

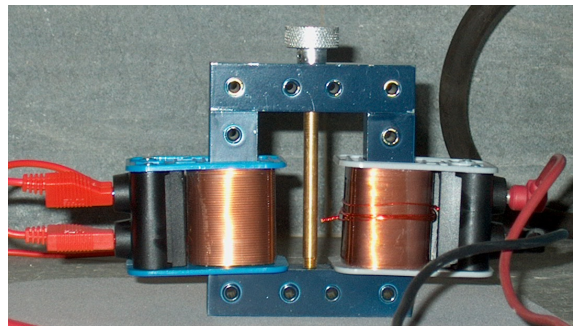


Figure 6: The transformer stepping-up the voltage at low frequencies

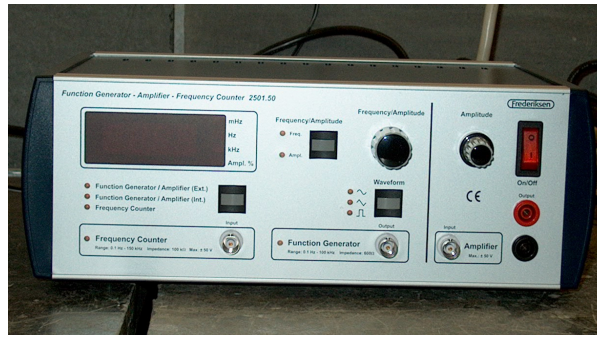


Figure 7: The amplifier used to boost the signal

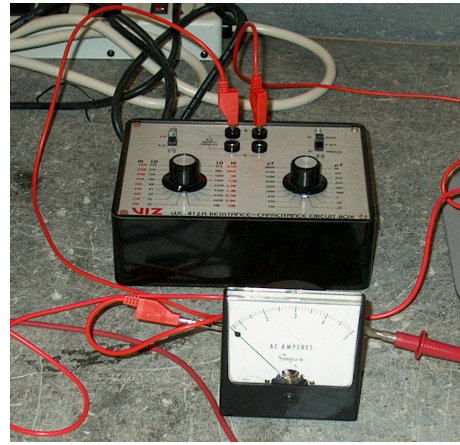


Figure 8: Resistor inserted to protect the amplifier

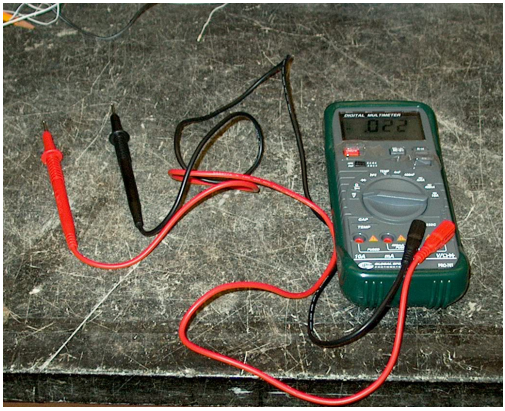


Figure 9: A digital voltmeter to measure the potential difference between the plates

The testing performed without modulation utilized a high voltage D/C power supply to produce an intense electric field of 67kV/m (Figure 10). The parallel plate assembly and incubator previously described were again used.

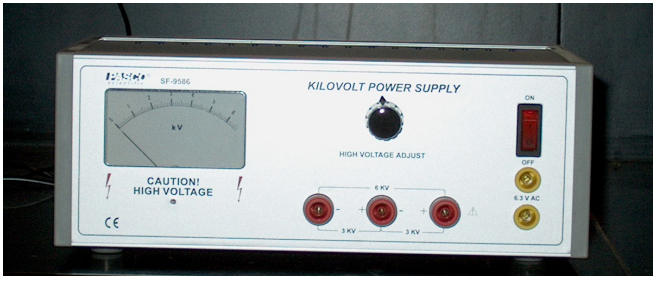


Figure 10: High voltage power supply used in the steady field trials

Preparation of Culture Media

E. coli was grown in tubes of BHI broth. BHI broth was prepared using Becton, Dickinson and Company media powder. 37 grams of the powder were suspended in 1 liter of distilled water and mixed thoroughly. The solution was heated with frequent agitation and boiled for 1 minute to completely dissolve the powder. The solution was then autoclaved at 121°C for 15 minutes. Once taken out of the autoclave, the solution was separated into sterile test tubes, with 6 ml of broth in each.

For each frequency, a control was kept in a closed 37°C incubator and the

experimental was put into the apparatus, in an open 37°C incubator. Each run lasted for a duration of 48 hours. After 48 hours, both the control and the experimental were plated on HE agar to make sure no contamination occurred and to see how the bacteria were affected. The Hektoen Enteric Agar was made using the Carolina Biological Supply Company media powder. 75 grams of medium were mixed with a liter of distilled water until it was evenly dispersed. The mixture was heated with repeated stirring and boiled for 1 minute to completely dissolve the powder. It was not autoclaved. The pour plates were prepared after the medium cooled to 45-50.0°C. A gram stain was performed and a microscopic examination was completed using an Olympus CX41RF microscope. Slide pictures were taken using a Moticam 2000, 2.0 MPixel camera and viewed using Motic Images Plus 2.0 program**.**

Experimental Strategy

The experiment was performed using both steady and time varying (sinusoidal) electric fields (10Hz to 160 kHz). At first a broad range of frequencies was investigated. This initial data was processed and used to determine areas of particular interest and narrow in on them. To this end the 3,000 Hz range, the 20-80 kHz range and the steady field were then further scrutinized. Viable count dilutions were performed to get the amount of colony-forming units (CFU) per milliliter. Dilutions were made in 9 mL BHI broth tubes with 1 mL of both the experimental and the control samples being added to two 10^{-1} labeled tubes and then diluting the tubes up to 10^{-15} serial dilutions. They were then plated on HE agar to observe the amount of growth.

Electron Microscopy

Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) was done in order to view the surface of the bacteria. A Topcon Scanning Electron Microscope ABT-32 was used. The sample preparation procedure was carried out using eppendorf tubes. A pellet was created at the bottom of the tube via centrifugation with a Minispin F45-12-11 centrifuge at a speed of 13.4 rpm for a minute each time, using 1ml of *E. coli* sample. Centrifugation was performed two times, with the supernatant discarded after each time. The samples were fixed using 1.6 ml of gluteraldehyde with 8.4 ml of distilled water, for an hour. The samples were then washed with a pure 0.1M Phosphate Buffer solution twice, decanting and centrifuging in between steps. The buffer was prepared fresh by making a 0.2M stock of both monobasic and dibasic sodium phosphate. Using a pH meter, monobasic sodium phosphate was added to dibasic slowly to adjust the pH to approximately 7 to 7.3, then diluted to 0.1M for a working solution. The buffer solution was poured into a sterile

storage vessel for usage. A secondary fixation was performed using osmium tetroxide (750 ml of buffer with 250 ml of OsO4) for one hour. Another buffer wash was performed twice. The samples were then dehydrated by passing them through an ascending alcohol series: 30% EtOH for 10 min, 70% EtOH for 10 min, 95% EtOH for 10 min, 100% EtOH for 10 min, another 100% EtOH for 10 min, 100% propylene oxide for 10 min, another 100% propylene oxide for 20 min. The eppendorf tube was covered with parafilm with little holes made in it, and left in a hood to allow the propylene oxide to evaporate slowly. When the sample was ready, it was mounted on an aluminum sample chuck and a coat of gold was sputtered on. The coating was performed using the Hummer VI Sputtering system.

IV. Results

Results Over a Broad Range

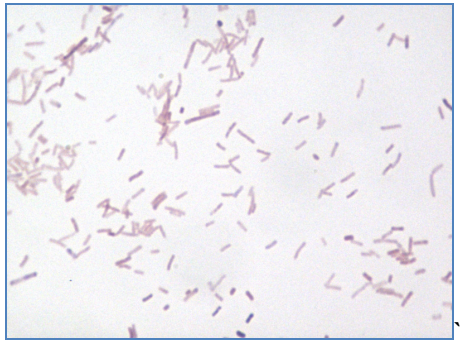
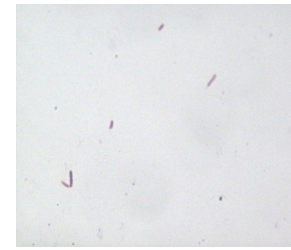
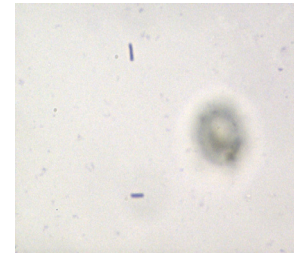
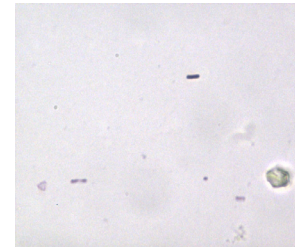
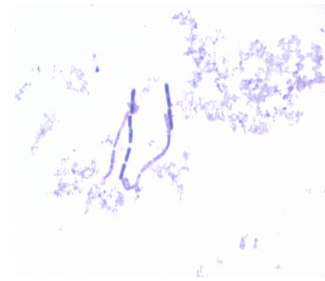
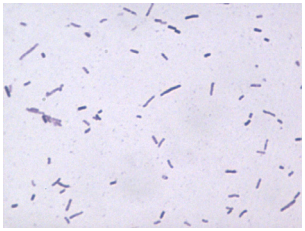
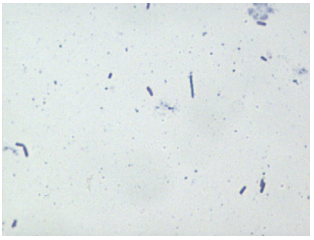
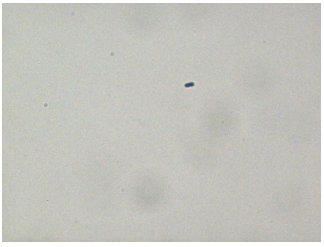
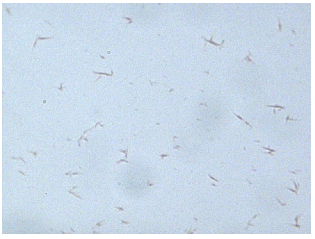


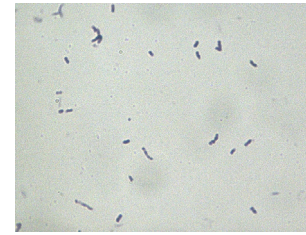
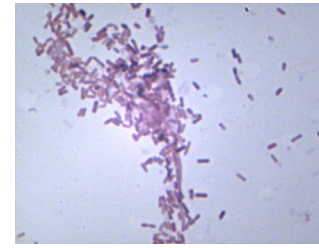
Figure 11: E. coli control

The image above (figure 11) depicts the experimental control and shows a cluster of red rods in high quantity. The table on the following pages represents the results obtained during the testing of the broad frequency ranges. As seen in the table, the 250 Hz sample showed gram negatively stained rods which were too numerous to count. The 500 Hz sample yielded TNTC bacteria as well, but the rods were stained more gram positively. The same was seen for the 1,000 Hz sample. The 2,500 Hz sample showed *E. coli* in chains and enlarged rods, but still TNTC and stained purple. The 5,000 Hz sample showed larger than usual rods of the bacterium, stained purple and TNTC. The 10,000 Hz showed a smaller quantity of the bacteria, with the rods staining more gram positive still. The 20-80 kHz range showed a scarcity of *E. coli* with paler staining of the rods. The 160 kHz sample showed TNTC bacteria, stained more gram positively.

Table 1. Summary of Oscillating Field Results

Frequency (Hz)	Description of what is seen	Image Under a Light Microscope
250	Gram negatively stained rods. Too numerous to count, but only a few seen in the slide.	
500	Gram positively stained rods, too numerous to count.	
1,000	Gram positive rods. Too numerous to count.	
2,500	Enlarged rods in chains, stained more gram positively. Too numerous to count.	

Frequency (Hz)	Description of what is seen	Image Under a Light Microscope
5,000	Longer than usual rods, stained more gram positive. Too numerous to count	
10,000	Fewer rods were seen. Stained more gram positive.	
20,000	The rods were scarce. Only one seen in the image.	
40,000	Smaller rods, stained gram negative and paler.	

Frequency (Hz)	Description of what is seen	Image Under a Light Microscope
80,000	Barely any bacteria showed up on the slide. Those that did stained paler.	
160,000	Gram positively stained rods. Too numerous to count.	

Focus around 3,000 Hz

Further research was performed around 3,000 Hz. Viable count dilutions were made for samples at 3,000 Hz. Both the experimental and the control plates showed TNTC growth, but the experimental plates were observed to have less growth than the control. Scanning Electron Microscopy was performed for this frequency as well. The image can be seen below in Figure 12. When examining the sample under the SEM, no conclusive results could be made. A smear needs to be made and viewed under the SEM, in order to reduce the clumping and try and get better results.

Steady Fields

Three trials were performed with a steady field having no spatial or temporal variations. All trials had the same conditions maintained. Once the gram staining was performed the results were recorded in the following table. As seen in the table 2, trials 1, 2 and 3 all showed smaller rods than usual. Trial 1 stained more gram positive, while the other two stained gram negative.

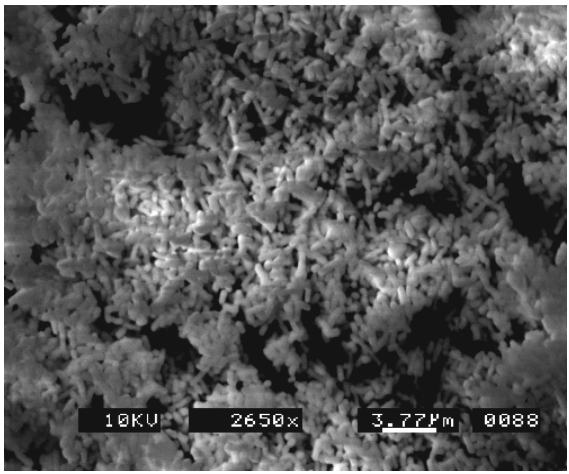
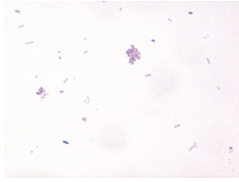
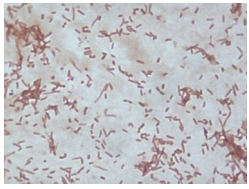
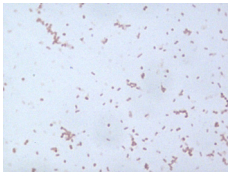


Figure 12: SEM picture of the *E. coli* experimental sample at 3 kHz

Table 2: Summary of Steady Field Results

Frequency (Hz)	**Description of what is seen**	**Image Under a Light Microscope**
D.C. (Trial 1)	Stained gram positive, smaller rods than usual.	
D.C. (Trial 2)	Stained gram negative, smaller rods but too numerous to count.	
D.C. (Trial 3)	Small gram negative rods.	

V. Discussion

The experiment was performed to study the effect of oscillating electric fields on the growth of *Escherichia coli*. The bacteria were grown in BHI broth, as it is a very enriched and non-selective media, and at 37°C, because that is the normal temperature of a human body. The oscillating electric field was generated between two closely spaced aluminum plates, also kept in a 37°C open incubator. Each experiment ran for 48 hours at varying frequencies.

In science it has been shown that all atoms above 0K move around to a certain extent. Temperature is a measure of their average kinetic energy. Each cell in an individual as well as each disease causing pathogen vibrates at a certain frequency. Even small amounts of energy delivered at this natural frequency will result in a large amplitude response. This is known in physics as resonance. For example, a child on a swing knows that to go higher he or she must pump their legs with a certain timing. If they do so with the natural frequency of the swing they will move faster and reach a greater height.

Theoretically if one could determine the natural frequency of a bacterium, energy in the form of an electrical field, magnetic field or electromagnetic radiation could be delivered directly to the pathogen without harming the host. Although this sounds straightforward in actuality it is much more complex. Resonant responses are extremely localized making it difficult to ascertain the natural frequency of the organism. Other variables such as the intensity of the field/beam, form of modulation (.i.e. pulse, square wave, sinusoidal) and the chemical composition of the medium/host further obscure the problem.

This experiment utilized both direct and alternating electrical fields. A steady field was used as an initial test to see how the apparatus is working. A 6000V input provided a constant field strength of 130 kV/m. This initial case was also conducted because previous experiments have confirmed that steady fields have had an effect on microorganisms. It was observed that small electric fields inhibited reproduction but not the growth of bacteria. Therefore, we used a higher electric field to try and affect the growth.

The modulated input was of a sinusoidal form and stepped-up at low frequencies by a transformer. Note that when the voltage is stepped up, the current decreases but the power stays the same. A field strength of approximately 3 kV/m was employed to match that used in previous pulsed field experiments. It was also chosen because it would not destroy eukaryotic cells.

Results over a Broad Range

Sinusoidally varying electric fields with frequencies that ranged from 100 Hz to 160,000KHz were employed in this study. After the samples were kept in the experimental apparatus for 48 hours, they were taken out. The control and the experimental were both gram stained and viewed under a light microscope, in order to see any possible changes that have occurred. The samples were also plated on HE agar to avoid contamination. On HE agar, *E. coli* forms orange colonies (Figure 13) because it is a lactose fermenter.

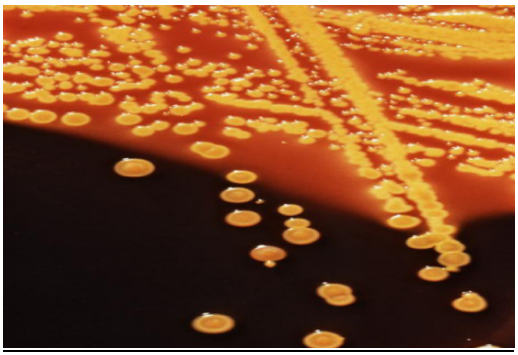


Figure 13: *E. coli* on HE agar (from http://moodle.wagner.edu/ mod/resource/view.php?inpopup=true&id=31125)

As seen in the results section, *E. coli* is a gram negative rod shaped bacterium. Some of the slides that were observed showed gram positive staining in the bacteria. This cannot be attributed the effects of the electrical fields because some of the control slides also stained gram positive. That means that there was some sort of error in the staining technique. This could include error with the timing, too much of the chemicals added or not enough alcohol added to decolorize the crystal violet.

E. coli are usually observed in clusters, as seen in the control slide. At 2,500 Hz, the bacteria formed long chains of enlarged rods. That is not a usual occurrence for these bacteria. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that maybe the electric field is affecting the genetic material of the cell which is involved in division. Further tests need to be done to analyze this. At 5,000 Hz, the *E. coli* appear to be longer, which would also be supported by the previously made theory. The 20-80 kHz samples showed a decrease in the quantity of bacteria present. Larger frequencies have shorter wavelengths. This may somehow be responsible for the observed results. Further studies need to be performed to understand why this occurred.

Focus on the 3,000 Hz Range

As seen in Table 1, at 2,500 Hz and 5,000 Hz unique results were obtained. Also, it was observed that at 3,000 Hz there was a decrease in the quantity of bacteria. This prompted further testing around 3 kHz. Viable count dilutions were done in order to make sure that only living cells were being taken into a count. The dilutions did not yield an actual cell count because there was too much growth on all of the plates. However, it was observed that the experimental samples had a lot less growth than the control. SEM was therefore performed on the 3 kHz samples. However, the results were inconclusive. The *E. coli* were clustered too much and no valuable information could be gathered from this procedure. A smear of the sample will be made and viewed under the SEM in the near future, with hopes that some valuable results will be obtained.

Steady Field

As stated before, an unvarying field was used as an initial test to see if the apparatus worked. The high power was used to ensure that some effects would be seen. This procedure would not be used in the field of medicine because it would also harm the eukaryotic cells. As indicated in table 2, the gram stains showed much smaller rods than normally observed. The strong electric field is affecting the growth of the *E. coli*. However, the mechanism behind this needs to be further studied.

VI: Conclusions

This experiment was done in order to observe if oscillating electric fields have any effect on the growth of *E. coli.* As described above, the 3,000 Hz range and 20-160 kHz did affect the bacteria. However, the experiment did not yield any supported evidence involving the mechanisms behind these phenomena. Further study needs to be made to understand what the reasons for the observed changes are. In the future, this method of microbial inhibition could be a very useful weapon in the fight against antibiotic resistant bacteria.

VII: Acknowledgements

The authors are most grateful to Christopher Corbo and Zulmarie Franco without whom the electron microscopy could not have been accomplished.

VIII. References

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Section III:
The Social Sciences

Communities in Disaster: A Model for Social Support Outcomes, Deterioration, and Social Role Resiliency

Gretchen Jacobs (Psychology)[1]

This study reviews literature on disaster, highlighting classic theories in disaster research (Fritz, 1969; Barton, 1977; Bolin, 1989) and other pertinent studies related to community changes after disaster events. Particularly of interest is the phenomenon of the therapeutic community that emerges in the wake of catastrophes. The therapeutic community is one that provides social support, engages in prosocial behavior and enables social role flexibility. Differences in disasters' effects on gender, age and ethnicity are considered. Evidence for social role flexibility in the context of the therapeutic community is cited, based on the results of other studies in the field. It is hypothesized that the necessity to return to daily activities (paid employment, education, etc.) that accompanies the recovery process aids in the deterioration of the therapeutic community. A model is constructed for social support and post-disaster community outcomes based on Bolin's (1989) predictions of post-disaster outcome based on types of disaster. Four cases of disaster are discussed and analyzed, including the Tsunami in Southeast Asia, the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers, Hurricane Katrina and the nuclear reactor disaster of Chernobyl. The case analyses aim to determine whether a therapeutic community emerged in the affected area, based on post-disaster reports of altruism and social change. Two cases exhibit signs of therapeutic communities, while the remaining two cases display signs of non-therapeutic communities. Observations about the deterioration of social support are made. An effort is made to understand why the therapeutic community emerged in some circumstances of disaster and not others. Methodological and ethical considerations for researching disaster are presented. Applications of research findings and suggestions for future research in the field of psychosocial effects of disaster are given.

I. Introduction

Theoretical Framework

Disasters have the power to affect not just individuals, but communities as a whole. On the individual level, the traumatic experience of disaster is often marked by

[1] Research performed under the direction of Dr. Amy Eshleman (Psychology). This thesis led to completion of the Honors Program requirements as well as departmental honors in psychology.

either agitation (increased activity level) or depression (decreased activity level) (Fritz & Marks, 1954). Depression, posttraumatic stress, and anxiety are common symptoms suffered by disaster victims (DeClercq, 1995). Other negative consequences that can be experienced by victims following devastating situations are difficulties in focusing and feeling happiness (Bonnano, 2008). Although negative reactions to disasters are more common, some individuals are resilient in the face of disasters, demonstrating quick adaptation to new circumstances brought about by losses and an ability to promptly return to normal functioning (Bonnano, 2008). Likewise, communities may collectively react to disasters either adversely or adaptively (Kaniasty & Norris, 2004; Cuthbertson & Nigg, 1987; Bolin, 1989; Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). Adaptive communities will become therapeutic, while others will become corrosive.

In the wake of shared traumatic experiences, such as natural disasters or terrorist attacks, communities have the power to enter into a stage called "post-disaster utopia" (Barton, 1970; Bolin, 1989). Disaster literature also refers to the post-disaster utopia as the therapeutic community (Fritz, 1954; Bolin, 1989) and the altruistic community (Barton, 1970). Quarantelli and Dynes (1977) describe increased community functioning in spite of adversity as amplified rebound. In the same vein, other theoretical papers discuss community resilience (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum, 2008) and social support mobilization (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). Staub and Vollhardt (2008) describe altruism born of suffering and posttraumatic growth, which are indicators of positive behaviors and emotion after stressful events. Posttraumatic growth is not dependent upon the severity of the experience itself, but on an individual's appraisal of the situation as bearing meaning. While the terminologies are vast, each points to one common phenomenon: a coming together, rather than a falling apart, of community members in response to devastation. To avoid confusion about terminologies, the phenomenon hereafter will be referred to as the therapeutic community. The term therapeutic community refers to the restorative state that develops in some communities after facing adverse circumstances.

The therapeutic community is marked by widespread altruism and helping behavior (Barton, 1970). Internal solidarity and unity are major qualities of the therapeutic community. Furthermore, dissipation of previous community tensions and temporary disappearance of racial, ethnic and social barriers are characteristic of a therapeutic community (Bolin, 1989). This state of disaster is far removed from the common idea that, by default, communities enter into panic and chaos when faced with disastrous circumstances. Many studies of community responses to disaster provide anecdotal and qualitative evidence to demonstrate that therapeutic communities are a

possible outcome after catastrophes (e.g. Ibanez, Khatchikian, Buck, Weisshaar, Abush-Kirsh, Lavizzo, Norris, 2003; Always, Belgrave, & Smith, 1998).

However, not all communities are resilient. Under certain circumstances, communities may respond inadequately to the challenges presented by disasters. Circumstances play an enormous role in determining what type of post-disaster community will emerge. Bolin (1989) proposes an organization of predicted community responses to disaster based on types of disasters and circumstances that generally accompany each type. Based on this premise, a model for outcomes of disasters has been designed (see Figure 1). To understand this model, some clarifications on classification of disasters should first be discussed.

Just what is a disaster? —It is a simple question, with a not-so-direct answer. Are natural disasters like tornadoes and droughts the only kinds of disaster? Or can man-made horrors such as holocausts, bombings and wars be considered disaster events too? To overcome this problem in codification, researchers have come up with broad definitions to describe disasters. Barton (1970) defines a disaster simply as "collective stress situations" that occurs when "members of a social system fail to receive expected conditions of life from the system." Quarantelli (1977) suggests that disasters are events that overwhelm human systems. Bolin (1989) describes disasters as events that disrupt social systems. He categorizes these events into three major categories: natural disasters, technological disasters and acts of war or terrorism.

Natural disasters are events occurring naturally in the environment that wreak destructive power, outside of human control. Hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, blizzards, and volcanic eruptions are prime examples. With such a vast array of natural disasters, a further organization of disasters can be achieved based on their duration, intensity and scope of impact. Most natural disasters have quick onset, although, droughts serve as an exception. Natural disasters are unique from the other types of disaster in that they can be viewed as "Acts of God," (Bolin, 1989). In other words, they happen in nature without human influence. Typically, an environmental cue will serve as a warning for the impending natural disaster (Bolin, 1989). For instance, measures of barometric pressure or the paths of warm fronts and cold fronts may be sufficient cues to warn of an oncoming disaster. Also, natural disasters have a potential for recurrence that poses a threat to community recovery. Natural disasters are distinct from other types of catastrophe because many have a distinct "low point" (Bolin, 1989). A low point is a point in the disaster experience where the community shifts its focus from the impending threat of the disaster to an assessment of the damage. The low point is important to resilience and recovery because it alerts community members that the worst is over and

triggers the onset of the transition to a recovery and reconstruction phase. While natural disasters are distinct from technological disasters, the lines may be blurred because natural disasters can strain human systems and generate technological disasters, such as the collapse of a dam after a hurricane.

Technological disasters are distinct from natural disasters because they can be attributed to human error or failure. Therefore, technological disasters differ from natural disasters in that they are controllable events. Like naturally occurring catastrophes, technological disasters have serious damaging consequences that can lead to loss of life, injury and property damage. However, some damaging effects of technological disasters are not so obvious, such as toxic waste leaks or radiation poisoning. Also, technological disasters often have no clear low point, especially if the consequences are not clearly identifiable. The absence of a low point can prevent the transition to a recovery phase. Furthermore, since there is an element of human error in causing this type of catastrophe, communities often enter into a stage of searching for a guilty party. Blame seeking such as this distracts from the recovery process. As a result, Bolin (1989) predicts that technological disasters will result in a breakdown of the community, rather than a strengthening. The breakdown of the post-disaster community has been referred to as the "nontherapeutic community" (Cuthbertson & Nigg, 1987), the "antagonistic community" (Kaniasty & Norris, 2004) and the "corrosive community" (Picou, Marshall, & Gill, 2004). A corrosive community does not just fail to improve following disasters, but actually worsens due to the stresses and strains on social systems. According to Cuthbertson and Nigg (1987), this emergent post-disaster community differs from the therapeutic community in that it engages in conflictive adaptation, instead of consensual adaptation. Common symptoms of the non-therapeutic community are emotional climates of frustration, resentment, anxiety and bitterness. Victims living in non-therapeutic communities often express feelings of helplessness and loss of control. Helping behaviors are frequently resisted and lines of communication are hindered (Cuthbertson & Nigg, 1987). The community as a whole engages in a corrosive process whereby social divides are deepened and recovery is delayed. As a result, there is a greater risk of mental illness associated with non-therapeutic communities than with therapeutic post-disaster communities (Kessler, Galea, Jones, & Parker, 2006; Kessler, Galea, Gruber, Sampson, Ursano, & Wessely, 2008). Social schisms can result between conflicting subgroups of a population due to the strain on social systems in a non-therapeutic community (Bolin, 1989).

Acts of warfare and terrorism are often grouped together with technological disasters, because they share the quality of controllability. However, acts of warfare and

terrorism have the unique qualification of intent. Acts of warfare consist of attacks and bombings planned by military forces. Examples of terrorism include suicide bombings, car bombings, hijacking of commercial vehicles and airplanes and other attempts of mass violence planned by terrorist organizations. Similar to other types of disaster, terrorism and warfare result in injuries, fatalities and destruction. Typically, there is no warning phase with warfare. Nevertheless, there is a potential for recurrence, which can produce fear and panic in communities that are faced with these attacks. There may or may not be a low point, depending on whether or not a threat of future attack exists. If the potential for recurrence is low, communities may transition from anticipating the impact to coping with the aftermath and enter into a recovery phase. Finding the culprit is a factor in the aftermath of warfare and terrorism, as it is a factor in communities facing technological disasters, but the responsible party may be easily apparent, depending on the circumstances. However, unlike technological disasters, the process of finding blame for victims of warfare and terrorist attacks can create an ingroup and actually be unifying for community members (Quarantelli & Dynes, 1977; Peek, 2003).

Factors contributing to development of therapeutic communities

As a coping strategy, victims often externalize losses and rely on social support systems. Social support systems are hierarchical with the family (e.g. spouses, parents) serving as the first means of support, followed by friends, the larger community and outside support (Norris & Kaniasty, 1996). Solomon, Bravo, Rubio-Stipec, and Canino (1993) suggest that the dependence on personal relationships rather than professional as an initial means of support may be due to the informal nature of these relationships. Informal networks are inexpensive, easily accessible, and more attentive in early stages of crisis. If received or perceived aid offered by the family system is inadequate, individuals will extend their reach outside of their primary network to outlying networks for support (Norris & Kaniasty, 1996; Bolin, 1989). Increased exposure to individuals outside of central support systems (family and friends) will create environmental conditions where acceptance of unfamiliar others is necessary to obtain support. Following natural disasters, victims have a tendency to become actively engaged in the process of helping others (Bolin, 1989; Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). This process of engagement is also known as social embeddedness (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). As a result, community members gain a sense of collective determination to reach a common goal. Community members that share concerns and values feel a "sense of community," which is important in effective social support networks (Norris, et. al., 2007). Social support also serves as a way for victims to determine group norms (Norris, et. al., 2007).

Social Support Outcome and Emergent Community Model

Given this information about the three types of disasters, predictions may be made about the social support outcomes that will emerge after disaster. Figure 1 is a model designed for predicting disaster outcomes, based on Bolin's descriptions of disaster outcomes. The three types of disaster (natural, technological, and acts of warfare) share the capacity to effectively create a disruption in daily activities. Natural disaster events, due to their uncontrollable nature, will be perceived as "Acts of God" and should not result in blame seeking. Communities will call upon their social support systems as a means for coping with losses. People will help and be helped by a wider range of people because primary social systems will be overwhelmed and other means of support will be necessary. This helps to produce social role flexibility along with other factors such as sharing common traumatic experiences, a sense of community and empathic understanding of others. These communities will reach a pivotal point where efforts are redirected towards recovery and rehabilitation. The ultimate result of the recovery phase is a return to normal activities, such as employment and education. Evidence indicates that social role changes that form in the therapeutic community are not permanent (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001; Alway, Belgrave, & Smith, 1998). Therefore, it is hypothesized that the return of community members to daily activities will result in the deterioration of the social support systems and social role flexibility that were present in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. Social roles will ultimately return to pre-disaster norms. However, it should be noted that natural disasters also have the ability to prompt technological failures and secondary disasters, which can change the social support outcome path to that of the technological path. Technological disasters and acts of warfare are consequences of human action and will be followed by a period of blame seeking. For victims of technological disasters, this will result in the exacerbation of social divides, creating a corrosive community. In the end, this will delay the recovery process. However, the identification of a culprit behind an act of warfare or terrorism could also potentially serve to unite the community against a common threat. Community solidarity formed against the guilty party may change the social support outcome path from social divide to social support.

Faults of Therapeutic Communities

Kaniasty and Norris (2001) discuss the impact of received and perceived support on survivor resilience to disaster. How is it that one subgroup of a disaster-stricken population can receive more support than another subgroup and still be less resilient? Kaniasty and Norris say that it is perceived support that mediates resilience, rather than

received support (Norris & Kaniasty, 1996). In other words, while actual receipt of support is undeniably vital, it is the perception that support is available that is indispensable to the process to recovery.

While therapeutic communities are certainly beneficial to the majority, they are not all-inclusive. Many times particular groups are excluded from the strengthened community (Peel, 2003; Kaniasty & Norris, 2006). In acts of warfare and terrorism, typically, an ingroup is created that carries the benefits of the therapeutic community (Peel, 2003). However, the creation of the ingroup inherently means that there will also be an outgroup. As a result, some community members will not be accepted and not share the benefits of the therapeutic community.

Also, it is not the case that social changes that occur in post-disaster circumstances will eventually lead to an evolved community (Alway, Belgrave & Smith, 1998; Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). Changes in social roles may seem vast, but ultimately they are short-lived. Alway, et. al. suggest that family systems and employment are two factors that facilitate the resilience of communities to pre-disaster conditions.

Due to the rule of relative needs, the amount of support given to all members of a community is not equal (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). The rule of relative needs describes the difference in social support based on varying needs. The inconsistency of social support provided may cause feelings of resentment and pit community members against each other.

Beyond that, some individuals have a relative advantage in receiving aid, while others face a pattern of neglect (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001). An individual with a relative advantage has a larger support network, and as such, receives more support. On the opposite end of the social support spectrum, extensive research has concluded that people of lower socioeconomic status (SES), the elderly, and minorities may be vulnerable to a pattern of neglect in social support mobilization (Kaniasty & Norris, 2001; Bolin & Klenow, 1982; Adams, O'Brien, & Nelson, 2006).

Social Role Flexibility as a Symptom of the Therapeutic Community

The emergence of an altruistic community is often accompanied by changes in social roles. In the effort to rebuild, communities must rely upon any help that is available because social resources that are normally accessible are overwhelmed. Since the therapeutic community is characterized by helping behavior, solidarity, and the smoothing over of tensions (Bolin, 1989), its emergence lays the groundwork for a reconfiguration of social roles. The shared experience of loss and distress aids in overcoming previously held social divides. Furthermore, disasters suspend normal

activities of day-to-day living, such as working and traveling. Daily activities that normally serve to bolster social roles are effectively disrupted (Alway, Belgrave, & Smith, 1998). These factors leave communities in a state that is vulnerable to social change. By interrupting and suspending normal routines and activities, disasters have the power to disturb existing social organization. When arrested, daily activities that reinforce social roles leave social organization in a more adaptable state. Also, the extreme stress created by the devastation may allow people to act outside of their typical social role expectations (Alway, Belgrave, & Smith, 1989).

Disaster and Gender Roles

In general, women are more likely to be negatively affected after disasters. This is demonstrated by their increased chance of developing posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Women may be at as much as double the risk for showing symptoms of PTSD after catastrophic events (Green, Lindy, Grace, Gleser, Leonard, Korol, et al., 1990; North, Nixon, Shariat, Mallonee, McMillen, Spitznagel, & Smith, 1999). However, the extent to which gender plays a role on the experience of disaster is dependent upon culture (Norris, Perilla, Ibanez, & Murphy, 2001; Always, Belgrave, & Smith, 1998). When gendered responses to disaster of men and women from Mexico, a culture with traditional gender expectations, were compared to responses of men and women from the United States, a culture with relatively fewer gender expectations, the results showed that Mexican women experienced greater distress than Mexican men and their American comparison groups. Furthermore, Mexican and American reactions to disaster were dissimilar and created different effects of gender on post-disaster outcomes. This supports the notion that culture influences the role of gender on disaster reaction. As another example, a study on tsunami survivors in India found that women who were widowed felt a distinct pressure to remarry as a means of income and survival (Becker, 2007). In Indian society, expectations of gender are extensive and unyielding, even under adverse circumstances, meaning that women will be expected to rely on men for income, rather than becoming independent providers for themselves. In this example, it is evident that Indian culture can influence the gendered experience of disaster.

Moreover, gender roles may become flexible in the impact phase of disaster. A study conducted by Alway, Belgrave, and Smith (1998) studied gender role modifications in the wake of Hurricane Andrew that hit Miami in 1992. Forty-five participants (25 women and 20 men) were interviewed after the storm about their responses and behavior during the storm. The study reported that during the most urgent phases of crisis, gender roles were compromised to adjust to stressful circumstances. Before the storm, women

described engaging in female-typical storm preparation activities, such as grocery shopping and childcare, while men took on more physical tasks, such as boarding up windows and yard work. Women took on the role of nurturers, while men took on the role of providers. Once the storm touched down in Miami, normal gender role expectations became less rigid. Men and women alike exhibited fear through verbal expressions of concern and crying. During the height of the storm, gender roles were diminished because the individuals were more concerned with survival than fulfilling expectations of gender. However, despite these changes, overall gender roles were resilient following the storm. After the impact of Hurricane Andrew, clean-up efforts were initiated. These efforts proved to largely subscribe to the community's gender expectations that existed prior to the storm. Men were put in charge of strenuous outdoor work. Women reported cleaning inside the home as their contribution to the clean-up efforts. Also, men reported exercising their role as the patriarch of the family by dictating decisions about whether the family would move or stay. "Even when our everyday worlds are disrupted and role behavior suspended, however momentarily, institutional arrangements will pull us back into normal behaviors," conclude Alway, et. al. (1998). The family system and the economy (e.g. paid employment) have been identified as the two most active agents in resilient gender roles (Alway, et. al., 1998). Returning to normal activities necessitates relying on a social structure for guidance. Communities will default to previously held gender role expectations as a means to return to normal functioning.

Disaster and Age

Despite what commonplace stereotypes might suggest, there is little evidence to suggest that the elderly are at more of a risk in the aftermath of disaster than middle-aged adults. Bolin & Klenow (1982) found that there was not a significant difference between the elderly and non-elderly for adequacy of received aid. Other studies corroborate these findings, concluding that elderly were less adversely affected by catastrophes than younger adults (Phifer, 1990; Ruskin & Talbott, 1996). However, research on the experience of disaster of the elderly acknowledges the unique challenges faced by this group, such as unemployment and limited mobility (Phifer, 1990; Bolin & Klenow, 1982). They also may have greater financial difficulties because they tend to be retired and have poor insurance coverage (Phifer, 1990).

Moreover, some research actually indicates that middle-aged adults fare the poorest in response to disaster, rather than the common sense judgment that the elderly would be most adversely affected (Norris & Murrell, 1987; Thompson, Norris &

Hanacek, 1993). Explanations for this difference suggest that with age comes experience and maturity that make the elderly better equipped to handle the stresses of disaster (Norris & Murrell, 1987). Meanwhile, others suggest that more responsibility is associated with the middle-aged years of the human lifespan, including providing an income, childrearing and managing family systems, which can become burdensome when trying to cope with the consequences of disaster (Thompson, Norris & Hanacek, 1993). Many members of the middle-aged group have the stress of caring for both their children and their aged parents. Therefore, stresses on the elderly and the youth are reflected on the middle-aged group. For example, suspension of education, which seems like a consequence of disaster that would primarily affect youth, also has the power to affect parents because they must deal with the additional stresses of finding daycare services for their children (Becker, 2007). Despite the stresses that can be created by parenting in the aftermath of disaster, the loss of children can have even greater adverse effects on parents. Guilt, anger, anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress are common emotions experienced by parents who have lost children in disasters (Becker, 2007).

Children are especially vulnerable to disaster. Rosati (2006) assessed the key issues faced by children in disaster situations. His assessment identified relocation, education, and employment as some of the most pressing issues affecting youth in disaster-stricken areas. Disasters have an unmatched ability to produce orphans. Orphans may then be displaced, removing children from the way of life to which they have become accustomed. This may produce anxiety and stress. Also, suspended education is a major concern for children, because disasters can destroy school buildings and take the lives of teachers, which puts a hold on children's studies. Without a complete education, youth find it hard to secure employment in a competitive job market.

Disaster and Ethnicity

Research on the role of ethnicity and disaster shows that minority groups are at a greater risk of experiencing a pattern of neglect in the post-disaster community, receiving less support than members of the major ethnic group (Norris & Elrod, 2006). Ethnicity is also related to other risk factors in disasters, including socioeconomic status, severity of exposure, and sense of control. A study of the role of ethnicity on victims of Hurricane Andrew showed that African-Americans and Spanish-preferring Latinos experienced more adverse consequences of disaster than White Americans (Perilla, Norris, & Lavizzo, 2002). Differences in ethnic experience of disaster were partially accounted for by a differential of exposure and vulnerability. Differential of exposure describes the trend for minority groups to be more greatly impacted by the destruction and devastation caused

by the disaster. In other words, minorities experience a higher severity of exposure. A higher severity of exposure attributed to higher rates of PTSD following the disaster. Differential of vulnerability refers to familial and acculturative susceptibilities to experiencing stress after disaster. Congruently, a comparison of black and white elderly victims of disaster showed a difference in recovery rates between races. Thirty-seven percent of black elderly victims recovered fully, compared with 53% of white elderly victims.

II. Analyses

To determine if the social support outcome model accurately represents real life disaster outcomes, four disaster situations will be analyzed. Figure 2 shows a two-factorial design used to select disasters for analysis: international vs. local disasters and natural vs. man-made disasters. The four catastrophic events selected were the Southeast Asian Tsunami of 2004, the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers on September 11th, 2001, Hurricane Katrina, and the nuclear reactor meltdown in Chernobyl.

Case Study 1: Tsunami hits Southeast Asia

On December 26, 2004, an earthquake in the Indian Ocean with an epicenter just off the coast of Indonesia registered a 9.0 on the Richter scale (Hawkins & Rao, 2008). This earthquake triggered a tsunami, the likes of which the world had not encountered since 1964. The tidal wave left a path of indiscriminate destruction in its wake. The tsunami affected coastlines of several Asian countries including India, Indonesia and Thailand. In Thailand alone, six provinces were devastated by this unforeseen natural disaster (Thailand Country Report, 2006). The waves left more than 8,000 people declared dead or missing and about 1,500 children lost one or more parents. Schools, resorts, homes, and businesses were irreparably damaged. The country's livelihoods of fishing, agriculture and tourism suffered sizeable losses.

In this case, no warning was present for the natural disaster. This gave the Thai people no time to evacuate or prepare for the impact of the tsunami. Bolin (1989) acknowledges that while many natural disasters are marked by an early phase of warning, earthquakes and related disasters (i.e. tsunamis) are exceptions. Current prediction methods for earthquakes are only accurate in calculating the chances of earthquakes occurring in a certain period of years. Therefore, a threat or risk of the tsunami was unknown prior to the event.

The social support and post-disaster community outcome model would predict the emergence of a therapeutic community in the wake of the tsunami. As a natural disaster,

it would be seen as an Act of God. Following the disaster, altruism and social role changes would be expected as signs of social support.

Several pieces of evidence coincide with this prediction. A study conducted in Thailand after the tsunami identified anger and alienation in the affected Thai youth (Rosati, 2006). The study cites that a social worker for the Indonesian Red Crescent made an observation that, "Young people are angry, but they are not angry about the tsunami. They see that as an act of God and of nature. They are angry about the lack of systems to help them get a good education and get jobs." This supports the notion that the natural disaster would be viewed as an act of God and hints that a low point has been reached, because the focus of youth concern is not on assessing losses, but rather expressing a need to move forward with recovery by obtaining education and employment. Another study that supports the model's prediction is a recovery and rehabilitation program review conducted by World Vision (2007). World Vision is a relief organization that implemented a disaster intervention program that lasted two to three years after the impact of the tsunami. It provided community-based disaster management programs to promote child well being, livelihood recovery, health, water and sanitation, and shelter and resource management. The community-based disaster intervention programs utilized the manpower and skills of the affected community members to rebuild and recover. This method of intervention increases social support among community members and promotes altruistic behavior. Subsequently, comprehensive results of several quantitative surveys of 1,565 randomly selected households, 40 focus groups, 465 community members, and staff provided evidence for social role flexibility. The results showed that women were working outside the home for the first time and sometimes working multiple jobs. Also, women occupied leadership roles in many livelihood groups. Consequently, women expressed greater confidence in speaking and taking action. Furthermore, three out of five Thai provinces that participated in the program reported more positive relationships between men and women since the tsunami. Renewed appreciations for one another and a higher value of life after surviving the tsunami were common explanations for the positive gender role changes. While children faced extreme adversities because of the tsunami, the World Vision study concluded that parental attitudes toward children had shown a significant improvement from the baseline. Also, staff observations included perceptions that child well being had improved. Overall, staff reported community unity and cooperation, as well as, the return of community vitality and self-sufficiency. These findings point to social support mobilization in the face of disaster.

The model would also predict that the social changes brought about by the post-disaster community would ultimately be resilient, returning to baseline levels. In other

words, positive relationships between women and men and parental attitudes towards children would be expected to return to pre-disaster levels. Without collecting new survey results, it is hard to say whether this is the current trend or not. However, some newspaper articles report not just a return to pre-disaster conditions for women, but a worsening. They suggest that within just six months of the tsunami's impact, women faced increased violence and rape in displacement camps (Deen, 2005; Tsunami after 100 days, 2005).

Based on the World Vision report findings, it appears that a therapeutic community emerged in the wake of the tsunami, as the model predicts. However, later newspaper reports suggest that either the therapeutic community had deteriorated within a period of six months, which would coincide with the model's predictions, or that perhaps a therapeutic community had never truly emerged, contradicting the World Vision findings.

To determine a clear outcome for this case, it would have been preferable to obtain data from an objective source, rather than media stories or agency evaluations. As a result, efforts to determine social role resilience following the return to daily routine are inconclusive.

Case Study 2: 9/11: Terrorist Attack on the Twin Towers

The terrorist attacks that hit New York City on September 11, 2001 sent Americans into a state of shock and disbelief. Two hijacked commercial airliners careened into buildings of the World Trade Center in downtown Manhattan. A short while later, another airliner would hit the Pentagon and another would fall short of its probable target, the White House, and crash instead into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. For the purposes of this analysis, the focus will just remain on the attack of the Twin Towers in New York City and the consequential community outcome. Many lives were lost that day and for days to come, as firefighters and police officers searched through the debris for signs of life. According to the 9/11 Commission Report (2004), about 2,150 people who were working in the World Trade Center on September 11th were killed, not including fatalities of fireman or police, passengers on the aircrafts, civilian volunteers and World Trade Center security personnel. In terms of physical damage, the severity of the disaster was extreme. Two major skyscrapers had collapsed onto the streets of Manhattan, killing thousands in the office buildings and on the streets below. The scope of impact was restricted; immediate damage remained in Manhattan. However, the consequences of the attack were felt nationwide since about 20% of Americans reported knowing someone hurt or injured in the attack (The 9/11

Commission Report, 2004). The cost of the cleanup was estimated at about $600 million (September 11th by numbers, 2002).

In this situation, there had been no known threat to the American public of an impending terrorist attack. The lack of a warning cue prevented the initiation of evacuation procedures until after the impact of the first airliner into one of the Twin Towers. The rushed efforts to evacuate the skyscraper and surrounding buildings created a panic on the streets of New York.

In this case, the social support and post-disaster community model would predict that the disaster would be perceived as a man-made event. While there was an uncertainty about who had launched the attack, the urgency of the situation at hand delayed the blame-seeking process. After a brief period of time, the major perpetrator became clear: the terrorist organization, al-Qaeda. However, placing blame on al-Qaeda did not create a social schism. The community became unified against the terrorists and came together to help in relief efforts.

Because of the circumstances of this terrorist attack, the social support and post-disaster community outcome model would predict that the community would engage in blame seeking, but would be united because of it. There was a potential for recurrence, since it was not clear whether or not the al-Qaeda would strike again. However, quick mobilization of military forces with the goal of uprooting the al-Qaeda organization in the Middle East put some of the worries about future attacks to rest.

There are various signs that a therapeutic community emerged after the impact of this terrorist attack (Kaniasty, 2006). Altruistic behavior displayed after the disaster includes volunteerism of New Yorkers and monetary and resource donations to victims and their families. For example, the Peace Corps, a civil service program, saw a 40% increase in applications after the attack on the Twin Towers (September 11th by numbers, 2002). Also, an estimated $1.4 billion was donated to charities after the attack, with about $500 million designated for families of deceased NYPD and FDNY agents (September 11th by numbers, 2002).

In this example, New Yorkers felt a distinct low point and joined together to aid in recovery and rehabilitation efforts. Optimism about recovery processes may explain why signs of psychological distress after terrorist attacks are time-limited and not usually indicative of long-term psychopathology (Pfefferbaum, Pfefferbaum, Christiansen, Schorr, Vincent, Nixon & North, 2006; Kaniasty, 2006).

However, some studies of the therapeutic communities reveal that the emergent therapeutic community was not all-inclusive. Milam, Ritt-Olson, Tan, Unger, and Nezami (2005) conducted a study on post-traumatic growth (PTG), positive emotional

and behavioral outcomes of disaster in multi-ethnic groups in post-9/11 samples of adolescents. Measures of PTG included appreciation of life, prioritizing of life, increased spirituality, stronger relationships and self-reliance. While one-third of adolescents reported post-traumatic growth, results showed greater PTG levels in white and Hispanic groups than in Iranian adolescents. This reflects the exclusion of Middle Easterners from the post-traumatic ingroup created in the wake of the terrorist attacks. This is likely due to the fact that the terrorists who orchestrated the attack were from the Middle East. Peek (2003) found similar results. Interviews with New York City students following the terrorist attacks revealed exclusion of Muslims from the therapeutic community. Some Muslim students reported feeling directly blamed for the events, while others felt unable to participate in helping behaviors or even discussions of the event. Many felt they were not allowed by others to properly grieve. Anti-Muslim hate crimes and acts of discriminations rose significantly after the events of 9/11. This prevented Muslims from benefiting from social support systems in the wake of this traumatic experience. These studies of the Muslim and Middle Eastern experience of 9/11 demonstrate a major fault of therapeutic communities: the exclusion that results from the formation of an ingroup.

The model also predicts the deterioration of the therapeutic community. While the community had initially exhibited solidarity against the aggressors, plans to deploy troops in Afghanistan caused some political and social divide across America. Immediately after the September 11th attacks, polls showed that President Bush's approval rating had reached an all-time high of 90%. By 2004, this rating had dropped to 53%. Likewise, the approval rating for Bush's handling of the subsequent war on terror decreased steadily over his presidential terms and dissatisfaction of Americans with the way things were going had reached 62% in 2004. This dissatisfaction with President Bush, the war on terror and the overall state of affairs indicate the breakdown of the solidarity that had initially emerged in the post-disaster community.

Case Study 3: Hurricane Katrina

In September 2005, Louisiana was struck with a hurricane that would devastate New Orleans physically, financially and socially. Hurricane Katrina would come to be one of the most expensive disasters in American history (Weems, Watts, Marsee, Taylor, Costa, Cannon, Carrion, Pina, 2007). After the impact of the hurricane, there was mass flooding in several neighborhoods and widespread destruction of houses. To make things worse, disorganized disaster evacuation efforts led to a total lapse of social control in New Orleans. Chaos escalated to near riot levels. Violence, rape and looting were rampant in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (Page & Puente, 2005).

In this case, a warning of the impending disaster was available. Weather stations were able to see the developing storm as it formed and neared the coast. People were urged to evacuate, although a clear evacuation plan was not in place. Many people stayed behind to protect their homes and belongings. In fact, the fact that a warning of disaster impact was present made it much more contemptible when measures were not taken by federal agencies, such as FEMA, to adequately prepare the city for impact.

The ineptitude of the government response made the recovery process slow and difficult, exacerbating the effects of the hurricane. Hurricane Katrina effectively revealed how unprepared the American people were to handle a disaster of this magnitude.

The social support outcome model initially predicts that a therapeutic community would emerge following this natural disaster. However, this is an interesting case, because evidence suggests otherwise. Reports suggest that due to the circumstances of the event, there was a period of blame seeking, where residents of New Orleans wanted an explanation from government agencies and officials for their role in the apparent failure to adequately prepare the city for impact and organize effective post-impact interventions. One possible reason why a therapeutic community did not form following this natural disaster is that the levees that had been built to protect New Orleans from rising water levels failed in the face of the hurricane (Handwerk, 2005). Much of the flooding was attributed to the failed levees. This enabled residents to assign blame for at least some of the losses they incurred. As a result, this disaster event would follow an alternative route on the social support outcome model because the natural disaster revealed a technological failure.

As expected for the outcome of a technological failure, several studies indicate a social divide that formed after the impact. Racial tensions peaked in the aftermath of Katrina (Dach-Gruschow, 2006; Hong, 2006; Adams, O'Brien, & Nelson, 2006). Perceptions of the disaster event differed for Blacks and Whites. A poll conducted by USA Today found that 60% of Black Americans and just 12% of European Americans believed that racism was behind the government's slow response to Katrina (Page & Puente, 2005). The poll found differences in assignment of blame between races as well. Thirty-seven percent of Blacks felt that President Bush deserved the majority of the blame, while only 15% of Whites agreed. On the other hand, 27% of Whites felt that New Orleans residents deserved most of the culpability. This contrasts with 11% of Blacks that felt the same way.

Although there were racial tensions and blame-seeking behavior after the storm, volunteerism and helping behavior were still present. The news media covered many stories of heroism and altruism following the devastation of the hurricane. One story

interviews volunteers as having said, “We’re healing ourselves by helping others,” (Rioux, 2007). Rodríguez, Trainor and Quarantelli (2006) identify many ways in which people of New Orleans engaged in prosocial behavior. For example, some hotel chains were used as temporary residence for displaced victims. Local community members formed search parties to look for victims in working-class neighborhoods. Numerous church and volunteer groups donated time, manpower, money, and support to the recovery efforts. Ultimately, the authors argue that deviant behaviors highlighted in news stories were not as rampant as portrayed by the media and that illegal acts of “looting” became a norm in this stressful situation indicating that this behavior should not be considered anti-social.

However, while there is evidence of prosocial behavior in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, it is worth asking how such behavior could benefit a displaced community. Much of the prosocial exhibited in New Orleans after the devastation of the hurricane was actually the efforts of outsiders to the community. Volunteers from Habitat for Humanity were sent into New Orleans, while community members affected by the disaster were forced out. For this reason, the social support of the community could not be bolstered as the members of the community were physically separated from one another and often times refused reentry.

Despite this argument, literature and news reports overwhelmingly indicate that a therapeutic community did not emerge (Adams, O’Brien, & Nelson, 2006; Dach-Gruschow & Hong, 2006). Rather, the surfacing of racial tensions indicates a social schism, which is symptomatic of a corrosive community.

Case Study 4: Chernobyl Nuclear Reactor Disaster

In April 1986, a nuclear reactor exploded at the Nuclear Power Complex in Chernobyl, Ukraine. A massive fire resulted, which took 10 days to extinguish. In the mean time, large amounts of radioactive chemicals were emitted from the power plant into the atmosphere. The radioactivity was carried far and wide, from Kiev to Belarus. Radioactivity in this area is more than ten times higher than unaffected areas and will remain that way for an estimated 300 years to come (Abbott, Wallace, & Beck, 2007). This technological disaster had no warning present before the impact. It was a technological malfunction, which could not have been predicted. As a result, the Ukrainian people in the surrounding areas had no chance to evacuate and escape the harmful radioactive fallout. They were left to suffer the consequences of this man-made disaster.

Based on the circumstances of this disaster, the social support outcome model

would predict that the event would be perceived as a man-made disaster and would initiate a blame-seeking phase that slows recovery. The emergent post-disaster community would be expected to be corrosive resulting in a deepening of social divides. Studies on the Chernobyl community after the incident report widespread feelings of uncertainty (Abbott, Wallace, & Beck, 2006). The uncertainty stems from the unknown consequences of this unprecedented disaster. It is unclear what the effects of exposure to such high levels of radioactivity will be on the affected population. There has been an increase in reports of poor health, although signs of sickness have not been attributable to radiation exposure. Rather, studies suggest community members perceive themselves as ill and expect a future decline in health, which may be related to the anxiety caused by the uncertainty about the consequences of this disaster (Abbott, Wallace, & Beck, 2006; Havenaar,, De Wilde, Van den Bout, Drottz-Sjoberg, Van den Brinke, 2003). This community has undergone a process of "victimization," whereby community members feel helpless under adverse circumstances and lack trust for each other and for authorities. The emotional atmosphere of Chernobyl is marked by instability, distrust, and fear. This is indicative of a non-therapeutic atmosphere.

In this case, the technological disaster path of the social support and post-disaster community outcome model accurately describes the corrosive experience of the Chernobyl community.

III. Discussion

Case Study Analyses

The model was effective in predicting social support outcomes of four cases of disaster events. One of the natural disaster events, the Southeast Asian tsunami, showed signs of an emergent therapeutic community based on findings of a World Vision evaluation of intervention programs. While the model initially predicts that the post-disaster community of Hurricane Katrina would also be therapeutic, racial divides and deviant antagonistic behavior following the storm contradict this prediction. However, still in sync with the model, a closer look at the circumstances surrounding Hurricane Katrina reveal a technological failure of the levees built to protect the city. Consequently, the post-disaster community in New Orleans more closely followed the technological disaster path for social support outcomes by engaging in blame seeking and revealing racial divides. The nuclear reactor incident of Chernobyl, one of the technological disasters that was examined in this paper, exhibited signs of a corrosive community, engaging in antagonistic behavior. The model predicted this outcome because the explosion and subsequent radioactive pollution was perceived as a man-made disaster

with no low point and a potential threat of recurrence. Finally, while the terrorist attacks of September 11th had the power to result in a corrosive community, altruistic behavior and an outpouring of social support for victims and their families denote signs of a therapeutic community instead. The model initially predicts that after engaging in blame seeking, the community would experience social schisms. However, the blame seeking that resulted in this catastrophe was unifying for Americans and consequently, a therapeutic community emerged. This is an alternative prediction of the model.

The model also predicts a deterioration of social support after the return to daily activities. Results are inconclusive as to whether the therapeutic communities that appear to have emerged after the tsunami and after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 deteriorated. Newspaper articles about tensions, disagreements and abuses in the post-disaster communities suggest deteriorations of social support, but provide little explanation for a cause. Furthermore, it is difficult to make any conclusions without objective measures of social support.

While the analyses superficially support the efficacy of the prediction model, the results are extremely limited. Analyses were conducted using conclusions of disaster studies and print media stories of post-disaster behavior. Quantitative or original qualitative data would have better demonstrated the model's efficacy.

Methodological Considerations

Researching survivors has a lot to offer the field of psychology in understanding how disasters can influence social processes (Knack, Chen, Williams, & Jensen-Campbell, 2006). Researchers can look at the effects of disaster on individuals or entire communities (Norris, & Elrod, 2006). The results of disaster research may highlight more effective coping strategies. In addition, this area of research is even more valuable for its practical applications. Studying the impact of catastrophes on communities is a valuable area of research, precisely because findings may lead to changes in public policy and disaster management strategies.

This study used observational rather than experimental methods. Case study analyses attempted to identify real world support for the social support and post-disaster community outcome model. However, this study was not quantitative and did not collect original data. Like many studies in the field of disaster research, qualitative analyses were the most practical method for beginning to understand the therapeutic community phenomenon. It would have been preferable to collect data and test correlational predications, but that task was not practical for this study. The nature of disaster events makes them particularly challenging to study using correlational or true experimental methods.

While it is clear how valuable the results of disaster research are, there are some inherent problems with collecting data in the wake of such an occurrence. For instance, most disasters are unexpected and unpredictable. The location and span of destruction is something that can only be estimated. This creates problems in research. To truly study the immediate effects of disaster, the study should begin directly following the impact. However, approval by an Institutional Review Board (IRB) and planning of a methodological design delays this process. For this reason, researchers interested in studying disaster should preplan their methods, taking into careful consideration a practical way to collect information from a displaced and emotionally fragile population. Also, researchers may want to contact an IRB as soon as possible to expedite the approval process (Knack, et. al., 2006).

There are many practical problems when it comes to recruiting participants. Researchers must find a way to recruit subjects for their studies when most survivors have prioritized accounting for their losses and are in need of basic survival resources (Knack, et. al., 2006). Dislocation of large percentages of a population creates a problem for methodology and analysis. It makes it extremely difficult to recruit subjects using telephones, e-mail, or standard mail. A study conducted by Kessler, Galea, Gruber, Sampson, Ursano and Wessely provides a good example of some of the sampling challenges. The researchers attempted to obtain subjects for a study of psychological health and suicidality in the wake of Hurricane Katrina by phone surveys (2008). They reported an oversampling of residents. This was in part due to the forwarding of phone calls of displaced residents from their original address to their new addresses. Furthermore, the researchers had obtained contact numbers from the American Red Cross, which had included cell phone numbers. Clearly, keeping track of who has already been sampled can be difficult. Some methodological problems can be bypassed by advertising for opportunities to participate in research or recruiting survivors in shelters (Knack, et. al., 2008). Yet, maintaining a representative sample is still problematic when shelters are constantly losing and gaining people. It is also difficult to maintain contacts with participants when they leave the shelters because shelters often set up privacy limitations and refuse to share contact information (Knack, et. al., 2006). In the study cited earlier of Hurricane Katrina victims, Kessler, et. al. (2008) report that some of the phone numbers provided by the American Red Cross were for hotel rooms where displaced families were living temporarily. While some of these participants left a forwarding address, others did not, making it complicated to track down participants. Another issue facing researchers is contention with caregivers at medical centers and shelters who see the research as unnecessary and potentially emotionally disturbing to

survivors (Knack, et. al., 2006). This means that researchers must carefully consider the benefits that research will have not only on the field of psychology but for the participants themselves and convey this to the participants and caregivers alike. Simply citing that the results of the study will add to the knowledge of psychology or disaster response will not suffice in convincing people that it is worth their while. Another issue that should be addressed when it comes to problems in methodology is barriers in both language and education (Knack, et. al., 2006). If studying an international disaster, an accurate translation of instruments and instructions is necessary to obtain valid results. Also, due to the wide variety of socioeconomic statuses and education of disaster survivors, instruments may need to be adjusted to ensure an understanding by all participants. If the instruments being used are in computerized format, researchers must be sure that participants are familiar with using a computer and give ample instructions on using the computer (Knack, et. al., 2006).

Beyond the logistical and practical problems of conducting research in areas affected by disaster, there are many ethical issues to consider as well. First, researchers must think about what payment survivors will receive in return for their participation. Is it ethical to offer resources as a form of payment in the wake of disaster? Perhaps not, given that people may participate in desperation for necessary resources. Using resources as payment could be seen as coercive since people may feel pressured to participate as a means to survive (Knack, et. al., 2006). Secondly, researchers must be sure that the benefits of the research outweigh the risks of participation faced by the subjects. Psychological research of disaster survivors may necessitate that the participants rehash painful memories and experience. Measures should be taken to determine the immediate and long-term effects of such introspection on recent distressing events (Knack, et. al., 2006). Lastly, researchers must take into account that the psychological state of the participants may compromise their judgment and decision-making abilities. Researchers should be relatively sure that participants are not agreeing to participate only as a reaction to extreme stress (Knack, et. al., 2006).

There are also complications that arise in understanding the collected data. Subjects whose participation has been solicited from shelters may have bonded with others or developed a reliance on fellow community members and caregivers. The strengthening of these social ties may influence the resulting analysis of data (Knack, et. al. 2006). Researchers must also realize that their results are somewhat limited in that disaster cannot be replicated. Similar situations may arise that can be studied in an analogous fashion, but many factors prevent disaster research from being replicated. For instance, a new disaster may differ from the originally studied disaster in geographical

location, culture, amount of destruction and loss, role of government, and many other variables. Similarly, generalizing results obtained from one disaster to others becomes challenging (Knack, et. al., 2006). After all, how much can results of one study be generalized to the results to other disasters of varying magnitudes of impact and consequence, population sizes, and proximity of the area affected? Also, analysis of data can be difficult because there is often no pre-disaster data studying the psychological condition of residents in that particular area due to the unpredictable nature of disaster (Norris, & Elrod, 2006). This leaves studies without a baseline to which data may be compared. As a result, investigators may attempt to collect baseline data retrospectively. Researchers must tread lightly when it comes to planning, recruiting, and analyzing data when studying effects of disaster.

Potential Impact of Research

Psychosocial research in the field of disasters has numerous applications. Research is necessary to help afford a more efficient support system after disasters. The efficacy of social work interventions should be bolstered by empirical support. Research in disastrous events may shed light on strategies for recovery that do and do not work for different ethnicities, genders, and age groups. Previous studies have come to the conclusion that the goal of disaster interventions should not be just to restore communities to their previous state, but to transform them into more resilient groups that value equality, justice and cohesion (Hawkins & Rao, 2008).

Future Directions of Research

Future research should focus on examining social changes that result from emergent therapeutic communities. Many studies hint at social role flexibility during disaster but fail to thoroughly examine the changes. Studying this in the field may present problems because social changes may not seem like top priority events when survival is at stake. However, studying how social changes are formed in the face of traumatic events would benefit the psychological understanding of disaster reactions.

A trend of cross-cultural comparison is budding in disaster research. A further look at how different cultures react to disaster may reveal cultural vulnerabilities to traumatic stress. Differences in social roles between cultures provide vast possibilities for research. A continuation of multi-ethnic studies on disaster responses will provide a broad base of knowledge for disasters' effects on social roles.

The results of research on traumatic events have the potential to influence public policy and intervention programs. First, future research should aim to propose ways of

equally distributing support to disaster victims. This will prevent therapeutic communities that exclude some community members through patterns of neglect. Secondly, disaster research should focus on identifying ways to prevent the deterioration of social support following disasters, as loss of social support is not a desirable outcome. Finally, future research should aim to find ways to counteract the maladaptive tendencies of corrosive communities, so that dwelling on losses can be avoided and a quick transition to recovery and rehabilitation may be made.

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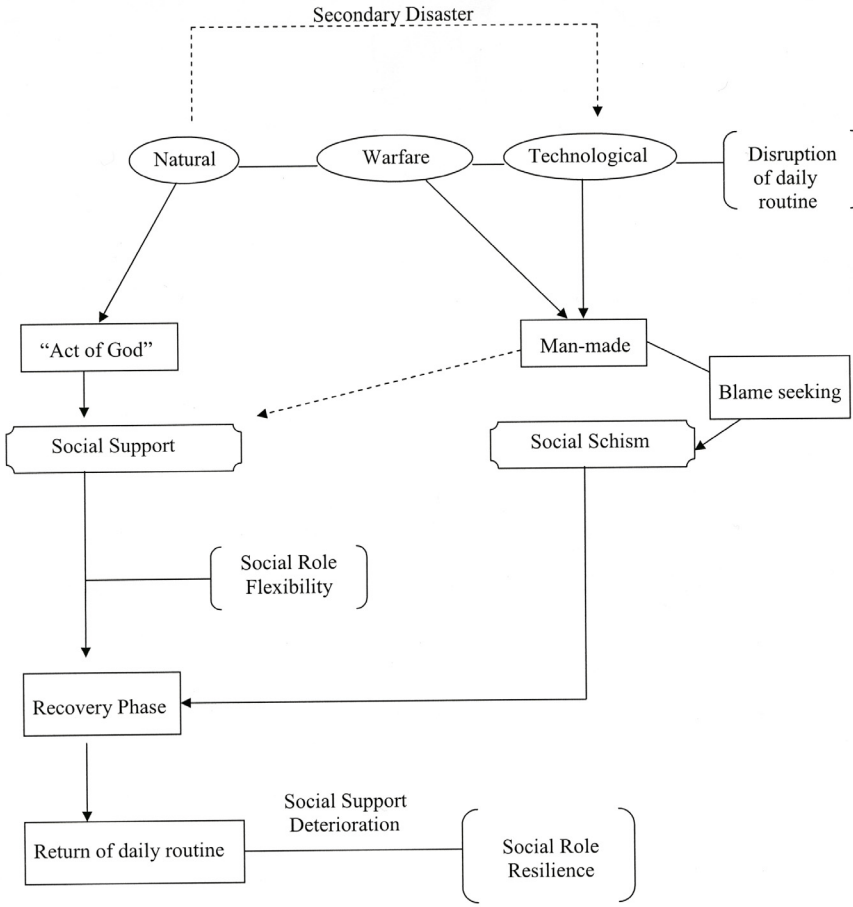

Figure 1. Social support and post-disaster community outcomes based on type of disaster.

	International	American
Natural	Tsunami, Thailand 2006	Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans, Louisiana 2005
Man-Made	Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident, Ukraine 1986	Terrorist Attack on the World Trade Center, New York City, NY 2001

Figure 2. Two-factor design for disaster analysis.

The Effectiveness of Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in the Treatment of Generalized Anxiety Disorder

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Generalized Anxiety Disorder (GAD) has been listed as a specific anxiety disorder in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM) since its third edition when it was differentiated from Panic Disorder. GAD is defined by disproportionate, chronic and uncontrollable pathological worrying about everyday activities or events. It is only diagnosed as a disorder when it causes enough distress to interfere in the individual's daily life. Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT), a treatment method developed by Aaron Beck is one of the leading treatment methods for GAD. It is considered successful because it treats both the cognitive and behavioral symptoms of disorders. In the treatment of GAD the cognitive components address the irrational and automatic negative thoughts that underlie the persistent and overwhelming sense of worry.

The purpose of this paper is to review the use of CBT in the treatment of GAD. I will present the history of the treatment of GAD and explore the effectiveness by comparing various studies spanning over the past twenty years. Throughout this paper, I will compare and contrast number established techniques of CBT as it was applied in my field placement.

I. Literature Review

Cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) is currently one of the leading treatment methods for GAD, but it was not always this way (Covin, et al., 2008). Prior to CBT; pharmacotherapy, anxiety management and behavioral therapy were all leading treatment methods for GAD (Barlow, et al., 1984; Lindsay, Gamsu, McLaughlin, Hood & Espie, 1987; Durham & Turvey, 1987; Butler, Fennell, Robson & Gelder, 1991). All of these methods have been tested and shown to develop improvements in anxiety patients however; CBT has continuously demonstrated the greatest improvements in patients (Barlow, et al., 1984; Durham & Turvey, 1987; Power, Jerrom, Simpson, Mitchell & Swanson, 1989; Chambless & Gillis, 1993; Covin, et al., 2008).

[1] Research performed under the direction of Dr. Miles Groth (Psychology) in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

In its third edition the DSM separated anxiety into generalized anxiety disorder (GAD) and Panic Disorder (Barlow, et al., 1984; Covin, et al., 2008). To verify if this partition was warranted Barlow, et al. (1984) conducted a study to identify the differences between the disorders and determine what treatment method was effective for each. They conducted a study with twenty patients who suffered from GAD or Panic Disorder. Subjects were randomly assigned to a treatment group, or the wait-list group, which served as the control. The treatment methods included relaxation training, EMG biofeedback, and CBT. In each group half of the participants had GAD while the other suffered from Panic Disorder. Measures for the study included the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory, Beck Depression Inventory, and Psychosomatic Symptom Checklist (Barlow, et al., 1984). These measures along with therapist feedback, and participant's self-reported daily log of symptoms were used to compare the improvements of the control group with the treatment group as well as the differences of individuals suffering from Panic Disorder and GAD. Based on the results yielded from the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory-trait scale, Psychosomatic Symptom Checklist and clinicians ratings, participants who received treatment improved significantly more than those in the wait-list control group ($p<.01$). In the treatment groups, participants' daily record showed a 29% decrease in anxiety symptoms. Compared to the participants in the control group, whose daily records showed anxiety increased 4%. Three and six month follow-ups were conducted. The results indicated the participants in the treatment group maintained improvements (Barlow, et al., 1984).

This study was designed to determine if there are differences between GAD and Panic Disorder however, the overall results illustrate little variation rates of improvement (Barlow et al., 1984). Both showed significant improvements but the researchers did not set up the experiment in a manner that allowed them to specifically determine which aspects of treatment were more effective for each disorder. In their discussion they postulated based on the definitions of the anxiety disorders, however they did not provide conclusive proof (Barlow, et al., 1984). If conducted correctly at the time, this study had the potential to be incredibly influential by supporting or opposing the DSM-III's decision to separate the two disorders. Today we are capable of identifying the differences between the two but at the time this could have impacted the direction of future research.

In order to create an effective treatment method for GAD, researchers first wanted to identify the crucial facets of therapy. To accomplish this Durham and Turvey (1987) conducted a study comparing Cognitive Therapy and Behavior Therapy. These treatments were compared to allow the authors to identify the influential aspects of each

therapy. They randomly assigned forty-one participants to one of two therapists who evaluated them then randomly assigned them to cognitive therapy or behavior therapy. In this study Cognitive Therapy was based on guidelines outlined by Beck, Emery, & Greenburg (1985) which concentrates on cognitive and behavioral treatment methods while Behavior Therapy's singular focus was behavioral techniques such as distraction, graded exposure and relaxation. Both conditions were given 16 hours of individual sessions with a therapist and were asked, at the start and end of treatment, to complete the Zung Anxiety Status Inventory, the Modified Somatic Perception Questionnaire, Beck Depression Inventory, Automatic Thoughts Questionnaire and Dysfunctional Attitude Scale (Durham & Turvey, 1987). Six months later the final follow-up was conducted. In addition to the scales, participants were required to keep a daily journal detailing the degree of anxiety they felt three times a day.

Results of this study demonstrated that both treatment groups showed improvements pre- to post-treatment, although the rates were not always statistically significant. Overall post-treatment results indicated 25% of the participants reported no change in anxiety from the entrance of treatment, while 21% felt that they had moderately improved and 54% reported they had significantly or completely improved, this percentage decreased to 45% at the six-month follow-up (Durham & Turvey, 1987). When comparing post-treatment results there was only one statistically significant difference between the groups. Cognitive Therapy participants showed a significant improvement on the scores of the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale, which rates dysfunctional thoughts (Durham & Turvey, 1987). These results could indicate the cognitive techniques taught in Cognitive Therapy are effective at restructuring cognitive distortions, such as dysfunctional attitudes. At the six-month follow-up there were a greater number of significant differences between the two. These differences implied the Cognitive Therapy group maintained higher rates of improvement. Overall the results comparing the two groups suggest that Cognitive Therapy and Behavioral Therapy are both effective at treating GAD short-term. However, Cognitive Therapy is more effective at maintaining long-term results. This led the authors to conclude improvements from Cognitive Therapy are easier to maintain due to the strategies and techniques taught in therapy (Durham & Turvey, 1987).

The findings of Durham and Turvey (1987) coincide with previous results which indicate continuity (Barlow et al, 1984). However, the present study did not include a control group. The inclusion of a control group in the study could have helped standardize the results thus allowing the authors to compare the groups more accurately. The results illustrated a relatively low improvement rate for both types of therapy, if

compared to a control group the data may have yielded more significant differences. Overall the study effectively demonstrated that Cognitive Therapy is more efficient than Behavior Therapy providing a framework for future research on the long-term results of Cognitive Therapy.

During this period in psychology's history pharmacotherapy was an extremely popular treatment method for anxiety due to the effectiveness found by Enna (1982) and Martin (1983) (as cited by Power, et al., 1989, p. 1). Pharmacotherapy, also known as drug therapy, is defined as the use of medication to treat disorders. It can be used as the solitary method of treatment or in combination with other forms of psychotherapy. In the treatment of anxiety one of the common drugs used was benzodiazepine. In the 1980's researchers began to recognize the negative side-effects of medication such as habituation, and dependence (Lindsay, et al., 1987; Powers, et al., 1989). Due to a growing concern of side effects of long-term use of medication alternative treatment methods were tested in efficiency for the treatment of GAD. Lindsay, et al. (1987) conducted a study comparing CBT, anxiety management, benzodiazepine, and a control group to establish which was more effective at treating GAD (1987). CBT was based on Beck's manual for depression treatment modified for anxiety taking the basic coping strategies for cognitive distortions and placing an emphasis on homework (Lindsay, et al., 1987). In this study Anxiety Management focused on the behavioral symptoms of anxiety, teaching individuals relaxation techniques such as muscle relaxation and meditation. In addition to the muscle relaxation technique participants were asked to keep a log detailing their feelings after the technique to reinforce mental awareness. The participants in the benzodiazepine group received their medication and were asked to keep a daily log of their symptoms. The final group was the wait-list group which served as the control.

Forty participants were evaluated and diagnosed by an impartial therapist then randomly assigned to one of the four treatment groups. It was known that prior to the study at some point all forty of the participants had taken benzodiazepine to relieve their anxiety. To help the researchers compare the progress of each treatment group participants were required to complete the Zung self-rating anxiety scale, the Modified Autonomic Perception Questionnaire and the Cognitive Anxiety Questionnaire as well as keeping a daily log of their feelings of anxiety and cognitions (Lindsay, et al., 1987). The results of the study implied that all participants except those in the control group improved somewhat. When compared to the control group the benzodiazepine group did not show significantly improvements. However, CBT and Anxiety Management treatment both showed statistically significant improvement ($p<.05$) from the control

group (Lindsay et al., 1987). When rates of improvement were looked at from pre- to post-treatment individually participants involved in CBT improved a statistical significant amount in all areas of study with $p<.01$ on the Zung scale, Modified Autonomic Perception Questionnaire, and Cognitive Anxiety Questionnaire. Anxiety Management also showed statistically significant improvement however, the results indicated $p<.05$ in the impacted areas, signifying a higher probability the results were chance than CBT. The study concluded that CBT and Anxiety Management are both effective treatment methods for GAD, but CBT is more effective (Lindsay et al., 1987).

This study was important to the history of CBT in the treatment of GAD because it was one of the earlier articles that illustrated the superiority of CBT over drug therapy. It provided a strong basis for future research on drug therapy and its inefficiency for long-term use and is continuously replicated, in the attempt to establish the most effective method of treatment for GAD. Recently there has been another rise in popularity of pharmacotherapy. This article helped establish the shift from dependence on pharmacotherapy to alternative forms such as CBT and if revisited could potentially help re-establish that shift.

In 1988 the study of anxiety had been progressing however, researchers of the time began to notice that the scales, inventories and questionnaires used to identify anxiety were strongly correlated with depression scales (Beck, Epstein, Brown & Steer, 1988). For some time researchers did not seem alarmed by this correlation, possibly due to depression being a common secondary disorder in anxiety patients, indicating a natural correlation between the two. It was not until researchers began to realize their results were possibly compromised by some of the tests lack of inter-rater reliability and validity that action was taken to rectify the situation. Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer (1988) spent six years creating the Beck Anxiety Inventory, a scale based on the Anxiety Checklist, which assess the severity of symptoms, the Physicians' Desk Reference Checklist, which contains a measure of physical and somatic symptoms, and the Situational Anxiety Checklist, which measures both the severity of symptoms and the cognitive symptoms of anxiety in general or in particular situations.

The goal of the Beck Anxiety Inventory was to discriminate Panic Disorder and GAD from major depression, and dysthymic disorder (Beck, et al., 1988). Over the course of the study one thousand and eighty-six participants completed the Beck Depression Inventory, Hopelessness Scale, and Cognition Checklist. Based on the results thirty-seven questions were narrowed down to twenty-one that demonstrated the ability to discriminate between the types of anxiety and depression. One hundred and sixty participants were given the final Beck Anxiety Inventory after one week of treatment

where they were evaluated by an intake therapist. The correlation between the intake results and the inventory results was r=.75 (Beck, et al., 1988). Overall this inventory was found to be an accurate and reliable measure of anxiety.

The creation of this inventory has been very beneficial to the progression of understanding and the testing of this anxiety disorders. Prior to the Beck Anxiety Inventory, the results of anxiety and depression screening were correlated very positively. Researchers were unsure as to the reason. Beck, et al. (1988) cites that often reliability and validity tests were not completed until the completion of the study which may have influenced the level of results. This inventory also helped shape the development of CBT and GAD because of the respectability and level commitment that Beck gives to his work; he spent six years ensuring that this scale was a valid and reliable measure of anxiety. The Beck Anxiety Inventory demonstrates the importance of reliable results for the treatment of GAD which indicates anxiety disorders and reliable treatment methods for them were gaining recognition in the field of psychology.

Pharmacotherapy continued to be a frequently used treatment method of GAD due to its potential quick improvement period, despite previous studies findings of ineffectiveness as a long-term solution (Lindsay, et al., 1987). CBT was still being tested and developed during the late 1980's due to its sporadic results. These inconsistencies were attributed to the poor methodology of studies and a lack of reliable scales (Barlow, et al., 1984; Durham & Turvey, 1987; Beck, et al., 1988). Power, Jerrom, Simpson, Mitchell, & Swanson (1989) conducted a study, influenced by the results found by Lindsay, et al. (1987) and designed to compare the effectiveness of CBT, diazepam, and a placebo pill in the treatment of GAD at a primary care facility.

The study included thirty-one participants that were randomly assigned to CBT, diazepam, or the placebo group (Powers, et al., 1989). The diazepam and placebo group were given either 5mg of diazepam or a placebo pill three times a day for six weeks, then regardless of group they were given a placebo pill for two weeks. CBT was based on Beck, Emery & Greenburg's (1985) manual for anxiety treatment; during the two week placebo period for the diazepam and control group the CBT participants did not receive treatment to maintain standardization. To compare groups all participants were evaluated by an independent general practitioner who rate the severity of their symptoms from one to seven (one being not severe at all and seven being extremely severe). Participants, at intake then again at the termination of treatment, were also required to complete the Kellner and Sheffield rating scale of distress and the Hamilton anxiety scale (Powers, et al., 1989). A twelve-month follow-up was completed and results were based on whether or not patients sought treatment after the study.

The results indicated that all groups improved over time based on the Kellner and Sheffield and Hamilton scales, however the CBT group had the most significant improvements on the Kellner and Sheffield scale when compared to the other treatment groups. The results of the Hamilton anxiety scale also indicated that all treatment groups made significant progress however only CBT significantly differed from the results of the placebo group ($p<.05$) (Powers, et al., 1989). The follow-up results of this study were based on whether the patients sought out further treatment after the study; three out of ten CBT patients sought treatment contrasted with the seven out of ten from the diazepam group.

This study was conducted due to the erratic results of prior studies and to compare pharmacotherapy and CBT in the hopes of yielding accurate results (Powers, et al., 1989). Despite the efforts put forth by researchers these results cannot be generalized for various reasons. One being the population of this study contained twenty-seven females and only four males. Although women are typically diagnosed with GAD the demographics are too skewed to be generalized to the population (Lindsay, et al., 1987; Chambless & Gillis, 1993). This study also wanted to focus on the long-term effect of the treatment groups however, their follow-up did not include any clinical assessments and were based solely on whether participants sought further treatment. This is a subjective way at determining long-term improvements as individuals could be seeking treatment for reasons unrelated to anxiety. Overall this study did not use reliable methodology for their follow-up however, its preliminary findings accurately support that CBT is a more effective method of treatment than pharmacotherapy over a short-term period which is something that has not been significantly proved prior to this.

Even though many studies have been conducted on the topic of CBT as an effective treatment method for GAD researchers are not satisfied with the results and feel that they are too unreliable to indicate with complete confidence that CBT is the most effective long-term method of treatment for GAD. Previous findings have been unable to identify the specific aspects of treatment which yield the most successful results for treating GAD. Butler, Fennell, Robson, & Gelder (1991) compared Behavioral Therapy, focusing solely on the behavioral components of treatment and CBT placing emphasis on both the cognitive and behavioral aspects of therapy in an attempt to determine which techniques are most effective. The cognitive techniques in this study focus on breaking the cycle of cognitive distortions, automatic negative thoughts, poor self-esteem and irrational thoughts.

The study contained fifty-seven participants who were randomly assigned to one of three groups: CBT, Behavioral Therapy or the control group (Butler, et al, 1991).

Patients had between 4 to 13 one hour individual sessions and were asked to complete the Hamilton Anxiety Scale, the Leeds Scale for anxiety, the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory-Trait scale, Beck Anxiety Inventory, and Beck Depression Inventory in order to gauge anxiety symptoms. To evaluate cognition they were given the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale, the Cognition Checklist, Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale and the Subjective Probabilities Questionnaire (Butler, et al., 1991). The results displayed that CBT and Behavioral Therapy both significantly differed from the control group. CBT significantly differed from the control group in all of the anxiety measures, two of the four depression measures and five of the six cognition measures. These findings indicate that CBT participants showed more dramatic improvements than Behavioral Therapy participants. Overall CBT participants were able to maintain improvement rates due to CBT's focus on correcting cognitive distortions (Butler, et al., 1991).

Overall this study yielded similar results to previous studies (Barlow, et al., 1984; Durham & Turvey, 1987). The consistency of these results may indicate that researchers need to pay greater attention to aspects such as demographics, tests used, and standardizing groups. For example in this study the ratio of the population of men to women was an 8:57 which could have skewed the results dramatically as well as the inconsistency of therapy sessions in the study (Butler, et al., 1991). In the method section Butler, et al. (1991) indicates that participants could attend between four to thirteen sessions, the variation of the number of sessions could also have greatly impacted the results of this study. The results of this continue to indicate that although there are relatively consistent results supporting CBT as an effective method of treatment for GAD the research being conducted is not always reliable which is causing the inconsistency of support.

In the early nineties Chambless and Gillis (1993) conducted a meta-analysis on CBT and reviewed seven studies that contained CBT being compared to a control group, either wait-list or placebo pill. Their results suggested that CBT was significantly more effective than the control groups. The meta-analysis also implied that CBT had successful long-term results, particularly in a study conducted by Borkovec & Costello (1992) which despite having a large population size provided evidence that individual who received CBT had a low relapse rate (as cited by Chambless & Gillis, 1993). The authors also concluded that overall CBT was more effective than other treatments such as non-directive therapy and Behavioral Therapy regardless of conflicting results that are often based on reliability and demographics (Chambless & Gillis, 1993).

CBT is often considered successful due to the positive long-term results researchers have found (CITE). In a study conducted by Durham, Chambers, MacDonald,

Power and Major (2003) the researchers wanted to obtain accurate long-term results of the effectiveness of CBT on GAD patients so they conducted a follow-up on participants from two different studies ranging from 8-14 years ago (at the time of study). Typically, follow-up results are obtained 6 to 12 months after the initial experiment; these researchers sought out true long-term results to determine the effectiveness of CBT. In order to obtain accurate results participants, once re-contacted, were evaluated by a single research psychologist who was blind to their initial experiment condition. The researcher assessed their progress based on interviews, patient-rated scales, as well as medical history. When viewing the differences between pre-treatment and long-term follow-up results in Study 1 and Study 2 both studies displayed overall significant improvements in patient-rated scales the CBT groups compared to the non-CBT groups (Durham et al., 2003). Although there was not a significant difference between the long-term follow-up results of recovery rates in Study 2, Study 1 showed a slight difference in the CBT group (40%) versus the non-CBT group (30%). One of the significant results found in Study 1 and Study 2 was CBT participants reported lower levels of symptom severity than non-CBT participants. This is significant because one of the aspects of CBT that makes it effective is the teaching methods used to treat symptom severity. Patients are taught how to re-adjust their perception of symptoms in order to decrease their anxiety (Beck, 1985). Despite the overall lack of statistically significant results favoring CBT the researchers found enough differences between the two treatment groups that they felt confident "both CBT and the complexity and severity of presenting problems appear to influence the log-term outcome of GAD" (Durham et al., 2003, p. 508).

Although the progression of the study of CBT and its effect on GAD has been studied for over twenty years today researchers are still dissatisfied with the results. Covin, Ouimet, Seeds and Dozois (2008) felt that research has been too generalized and there is a lack of focus on the specific aspects of CBT that are most effective. One of the major components of GAD is pathological worrying. Worrying becomes pathological when it begins to have a negative impact on the individual's life and level of functioning (Beck, Epstein, & Greenburg, 1985; Covin, et al., 2008). Covin, et al. (2008) felt in order to accurately evaluate if CBT was an effective method of treatment for GAD a meta-analysis should be conducted focusing on this aspect of pathology. The meta-analysis included studies that defined CBT by using both cognitive and behavioral aspects in treatment, only contained GAD patients, and the Penn State Worry Questionnaire, which measures pathological worrying. The results indicated that the mean effectiveness of CBT was much higher than the control. When the researchers separated age into young adults and older adult's the mean results of the Penn State Worry Questionnaire implied

that CBT is more effective for young adults (M=-1.69) compared to older adults (M=-0.82). This indicated that age could be a possible moderating variable in CBT's effectiveness in treating pathological worry. Follow-up results indicated that clients maintained improvements during treatment regardless of age group. Overall the Penn State Worry Questionnaire mean of GAD prior to treatment in studies was M=63.59 and post-treatment was M=48.95 (Covin, et al., 2008). The mean significantly decreased signifying an improvement in participants. This was maintained by both age groups at follow-up which supports the belief that CBT effectively treats pathological worry long-term.

Overall it was concluded that CBT is an effective method of treatment for pathological worry. The study indicates CBT is more effective in young adults, although older adults improved a statistically significant amount when compared to control groups (Covin, et al., 2008). Older adults may display less impressive results because they may have suffered from this disorder for a longer period of time and may find it more difficult to break habits established over time in a set amount of treatment sessions. This meta-analysis yielded accurate results and was conducted in a reliable manner as it addresses recent studies and also focuses on a certain aspect of GAD to ensure that CBT is effective in that area of pathology. This meta-analysis could be improved if it included more than ten studies. If it had a larger sample size results could be considered more reliable, however it is understandable based on the requirements for the study.

This final study indicates that although it took some time, the field of psychology began to grow and understand the aspects of study that needed to be focused and improved upon to generate accurate results to support CBT as an effective method of treatment for GAD. Throughout the early 1980's to the mid-1990's researchers did not seem to be concerned with the reliability of their work and appeared to be biased in favor CBT, assuming that it would be effective. Many studies conducted during this time period criticized studies prior to them for inaccurate results (Power, et al., 1989; Butler, et al., 1991). A common trend in the development of determining if CBT is an effective method of treatment for GAD is recognizing poor methodology. However, instead of altering the pattern researchers continue only to acknowledge the limitations of their work without changing. Several other methods of treatment have shown to be effective in the treatment of GAD. However; despite some inaccurate results overall CBT consistently demonstrates the most significant improvements in individuals who suffer from GAD.

II. Discussion

Based on the history provided, CBT is shown to be an effective method of treatment that maintains long-term improvements after treatment is terminated (Durham & Turvey, 1987; Lindsay, et al., 1987; Butler, et al., 1991; Chambless & Gillis, 1993; Covin, et al., 2008). Although there are other forms of treatment that have been shown as effective CBT generally maintains, the greatest rates of improvements. One of the possible reasons that CBT is so effective is that it addresses both the cognitive and behavioral aspects of GAD. Individuals who suffer from GAD can experience panic attacks and other physical symptoms. However, the underlying factor in all anxiety is pathological worrying (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985; Covin, et al., 2008). CBT utilizes basic techniques that help clients overcome their anxiety. Since CBT is based on an educational model clients are encouraged to complete homework assignments to reinforce independence and responsibility for emotions.

I completed my field placement at a non-profit counseling center, Freedom from Fear, which specializes in using CBT to treat anxiety and depressive disorders. My placement entailed writing articles for the monthly newsletter, working at the reception desk, sitting in on therapy with one of the therapists, blogging on the Freedom from Fear message board, and other assorted tasks as needed. At the beginning of the placement, we were encouraged to frequently sit in on therapy. Thus, I was able to experience firsthand a therapy session for the treatment of anxiety disorders. However, my initial excitement soon turned to dissatisfaction as time went on.

Freedom from Fear prides itself on practicing CBT. However, I was not able to see the therapist effectively practice the methods of CBT and rarely saw him teach techniques associated with treatment. CBT is based on ten basic principles that are outlined in the book *Anxiety Disorders and Phobias: A Cognitive Perspective* by Beck, Emery and Greenberg (1985). These principles outline the structure of therapy and the manner it should be carried out. These principles are: Cognitive Therapy is based on the cognitive model of emotional disorders, Cognitive Therapy is brief and time-limited, a sound therapeutic relationship is a necessary condition for effective Cognitive Therapy, therapy is a collaborative effort between therapist and patient, Cognitive Therapy uses primarily the Socratic method, Cognitive Therapy is structured and directive, Cognitive Therapy is problem-oriented, Cognitive Therapy is based on an educational model, the theory and techniques of Cognitive Therapy rely on the inductive method and homework is a central feature of Cognitive Therapy (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985).

Throughout my experience at Freedom from Fear, I did not see many of these principles in use. Often, I witnessed them contradicted in the therapeutic setting. I would

like to focus on the four principles, which left the greatest impression on me: Cognitive Therapy is brief and time-limited, a sound therapeutic relationship is necessary for Cognitive Therapy to be effective, Cognitive Therapy is problem-oriented, and homework is a central feature of Cognitive Therapy (Beck, Emery, & Greenburg, 1985).

CBT is typically brief and time-limited, lasting between five and twenty sessions (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). Sessions can continue for longer than twenty sessions depending on the severity of the problem. However, the basic goal of CBT is to teach clients techniques they feel confident applying to their lives in order to discourage dependence on therapists and medications (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). To accomplish this therapists are encouraged to set goals with clients in the initial sessions, this conveys to clients to take advantage of sessions and get to the heart of the problems instead of dragging out issues. This method was not practiced at Freedom from Fear. Instead I observed majority of the therapists clients were new or had been seeing him for some time. At the end we noticed an influx of new patients. The clients of the therapist I observed ranged from two to four years of treatment.

One of the therapist's long-term clients is Danielle[2], a nineteen-year-old girl diagnosed with GAD. She has been seeing a therapist for a little over three years. Throughout her session she seemed dependent on the therapist to supply answers for her, eventually confessing she did not want to respond to his questions because she did not want to give a "dumb" answer. Another problem I noticed with Danielle was her dependence on her medication, which she continuously mentioned throughout the session. When the therapist asked how she had dealt with a recent attack, she responded "It was okay. I took a Xanax and it made me better." Later in the session she brought up her medication again referring to it as her "security blanket." Her reliance on medication concerned me due to the studies on pharmacotherapy which suggest the most common side effect of medication is dependence (Lindsay et al., 1987; Powers et al., 1989). It would be assumed because she is receiving CBT as well that she should be improving. However the therapists lack of structure in treatment and his tendency to reinforce her dependence on him the therapist may unintentionally be hindering her potential to improve. To rectify this, the therapist should place an emphasis on Danielle decrease her dependence on her medication and teach her techniques that will help her take responsibility for her progress. If sessions were structured from the beginning of therapy together the client and therapist could have set goals for her, such as reducing her dosage over time, which could have motivated her and allowed her to feel more in control of her treatment.

[2] Client's name has been changed to preserve privacy.

Thomas[3] was another client, which I was able to see the negative ramifications of elongated treatment. Thomas is a thirty-one-year-old who has being seeing the therapist for two and a half years for GAD. He has been separated from his wife since he began treatment but they are currently in a relationship and are trying to work on their relationship. Majority of his sessions revolve around discussing their problems and progress. I assumed Thomas had made great strides in treatment prior to the sessions I was able to sit in on because initially he did not exhibit or express many symptoms of anxiety, such as pathological worrying. As the sessions progress I got the impression like Danielle, Thomas had created a dependence on the therapist, looking to him to supply answers for him. When the therapist would ask him open-ended questions he would often shrug and remain silent until the therapist prompted him again occasionally turning to me in order to ask my opinion. Another issue that came up throughout the sessions was although Thomas expressed the need to speak to his wife about their problems however, he did not vocalize following through between sessions. It appeared he opted to continue to discuss their problems in sessions where he felt safe. Based on the guidelines for CBT if he and the therapist had set a goal at the start of therapy and set a number of sessions he might feel more inclined to act on the suggestions brought up in therapy and speak to his wife as opposed to avoiding the issues in their marriage.

Another important principle of CBT is a sound therapeutic relationship is necessary for improvement. In my observations and experience with the therapist, both inside and outside of his office, I did not see people responding positively to his attitude. His surliness could explain why clients have trouble relating to him. It is crucial for clients, especially those who suffer from anxiety, to have a good working relationship with their therapists. This is due to the fact that GAD patients are often frightened and overwhelmed by their problems. A therapeutic environment, which a client views as safe provides a basis for an open and honest relationship with the therapist (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). If a client does not feel comfortable enough to candidly share with their therapist they will not be able to make progress.

When Danielle first came in she seemed uncomfortable and after the therapist asked how she was feeling she took several minutes to admit to having a panic attack on her way to the city the past weekend. She reluctantly recounted the story: she was with her friends on the train when she began to worry about getting lost or stuck on the train. The therapist prompted her to tell him what had triggered the attack and Danielle bashfully described several "what if" statements that plagued her such as "What if I miss my stop?" and "What if we get stuck?" Throughout the entire session she seemed

[3] Client's name has been changed to preserve privacy.

reluctant to share with him. This could be a result of her responding to the therapist's inappropriate behavior. Throughout the session he cursed, placed his feet on the desk and ate his lunch without asking if she was comfortable, all of which seemed to visibly upset her. Feeling comfortable with the therapist is crucial to the client-therapist relationship and can greatly influence the clients progress (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). When a client does not trust or respect their therapist they are unlikely to be open and honest with them, disabling you from getting the appropriate help that is necessary for improvement (Beck, Emery & Greenburg, 1985). This was seen in Danielle's session, she did not volunteer information about her experience which caused the therapist to spend majority of the time trying to get her to share, slowing her progress.

Another principle of CBT is it is problem-oriented. This indicates in CBT the therapist and client work together to identify the problem then come up with strategies to treat and overcome it. The problem solving technique is a four step process in CBT. The first step is for the patient and therapist to identify or conceptualize the problem, next is to pick a strategy that directs the therapist and client to a technique that will help the patient cope, and finally, together assess the successfulness of the method (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). Nevertheless, this technique is a basic feature of treatment. I saw the therapist use this process of problem-solving in therapy with Danielle, one time.

Throughout the session, she recounted her panic attack, Danielle expressed several examples of cognitive distortions and pathological worrying, both of which are key components of GAD (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985; Covin et al., 2008). She spoke in absolute terms expressing cognitions such as "I <u>will</u> pass out, "I <u>never</u> go anywhere alone," and "I <u>always</u> panic." She continued to speak using these irrational terms until the therapist pressed her to provide proof of these absolutes and she was unable to. He specifically challenged her statement "I <u>always</u> panic" by concentrating on the fact that prior to this she had not had a panic attack in over a year. The therapist pointed out feeling does not equal fact, and just because she feels she always panics does not mean she actually does. He stressed she needed to stop thinking in absolute terms because it was only enabling her anxiety. She needed to consciously challenge her irrational thoughts with proof.

During this session, he gave her two coping strategies to deal with her anxiety. First he taught her substitution, which is a technique where you think about something other than your anxiety (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). An example for Danielle would be that she was going to the city to see the Tyra Banks Show, when she was beginning to feel anxious she could focus on the show rather than her panic. The second technique he taught her was distraction (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). This revolves

around distracting herself before she becomes anxious. The therapist suggested the next time she took the train, she should listen to her iPod or read a book. In this session, he did work with Danielle teaching her some CBT techniques. Unfortunately, I was not able to sit in with her again to see if she made any progress.

The therapist taught Thomas one technique to help understand his anxiety in the last of the three sessions. It is my opinion that he could have benefited from strategies earlier in treatment. There are many strategies that could have helped Thomas improve, two of which are simplifying, and "to do the unexpected" (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). Simplifying is breaking problems down to their most basic elements. In Thomas's case, it was not until the third sessions that the therapist had Thomas list the reasons he originally began therapy and rate the degree they impacted him at the time. Next, the therapist had him rate the degree they were affecting his life now. This made Thomas aware he had not made as much progress as he previously believed. Completing a simple task like this; writing out problems and assigning numbers to them is an easy way to see inner feelings. This technique seemed to have a large impact on him and he needed to take an initiative to change his behavior if he did not want to lose his wife and become overwhelmed by his anxiety again.

Based on topics in session, I believe Thomas would benefit from the "do the unexpected" technique. This is a straight-forward approach that encourages rigid clients to be more flexible (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). Based on my opinion Thomas' sessions, his marriage could have benefitted from trying something new and breaking their patterns. Throughout the sessions Thomas implied both he and his wife were not willing to compromise based on their fear of change. Even when the therapist pointed out to couples need to grow together. Thomas and his wife were separated, which had been a change. Yet, Thomas continued to express fear of change. The "do the unexpected" technique would have encouraged him to do something that would take both he and his wife out of their comfort zone, which might have been more appealing to them because neither would have an advantage in the new situation.

CBT differs from other therapies because it addresses the behavioral and cognitive aspects of GAD. Based on results of studies comparing CBT and Behavioral Therapy, the implementation of these strategies in treatment is one of the reasons that CBT is more effective long-term (Durham & Turvey, 1987; Butler, et al., 1991; Covin, et al., 2008). Durham and Turvey found along with maintaining improvement rates over a long-term period, CBT participants improved dramatically on the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale which was designed to measure dysfunctional cognitions (1987). The authors concluded CBT participants improved in this area of pathology due to the strategies

taught during their treatment sessions as opposed to Behavioral Therapy participants who did not receive techniques to overcome irrational cognitions (Durham & Turvey, 1987).

The final principle I will discuss is that homework is a central feature of Cognitive Therapy. This appears to be one of the most important principles as it reinforces the behaviors learned in therapy. Homework assignments are agreed upon by the therapist and client. These homework assignments are activities that both believe will assist the client in their progress outside of therapy sessions (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). After the task is completed the two will discuss the results. Mainly, how the assignment made the client feel and determine if it was useful to the therapeutic process.

In Danielle's case, I hope the techniques the therapist taught her helped. Yet, I am pessimistic about her progress as she has been seeing the therapist for over three years and is still dependent on him and her medication. I feel had she been assigned homework activities, she may have viewed as frightening; she would have been forced to break her negative habits. She may have benefitted from an assignment such as taking the train one stop by herself allowing her to realize she is capable of overcoming her fears. Breaking larger goals into small homework assignments is an efficient way to build confidence, work toward ending dependence and putting the responsibility of improvements in the client's hands.

Similarly, Thomas's homework was not emphasized. I was surprised in the second session, when the therapist did not ask Thomas if he had tried any of the suggestions brought up in the previous session. I felt even though they were not official homework assignments the therapist would ask if Thomas had tried anything new with his wife in general. CBT places an emphasis on these homework assignments, which help clients recognize they are capable of achieving tasks or goals that may frighten them (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). After spending the previous session discussing the rigidity of the relationship, the encouragement for Thomas to alter his behavior was not reinforced. Instead, the focus was placed on Thomas's wife and what she was doing wrong in the relationship. While, I listened to the session and reflected on the previous one, I felt that too much emphasis was placed on Thomas's wife's issues as opposed to what Thomas could contribute. Both appear incredibly rigid in their thinking, and I found it discouraging. Thomas was not encouraged to take responsibility for his actions and engage in new activities with his wife to help them break their habits. I feel if Thomas was provided with reinforcement from assignments he would be more inclined to change his behavior.

Although overall, I did see some CBT strategies in the therapeutic environment it is my belief that crucial principles such as a safe therapeutic relationship compromised

any substantial progress clients could made. Furthermore it is my belief that these techniques would not yield long-term results due to a lack of reinforcement. Nevertheless, I was able to gain a much clearer understanding of the dynamics of the therapeutic alliance as well as learn the components that go into being an efficient therapist. In addition, while the treating therapist made errors, I observed his methods and mistakes. His shortcomings allowed me to acquire a better understanding of how I would act as a therapist.

III. Conclusion

GAD is an anxiety disorder characterized by pathological worrying. It is expressed by negative cognitions such as irrational and automatic negative thoughts (Barlow, et al., 1984; Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985; Covin, et al., 2008). CBT has been shown to be an effective method of treatment for GAD. This is because, CBT, unlike other therapeutic methods, places an emphasis on the cognitive facets of the disorder as well as the behavioral components. Improvements made by CBT participants are maintained due to the methods taught, based on an educational learning model (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). This implies that techniques are judged on efficiency. Thus CBT techniques are specifically intended for long-term support. Cognitive distortions such as pathological worrying are not viewed as unconscious triggers for deeper emotions, instead as the reaction to maladaptive coping mechanism (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985). To rectify these distorted thoughts CBT teaches clients new ways of thinking that promote rational thinking and help challenge illogical concepts.

This type of therapy is effective with GAD for multiple reasons. As seen in the studies provided, CBT is effective at treating pathological worry in GAD patients demonstrating both long and short-term results (Barlow, et al., 1984; Durham & Turvey, 1987; Covin, et al., 2008). Other studies support that GAD participants make more significant improvements with CBT than other therapeutic methods due to the treatment strategies such as homework which reinforce participants' ability to maintain long-term results (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985; Lindsay, et al., 1987; Chambless & Gillis, 1993; Covin, et al., 2008).

In my placement, I was able to see some of the techniques of CBT applied in the therapeutic environment. However, it seemed that the therapist was not able to utilize enough of the basic principles of CBT to create a positive learning environment for his clients. This immobilized encouragement for clients to improve. Regardless, the experience taught me the qualities I would like to have as a therapist as well as making me confident in my diagnostic and theoretical abilities. It has taught me the importance of

being conscious of the image put forth by the therapist. The experience also fostered practical knowledge of the theoretical orientation, which I intend to practice. My placement has allowed me to see the inefficiency of CBT, especially when the basic principles are not followed. Ineffectively utilized CBT techniques are parallel to other treatment methods that do not address the multiple facets of symptoms in GAD patients.

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Section IV: Critical Essays

The Women of *Heart of Darkness*

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Heart of Darkness by Joseph Conrad has been both lauded and criticized since its publication. Though it is a short novella, the extremely dense content paints a vivid picture of the harsh realities of imperialism, for corruption and greed are manifest within the colonizers and spill out into atrocities. While a great amount of attention should be paid to the post-colonial elements of Conrad's tale, focusing a critical eye on the portrayal of women illuminates the often overlooked patriarchal elements of the text. Throughout the story, protagonist Marlow discounts the women as either stereotypical or indescribable and not worthy of description. Thus, by trying to discredit and diminish the women's power, it becomes evident that Marlow is truly afraid of the power the women hold, for he does not understand it and does not want his masculine world to be threatened. Overall, the women of *Heart of Darkness* have powerful influence within the text, and Marlow's demeaning representation of and response to these women stems from his fear and anxiety of feminine power and therefore represents a patriarchal desire to constrain women by either assimilating them or dismissing them all together.

From an initial reading of *Heart of Darkness*, the supposed inferiority of the female characters is obvious. As Gabrielle McIntire reminds the reader in her essay, "The Women Do Not Travel: Gender, Difference, and Incommensurability in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*," "Not a single woman has a name, women scarcely speak, and when they do they are misunderstood, deliberately misled, or represented as profoundly lacking a comprehensive understanding of the events in which they participate" (265). Despite their portrayal as ignorant and unimportant, it becomes apparent that the women of the text are powerful, for it is their influence that commences and furthers the males' African journeys, especially Marlow's. As literary critic Rita Bode explains, "powerful women seem to control his [Marlow's] destiny at every turn. They seduce and propel him into the heart of darkness; they receive and encompass him once he is there" (23). Clearly, there is a conflict between the women's actual power and Marlow's debasing interpretation of the women.

Marlow's aunt is the woman who enables his journey. Marlow's childhood fascination with travel continues into his adulthood, and when he realizes there is a

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Swedish trading company with which he could travel, he begins to seek out a means to join. Success in this endeavor comes through the help of his aunt. As McIntire explains, "his aunt is, quite significantly, partly responsible for originating his story" (265). While "the men said, 'My dear fellow,' and did nothing" (Conrad 8) to help Marlow in his quest, his aunt is more than willing to help, for she has connections with, "the wife of a very high personage in the Administration and also a man who has lots of influence" (8). These connections ultimately get Marlow the job; Marlow explains that, "I got my appointment-of course; and I got it very quick" (9). Without his aunt, Marlow would perhaps never have obtained his job on the river steamer with the trading company.

Not only does his aunt's influence propel him into the heart of darkness, but it also establishes a powerful reputation for him before he has even arrived in Africa. When Marlow meets the bricklayer of the Company's Central Station and discusses the mysterious character of Kurtz, the corrupt chief of the Company's Inner Station in the Congo, the bricklayer expresses his anxiety over Kurtz's power and Marlow's potential power, stating, "The same people who sent him specially also recommended you. Oh, don't say no. I've my own eyes to trust" (25). At this point, Marlow realizes that his, "dear aunt's influential acquaintances were producing an unexpected effect upon that young man" (25). Therefore, through her powerful connections, Marlow's aunt enables him to acquire his desired occupation, and her praise creates a reputation that grants him privilege and power within his new surroundings.

Despite her obvious influence on the course of Marlow's life, Marlow nonetheless denies, and seeks to suppress, her power. Before he even admits that his aunt got him the job after his attempts to receive help from men fail, Marlow qualifies his admittance with a statement that he reveals his embarrassment and anxiety over asking a woman for help. In an unconvincing attempt to take the situation in jest, he confesses to his audience, "Then-would you believe it-I tried the women. I, Charlie Marlow, set the women to work-to get a job! Heavens!" (8). Though his audience has remained silent throughout his storytelling, allowing Marlow to freely speak his mind, Marlow nevertheless feels the need to explain and make light of his decision to ask his aunt for help. Thus, it becomes obvious that this statement is an outpouring of anxiety and discomfort over putting a woman in a position of power. As McIntire explains, "Here he must not only repeat the personal pronoun, 'I,' but he feels compelled to name himself to the others in order to stress his own astonishment, to perform his alienation from ostensibly unusual behavior" (265). His self-declaration, "I, Charlie Marlow," when set in opposition to the women, clearly represents an assumption of male superiority, and his

incredulity over the possibility of a woman being capable of the same accomplishments of a man is, for him, frightening.

Furthermore, Marlow uses his aunt as an example of feminine ignorance. After his aunt expresses her belief in a missionary vision of his journey to Africa, Marlow mockingly comments,

> It's queer how out of touch with truth the women are! They live in a world of their own and there had never been anything like it and never can be. It is too beautiful altogether, and if they were to set it up it would go to pieces before the first sunset. Some confounded fact we men have been living contentedly with ever since the day of creation would start up and knock the whole thing over (13).

Though his aunt may indeed be naïve to the true, corrupt nature of the colonialist effort in Africa, her ignorance is a direct product of the patriarchal suppression imposed on women by men to ensure that the women stay within a "world of their own" that the men can easily dominate. As Peter Hyland explains in his essay, "The Little Women in *Heart of Darkness*," "this idea that women cannot survive outside 'civilization' is a self-protective male view that allows men to evade a genuine appraisal of feminine need" (5). Because Marlow uses feminine power to attain his desired occupation, his confidence in his masculine power wavers. Thus, to reestablish his power, he dismisses all women as ignorant beings who are unable to survive without men in order to make his aunt's ability to get him a job seem unimportant. Moreover, he robs his aunt of an identity, using her as a general representation of feminine ignorance; by doing so, Marlow is able to remedy the obvious anxiety and fear he experiences as a result of the profound impact his aunt has upon his life by dismissing this impact entirely. Indeed, Marlow seems to be "living contentedly" with his decision to categorize his aunt as an ignorant woman rather than accepting her ability to wield more power than men.

Although Marlow is easily able to dismiss his aunt's power, he is unable to make sense of the power of the two knitting women in the Company's office headquarters, and therefore describes them in an otherworldly manner that evokes fear. When Marlow travels to the Company headquarters to sign his contract, two female secretaries are the first people Marlow comes upon, and they are the ones to send Marlow on his journey. Interwoven in Marlow's interpretation of these women is a sense of unknowable power. They are significantly described as "knitting black wool feverishly" (10), which is reminiscent of the fates of Greek myth who weave and unweave destinies regardless of individual wishes (McIntire 271). Indeed, these women are perceived as being privy to the true, dismal fate of the young men who sign with the Company.

Marlow describes his observations of the older knitting woman, stating, "Two youths with foolish cherry countenances were being piloted over and she threw at them the same quick glance of unconcerned wisdom. She seemed to know all about them and me too" (11). Unlike with his aunt, Marlow cannot deny that these women are privilege to truth and the power of knowledge.

His recognition of the women's wisdom and knowledge weighs heavily on his mind. Though he never exchanges words with them, the effect of their interaction lingers. Marlow admits that, "Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness, knitting black wool as a warm pall, one introducing, introducing continuously to the unknown, the other scrutinizing the cheery and foolish faces with unconcerned eyes" (11). Marlow links these women to images of death and fate, and he is incapable of dismissing these images as he dismissed his aunt. Even as Marlow approaches his discovery of the infamous Kurtz, the old knitting woman comes to his mind: "The old knitting woman with the cat intruded herself upon my memory as a most improper person to be sitting at the other end of such an affair" (64). Just as with his aunt, the impact of his encounter with the knitting women is manifest when he reaches Africa, revealing a feminine influence that both initiates and permeates Marlow's story.

Essentially, the power these women possess is their connection with truth and knowledge. As evident through his opinions about his aunt, Marlow equates women with ignorance and men with truth. Thus, the two knitting women are on the same plane as the men. As McIntire explains, the women's, "'fateful' knowledge momentarily links them with the community of men" (273). Marlow's description of the women in response to his recognition of their knowledge reveals his fear of the possibility of women of being within an assumed male sphere of truth.

To remove them from his male sphere of truth, Marlow interprets these women not only as puzzling but as otherworldly, for they are essentially depicted as witches. Bode reminds the reader that, "They [the knitting women] wear black; they are mysterious and inscrutable; the fat one looks like a witch complete with a wart and cat, the usual familiar of witches" (24). Bode goes further to point out that, in sailor folklore, "witches have power over the natural elements on which sailors are so dependent" (24). The women's witch-like portrayal, then, seems to correlate with the power they hold over the male characters as a result of their knowledge. Furthermore, just as witches cannot be trusted, neither does Marlow trust these women. Far from bringing him comfort, he is fearful of the knitting women and does not know what to expect from them; they give him and "eerie feeling" (11) and are linked to sinister images of darkness and death. By describing the women in an otherworldly and witch-like manner, it becomes clear that,

"In their unpredictability, they cannot be trusted, and hence, are feared" (Bode 24). Marlow is unable to contemplate the implications of the fact that not all women are ignorant to the truth of the world and can, in fact, be aware of truths that men are not. Therefore, he interprets them as symbolic and supernatural, distancing them from their femininity in order to keep his world of masculine power and knowledge unthreatened.

In addition to the knitting women, the African woman, assumed to be Kurtz's mistress, is another powerful feminine enigma that Marlow renders otherworldly in order to soothe his anxieties. Certainly, "she seems to be a collaborator with the knitting women, fulfilling their ominous warnings that there is no return" (Bode 25). Marlow is immediately struck by, and fearful of, her, for when she appears he explains that, "She was savage and superb, wild-eyed and magnificent; there was something ominous and stately in her deliberate progress" (60). Marlow's interpretation of her as ominous stems from the obvious power she holds among the natives. When she comes face to face with Marlow and his fellow travelers on the steamer, Marlow describes that, "Suddenly she opened her bared arms and threw them up rigid above her head as though in an uncontrollable desire to touch the sky, and at the same time the swift shadows darted out on the earth, swept around on the river, gathering the steamer in a shadowy embrace" (61). With the shadows as referring to the other Congo natives, it becomes clear that this is not the patriarchal society that Marlow is used to because the natives obey female command. Bode explains that, not only is her power as mysterious to Marlow as the Congo itself, but she "also exercises control over it [the jungle]. She possesses the ability to change the face of the landscape itself" (25). In other words, she has the power to dictate the actions of the natives and overtake the African landscape.

In fact, even her colonizer, Kurtz, seems to be at the mercy of her power. When Marlow and the others finally arrive to take Kurtz away, it is the African woman who leads the attempt to ensure Kurtz remains. According to Bode, "She is the leader of her people, standing fearless when others run in fear, initiating their cries and shouts" (25). When Marlow asks Kurtz if he understands their "breathless utterance" (67), he describes that,

> He [Kurtz] kept on looking out past me with fiery, longing eyes, with a mingled expression of wistfulness and hate. He made no answer, but I saw a smile, a smile of indefinable meaning, appear on his colorless lips that a moment after twitched convulsively. 'Do I not?' he said slowly, gasping, as if the words had been torn out of him by a supernatural power (67).

Analogously to the two knitting women, the supernatural is evoked. Though some may claim that Kurtz's "longing eyes" express a yearning not to be separated from his position

in the Inner Station, it is perhaps more likely that his longing to stay is intertwined with his longing for the African woman, for her powerful position is intriguing and consuming. As Bode argues, "Kurtz's longing to remain a part of the mysterious jungle life seems inextricably linked to his longing for her" (25). Indeed, Marlow's explanation of Kurtz's "gasping, as if the words had been torn out of him by a supernatural power," reveals his awareness of Kurtz's longing for the African woman. Because he utilizes the same explanation of supernatural power when describing the two knitting women, his use of it when explaining Kurtz's reaction represents an attempt to eliminate female power by interpreting it as otherworldly.

Because the African woman has such profound influence, even affecting Kurtz, Marlow must employ various tactics to diminish her frightening power in addition to rendering her otherworldly. For example, any recognition of her femininity is a stereotypical connection in order to ease the fear that she awakens. Hyland explains that, "What Marlow attempts to do is neutralize this (to him) terrifying vision [of the African woman] into something closer to his stereotype of a submissive, patient, suffering woman" (8). Indeed, Marlow finds comfort in describing her as a woman afflicted by the loss of her male love, powerless to prevent Kurtz from being taken away. Though Marlow is initially taken aback by her "magnificent" and "ominous" appearance, he quickly changes his tune, explaining that, "Her face had a tragic and fierce aspect of wild sorrow and dumb pain mingled with the fear of some struggling, half-shaped resolve" (61). By quickly explaining her as "tragic" and filled with "sorrow and dumb pain," Marlow assimilates her into his mental construct of a typical, powerless woman in order to contain his fear and anxiety.

Even though the African woman is the only native who does not run away from, or seem afraid of, the whistle that Marlow blows to scare away the natives as Kurtz is being taken away, Marlow disregards her strength by clinging to the tragic vision of her that he has created. He explains that, "Only the barbarous and superb woman did not so much as flinch and stretched tragically her bare arms after us" (67). Marlow recognizes her ability to be unaffected by the whistle as merely a product of her "tragic" dedication to Kurtz; in Marlow's mind, she derives strength only through the power of her love for a man, not from a greater inner strength. Overall, Marlow's repetitious description of this obviously powerful and strong woman as "tragic" is yet another attempt to control his anxiety.

An additional method that Marlow uses to placate his fear is to deny the African woman full humanity by interpreting her through physical, sexual terms. Marlow goes into great detail describing the appearance of the African woman, detailing her

appearance from head to toe. He describes how, "She carried her head high, her hair was done in the shape of a helmet, she had brass leggings to the knees, brass wire gauntlets to the elbow, a crimson spot on her tawny cheek…" (60). These physical characteristics are the only tools available to define the African woman, for, as Jeremy Hawthorn explains in his essay, "The Women of Heart of Darkness," "the reader is never allowed to witness her [the African woman's] speech or her thoughts" (411). Such a depiction parallels that of the two knitting women, for they too are denied speech. The distinction, however, is that while the description of the two knitting women intertwines physicality and ominous wisdom, the description of the African woman is the physical bound with the sexual. As Marlow explains, she is covered in, "innumerable necklaces of glass beads on her neck, bizarre things, charms, gifts of witch-men, that hung about her…She must have had the value of several elephant tusks upon her" (60). Essentially, the woman's body has become a shrine for worship. Though such a display could be the natives' expression of paying homage to her superiority, the reader, only offered Marlow's lens through which to view the woman, can only view her physically. Overall, Marlow's attention to her physical appearance and movements is an attempt to force the reader to view her as a solely physical, sexual object.

The idea that the African woman is denied her humanity becomes even more apparent when she is compared to Kurtz's Intended. The African woman seems to be full of life, for Marlow explains that, "the immense wilderness, the colossal body of the fecund and mysterious life seemed to look at her, pensive, as though it had been looking at the image of its own tenebrous and passionate soul" (60). Such a description presents her as the physical embodiment of the fruitfulness of nature and life. If the image of the African woman mirrors an image of fertile life, the image of the Intended mirrors that of death. When Marlow finally meets the Intended upon his return to Britain, he describes how, "She came forward all in black with a pale head, floating towards me in the dusk…This fair hair, this pale visage, this pure brow, seemed surrounded by an ashy halo from which the dark eyes looked out at me" (73-74). Her "ashy halo" and paleness coupled with "dark eyes" evokes angelic and deathlike images. Thus, from their physical descriptions alone, the two females are set in opposition to one another. As Hawthorn explains, "where the Intended has the odour of death about her, she [the African woman] is the personification of life; where the Intended is a thing of black and white, she is ablaze with color; where the Intended is refined to the point of etiolation, she is 'savage and superb'" (408). Clearly, the African woman and the Intended are portrayed in stark opposition.

Indeed, while Marlow is enraptured solely by the physical appearance of the African woman, he focuses only on the devoted and chaste nature of the Intended. This creates the distinct binary in Marlow's narrative of a woman as physical and sexual versus a woman as strictly moral. Hawthorn illuminates this opposition as a function of patriarchal suppression, explaining that, "in juxtaposing the two women the narrative of Heart of Darkness draws attention to the process whereby women are dehumanized by being divided into spirit and body and are denied the full humanity that requires possession of both" (409). By perceiving one as wholly physical and one as wholly spiritual, Marlow robs them of their humanity in order to ease his anxiety, restraining the power he perceives in them by rendering them inferior.

The Intended's power, especially, is overwhelming for Marlow. For example, while Marlow only mentions in passing that, "her [the Intended's] engagement with Kurtz had been disapproved by her people. He wasn't rich enough or something…it was his impatience of comparative poverty that drove him out there" (75), the implications of this statement are staggering. It would seem that, in fact, it was not the desire for money itself that led Kurtz to take a job in the ivory trade but rather it was the ultimate goal of gaining money to be considered worthy of the Intended. By expressing such a revealing fact about the true nature of Kurtz's decision to work in Africa without paying any heed to its obvious implications, Marlow clearly tries to repress the stifling notion that Kurtz's actions were ultimately the result of female influence. Overall, just as Marlow gains access to the Company through the influence of his aunt, the Intended is the driving force behind Kurtz's venture into the Congo.

Another key aspect of the Intended's power is that she, unlike the African woman, is granted speech, enhancing the idea of a division between the physical and the mental. Just as Marlow is overwhelmed by the physical appearance of the African woman, he is also overwhelmed by the Intended's words. Her ability to speak leaves him completely speechless, for he only responds through imitation. When Marlow visits her at the end of the novella and they discuss Kurtz, Marlow's ability to speak breaks down, and the Intended controls the conversation. When she claims that, "of his [Kurtz'] noble heart nothing remains-nothing but a memory," Marlow replies "hastily," "We shall always remember him" (75), but when the Intended exclaims, "No! It is impossible that all this should be lost…something must remain. His words at least have not died," Marlow responds, "His words will remain" (76). Clearly, Marlow is extremely eager to agree and is only able to mimic her words. When the Intended speaks of the moral example Kurtz set, Marlow instantly responds, "True, his example too. Yes, his example, I forgot that" (76). Though Marlow knows the true, corrupt nature of Kurtz, he is

befuddled and powerless to express himself. More than the Intended's ability to get Marlow to say what she wants, Bode explains that their conversation, "suggests a deeper activity- the submission of his will to hers. Marlow seems to lose the ability to initiate his own thoughts, to create his own words. He becomes a mere mimic" (28). Essentially, the Intended has the power to rob Marlow of his words.

Marlow's bewilderment stems from the breakdown of his stereotypical view of women. Before he meets the Intended, Marlow sees a picture of her and thinks, "she had a beautiful expression…She seemed ready to listen without mental reservation, without suspicion, without a thought for herself" (72). Yet Marlow's idea of what a meeting with the Intended would be like is contradicted in reality; rather than the Intended submissively listening to Marlow vent, Marlow is the one silenced and incapable of expression or independent thought. Hyland explains that Marlow's initial impression of the Intended is a "reductive image that coheres with his masculine view of women that prevents him from apprehending her as an individual" (7). Thus, when she asserts the power of her individuality through her words, Marlow's comforting concept of her as a passive, mechanical being is destroyed, resulting in anxiety and fear.

To cope with this anxiety, Marlow stifles her power through a denial of truth. When the Intended asks to know Kurtz's last words, rather than telling her that his last utterance was "The horror! The horror!" (69), he deceitfully claims, "The last word he pronounced was-your name" (76). Though this lie may initially seem to be a kind gesture, enabling the Intended to retain an untainted memory of the man she loved, it is truly a selfish tactic to keep her in an ignorant world of her own, restoring Marlow's power by withholding knowledge. According to Hyland, "His lie is, in the end, an act of self-protection. It has no effect on the woman, because it leaves her exactly as she was before his interview with her: selfless, patient, suffering, idealistic" (10). Though the Intended clearly demonstrates her capacity for autonomy through her domination of conversation, Marlow denies her the ability to receive and accept truth, leaving her as idealistic as Marlow first perceives her to be.

Marlow clings to this idealistic vision of the Intended, and women in general, for when he first speaks of the Intended to his fellow travelers, he tempers his mentioning her, abruptly stating, "Did I mention a girl? Oh, she is out of it-completely. They- the women I mean- are out of it- should be out of it. We must help them to stay in that beautiful world of their own lest ours gets worse" (48). In language echoing his interpretation of women expressed earlier when thinking about his aunt, Marlow outwardly admits that not only are women in a world of their own, but men must work to keep them constrained within that world. Essentially, Marlow believes "that women's

inability to see reality is a deficiency that should not be remedied…the precarious balance of the man's world depends on the women's remaining in that [ignorant] state" (Hyland 7). Therefore, Marlow's lie to the Intended is one of the many examples of attempted suppression that he utilizes in response to the women in order to remove any threat against male power.

While Marlow clings to the patriarchal belief of women as submissive and passive, the women of Heart of Darkness consistently shatter his conviction. His aunt's ability to get him a job, the two knitting women's knowledge, the African woman's social superiority and the Intended's influence contradicts Marlow's theory of women as ignorant and therefore powerless. The idea of women as powerful challenges the notion of ultimate male superiority, resulting in Marlow's fear and anxiety. Thus, Marlow is a vehicle through which patriarchal values are imposed on women due to the fear of a loss of power. By rendering the women as otherworldly, and therefore non-human, dehumanizing them through a division of mind and body, and denying them truth, Marlow attempts to contain the women in "a world of their own." However, the women's profound influence on Marlow makes it clear that any inferior qualities are not derived from their true nature but are rather forced on them by Marlow's perceptions. Overall, the ways in which Marlow interprets the women serve as prime examples of a larger, patriarchal fear feminine power and attempts to stifle that power.

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The Problems With Passing: When Categories Don't Fit

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In high school, I was captain of the cheerleading squad. Those who meet me now rarely believe this to be true, but at the time, I was extremely dedicated to cheerleading: I fought hard to get people to respect the team, to get a coach who would teach us something, and to get the team matching uniforms, all of which the team lacked prior to my reign as captain. Whether or not people liked me, people knew me simply because I did all of this. Having known I was queer since about age fourteen, I wrestled with coming out to my team, officially, for three years. I was out to close friends and family but avoided parading my sexuality around the school, simply because I felt it unnecessary. In my backwards high school, being a cheerleader was stigma enough—I definitely did not need to be "The Gay Freak" on top of that. At the team's final social gathering, the night before our last football game of my last season of cheerleading, I found the appropriate time to come out to my teammates. A few of them knew, but, as a whole, they were unaware, at least to my knowledge. Expecting to be met with comments along the lines of, "…duh. You've never had a boyfriend," I was met with an entirely different reaction.

"Really? But you're so pretty…"

"Oh my god, I had no idea. You don't look gay—you wear makeup!"

"You totally can't even tell! That's so cool!"

Slightly shocked at these reactions, I was ultimately relieved that my team had taken it so well and did not accuse me of trying to touch them when I caught them in a stunt.

Fast forward four years to the coffeehouse, the campus hangout at my undergraduate college. At that point, I was no longer seventeen, sort of out, or cheerleading captain. Instead, I was twenty-one, out to absolutely *everyone* as both queer and transgendered, and would never even consider joining the cheerleading squad. Needless to say, I was in a different place in my life entirely, presenting as androgynous, using a gender-neutral name and switching off between masculine and feminine pronouns. On this particular night, my starving boyfriend had sent me to the coffeehouse

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to get him dinner—chicken nuggets and French fries, to be exact, which took about ten minutes to cook, all together. Upon my arrival at the coffeehouse, once my order was placed, I ran into a girl from one of my classes that semester. We were making small-talk about why I was there, and I mentioned I was getting food for my boyfriend. While continuing the conversation, we discussed the upcoming paper we had to write. She asked me what I was writing about and I told her I was writing about the gay rights movement and its problems, and proceeded to make a joke about how I cannot write a paper that is not about gay-this or gender-that. In fact all of my writing over the past four years had been variations of a (very queer) theme. We shared a laugh, she looked at me a minute, then asked, "Can I ask you a question?"

"Sure," I replied.

"Why are you so into gay rights if you're straight?"

It took me more than a moment to process what she had asked me, since I had not been perceived as a straight girl since I was a seventeen year old cheerleader. I responded that I was transgendered, as was my boyfriend, and at some point in my life I have identified as everything on the LGBT spectrum. Once again, we shared a laugh and she proceeded to say, "That's so awesome."

These two instances stand out to me in particular because in both, I have passed as something I was not. In high school, I passed as a straight girl, mostly to avoid ridicule and to "survive" high school. When the inner turmoil of being closeted became too much to handle, I came out to my teammates and I was rewarded for my feminine appearance and as they told me they had no idea, it was said with praise. After all, I was pretty, wore makeup, and cheered for the boys on the football team, so I could not possibly be gay, right? My years of loneliness as a closeted captain of a heterosexist sport were ignored and instead I was ultimately rewarded for passing. In college, I passed as a straight girl and consequentially, my boyfriend passed as a straight biological male. Neither of us had any intention to do so, and regardless of how I presented myself, the fact that I was in a relationship with someone I called "my boyfriend" and the fact that, because of my body, I still used the bathroom marked "women" somehow made us a heterosexual couple. I never had any intention of presenting myself or our relationship as this, yet what I passed as was not up to me.

Both of these instances share a common thread: Passing as something I was/am not. In its loosest terms, "passing" can be described as being accepted as, or perceived as something by other people. Passing happens every day: we pass as men, women, black, white, gay straight, happy, sad, thin, fat, etc.—the list goes on. Regardless of what we do and how we exhibit ourselves, what we pass as lies in the hands of others and how they

read our presentations more than how we present and identify ourselves. The notion of passing, however, runs much deeper than what people think when you walk down the street: there is a strong political and personal agenda invested in the institution of passing. In fact, passing is not just mere validation, or de-validation as the case may be, of one's presentation. There are distinct and complicated power systems bound up in passing and there is an intense pressure for people to conform and pass not just as something, but as something "right": the "right" gender(s) (i.e. male or female, although male is highly preferable), sexuality, race, ethnicity, etc. Essentially, there is a pressure to conform to a majority that people give into, sometimes consciously, but mostly without even realizing they are doing so (Bernstein-Sycamore 8).

Whether or not people pass and whether or not it is conscious is not what I look to examine. Literature on passing takes a pro- or anti- stance far too often; people who do pass are either praised as successes or ridiculed for assimilating and denying a part of themselves, while people who do not pass are praised for defying labels or ridiculed for not fitting in. I am not taking a pro- or anti- stance on the passing of individual people because the reasons people pass or do not pass are not for me to deem wrong or right. I am, however, looking to explore the problems of passing *as an institution*, specifically in public spaces. The pressure to pass further advances binary structures: people are either one thing or the other, and even if they do not fit these things (and furthermore, even if they do not personally identify as either/or), they must pick one in order to survive. Passing is problematic because it marginalizes people, specifically those who do not fit binaries perfectly. When this happens, those who do not fit "enough" are at risk to be victims of discrimination, crime, and violence. The world is unkind to those who are different and people are forced to pass something acceptable in order to survive and better their lives.

The light-skinned person of color passes as white because she has more opportunities given to her, yet in the process she completely rejects her mother and her past. The butch lesbian takes testosterone and passes as male so she can work in the factory and make a living, yet in the process, she is alone and isolated, needing to abandon those who know her as "she." The transgendered person must pass as either male or female when traveling to avoid harassment and potential violence, yet this often means wearing neutral clothing and dressing to match the sex on their birth certificates, not the gender they identify as. All of these people are passing as something acceptable to ensure their survival, but as a consequence, they are forced to sacrifice a part of themselves. I would argue that this is extremely harmful and oppressive.

What the institution of passing does is further impose binary structures on us as people and consequentially, further oppresses those who may not fit a binary completely. Rather than focus on the positive and negative aspects of individuals who do or do not pass, it is important to examine the problems the institution itself places on *all* people, how it re-enforces binaries, and further marginalizes the already marginalized.

Perhaps running deepest in our society is the concept of racial passing. Living in a country that is profoundly racist and discriminatory to those who are "not white" (never mind the fact that what constitutes whiteness is something ever-changing) has put people of color—Blacks, Asians, Africans, Arabs, Hispanics/Latinos, etc.—at a severe disadvantage. It is no secret that people of color are often paid less, have more difficulty finding jobs, and are blatantly unwelcome in certain spaces, both public and private. Racism is still alive and well in our country, so it comes as no surprise that if a person is able to (if his/her skin is light enough), he/she can pass as "white" and suddenly gain access to opportunities that never would have been available to a person of color.

Douglas Sirk's *Imitation of Life* follows the lives of four women, two mothers and two daughters, trying to make a living for themselves. Perhaps the most interesting character in this 1959 film is Sarah Jane, the light-skinned daughter of black housekeeper Annie Johnson. From the time Sarah Jane is introduced on the screen, she denies her blackness and resents her mother's dark skin. She always desires whiteness and attends a white school until her mother shows up to give her lunch, outing her as a light-skinned black child. Furious, she never returns to the school again. As a young teenage girl, she confesses that her first boyfriend is white. When her mother encourages her to meet nice, young, black men, she remarks that she does not want to date busboys, waiters, and men who have low-paying jobs. Eventually, her boyfriend finds out who her mother is, beats her, and leaves her lying in a ditch. Once again, Sarah Jane blames her mother for the burden of her race. Once she gets older, she gets a job at a night club, only to have it sabotaged once again by her mother. At this point, she is fed up with her mother continuing to interfere with her life and the opportunities she finds. She runs away and severs ties with her mother. When Annie dies of a broken heart soon after, Sarah Jane realizes that by pursuing the life she has been living, she has denied and lost her family (*Imitation of Life*).

The character of Sarah Jane is fascinating on many levels. First and foremost, it is important to note that throughout this film, Sarah Jane is not viewed as a good character. Sinister music plays when she makes comments about wanting to be a white girl. In addition to this, Sarah Jane is demonized further with the obvious bias towards her mother; Annie is consistently portrayed as the self-sacrificing, giving, loving, victim

of an evil daughter. She is a mother who only wants her daughter's love and for Sarah Jane to be proud of who she is. Even at the end of the film with Annie's death, Sarah Jane is devastated, insinuating that her actions have been wrong, her life has been a lie, and the only thing that matters is the thing she lost—namely, her mother. Sirk is arguing through these series of events that Sarah Jane is a bad person for two reasons—firstly because, by pretending to be white, she is denying her family and who she is, and secondly because she is not letting her race define her. With Sarah Jane's breakdown at the end of the film, Sirk is arguing that Sarah Jane should be punished for passing—that her entire life has been a lie and that she has neglected what truly matters in favor of selfish desires and getting ahead (Halley).

Annie alludes briefly to the racism black people face, but never acknowledges why her daughter acts the way she does. Sirk further demonizes Sarah Jane by idealizing Annie and showing her as the "right" way for a black woman to be. Since Sarah Jane refuses to fit the "black woman's role," she is therefore a bad character (Halley).

Ultimately, however, Sarah Jane is not a bad person, rather someone who has recognized the limitations of being a person of color. She does not let her race define her and takes advantage of her situation (namely her light skin) in an effort to allow herself more opportunities in life than she would have ever been allowed access to, were she to present herself as a black woman. Annie is seen as the "good black woman" because she fulfills not only a woman's role as homemaker, but the black woman's role as a housekeeper and caretaker of a white family. In other words, she is a black woman who knows a black woman's place. Sarah Jane's rejection of this is what she is looked at negatively for. Her refusal to accept the constraints her race has placed on her is what leads her to pass. Essentially, she is passing for survival—she is passing to insure that she has access to as many opportunities as possible in order to be successful and happy. Her mother's life, that of a woman whose entire existence centers around catering to white people, is not a quality of life that Sarah Jane wants to partake in (Halley).

The issue of race gets complicated even further when looking at biracial people. Those who are born to two or more races are absolutely *forced* to pass as one or the other. To use a simple example, on countless applications and standardized tests, people are required to check off a box describing their race. What is a biracial person to do? They must pick a box and check it. Logan Gutierrez-Mock, a queer, transgendered, light-skinned biracial person explains that light skinned privilege often forces him to pass as white, whether he wants to or not. Gutierrez-Mock explains that he comes from a family of light-skinned Mexican people who had a strategy in marrying the way they did. "They wanted the best for their family, which, in the 1940's meant blend in, use your lightness,

pass, be proud but don't be too loud. Marry white people" (Gutierrez-Mock 230). What is a biracial person like Logan Gutierrez-Mock to do when it comes to checking a box? He ascertains that, "My whole life I have sat on the border between Mexican and white—pushed out of the Mexican side for not speaking Spanish and looking white, pushed out of the white side for being half-Mexican no matter how white I looked" (Gutierrez-Mock 233). Due to his light-skinned appearance, Gutierrez-Mock passes as white quite frequently, claiming that people are surprised when he reveals his mixed-race heritage. Much like Sarah Jane, Gutierrez-Mock is granted more opportunities as a person who passes as white than he would be as a mixed-race Mexican-American. Although he further explains that he consciously chooses not to pass as white, making the Mexican side of his race known, the fact still remains that many who are unaware of his heritage view Gutierrez-Mock as white. Due to this biracial heritage, he is essentially marginalized by both races, as he explains. He is neither fully white, nor fully Mexican, thus he is excluded from racial categories. To make things simple, in order to have a box to check, he must ignore a certain part of himself. This is highly problematic and clearly illustrates the problems that pressures to pass place on those who do not fit perfectly into categories (Gutierrez-Mock 228-235).

Valerie Smith explains racial passing as being, "…generally motivated by class considerations (people pass primarily in order to partake of the wider opportunities available to those in power) and constructed in racial terms (people describe the passing person as wanting to be white, not wanting to be rich)" (Smith 43). This perfectly describes the character of Sarah Jane, as well as the overarching concept that those who pass do so as a means of survival and a way to give themselves more opportunities to succeed, or, in the case of Logan Gutierrez-Mock, to merely give themselves a place in a very exclusive, category-oriented world. Clearly, race is not the only factor that is taken into consideration, since a person passing as white is, statistically, likely to have a better job that pays more than a person of color. Men are also more likely to make more money than women, so to be a poor woman of color is to be at quite a disadvantage. Keeping all of these issues in mind, it is quite clear to see how the institution of passing in terms of race is extremely oppressive. Our society is set up so that white people (or those perceived as being white) are given privilege and given access to opportunities that people of color are not. This is blatantly exclusive towards people of color. People of color with light skin privilege pass because they have to—because if they are a person of color, they are more likely to be poor and to be discriminated against. Racial passing is problematic because it further exiles those on the outskirts (those who are mixed-race or biracial) and further marginalizes people of color. The fact that people of color pass as

white (consciously like Sarah Jane, or not like Logan Gutierrez-Mock) and this is what allows them greater opportunities in life is appalling and sad. If they were to be perceived and therefore pass as people of color, their lives would be limited. Racial passing as means of survival and personal advancement is problematic simply because it has to happen, as this is the only way for people of color to truly gain access to what has been labeled "white privilege" but what is really the ability to have all of the opportunities one should have as a human being, not a human being with light skin.

Racial passing is an excellent way to ground the phenomenon of passing in our society in history, as passing is certainly nothing new. Passing in terms of gender and consequentially, in terms of sexuality is also something that has been going on since our society was created. When examining racial passing it is interesting to notice the shift in public spaces that demand a person to pass as a certain race. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, public places like drinking fountains, dining counters, busses, etc. blatantly denied access to people of color. There were "white only" spaces and people of color were told to go elsewhere and find a space for "colored people". Since the Civil Rights Movement, these public spaces that restrict access to only white people are no longer in existence. If one was to see a "white only" drinking fountain explicitly labeled as such today in a public space, it would be appalling and viewed as something outdated, oppressive, and racist. While racism has by no means been eradicated in our society, the blatant restriction and labeling of public spaces in this manner is no longer practiced.

It is important to note that the restrictions of public spaces based on race not only enforce passing, but also broadcast a message that one space is meant for those who are "superior" to another. The reason behind restricting a space to "whites only" is to exclude people of color who are seen as inferior to those that are white. While certainly not done with this same mentality, public spaces are also blatantly restricted in terms of gender. Race and gender are very distinct, separate phenomenon with unique problems and social implications, yet a link can be made between the two in terms of passing. Just as racial passing is oppressive and done to allow oneself more opportunities in life, gendered passing carries these same problems and the boundaries of a binary gender system are reinforced in explicitly-labeled public spaces.

Places such as bathrooms and college dorms have restricted access to only men and only women. There are men's bathrooms and there are women's bathrooms, thus it is required of people to be either male or female to gain access to these places. If one is neither male nor female (or does not "look" male or female "enough"), then one must go wherever one best fits, putting oneself at risk for harassment and violence. Even language—our most fundamental form of communication—only allows a person to

exhibit gender in one of two ways: male or female. There is no word, no third or other category, for a person who is not male and not female to be placed in. Pronouns are only he/she, gender is only masculine and feminine, and sex is only male and female. Only recently have words like "genderqueer" and "intersex" begun to enter our vocabulary and to the general population (especially those unfamiliar with queer and gender issues), these words are foreign and meaningless.

Based on these factors, it is plain to see that nowhere else is the reinforcement of binary categories and exclusion this blatant and oppressive. Bathrooms marked "men" or "women" are completely acceptable, never mind the fact that this is so clearly restricting access to people who not only might not "look" male or female "enough", but who may actually *not* be either male or female. To house college students in "same-sex" dormitories is to be blatantly discriminatory towards people whose sex may not be the typical male or female. Gender oppression due to binary thought reproduced in our culture is alive and well, as is obvious by examining these public spaces.

Essentially what these public spaces do is encourage and demand passing. Gendered bathrooms force people to pass as either male or female. In order to gain access to these spaces, a person must appear as masculine-gendered and or feminine-gendered, thus forcing them to pass within a binary. Much like race, this is horribly oppressive to those who may not fit and likewise people are forced to pass as means of survival. If a person is in the "wrong" bathroom, they are at risk to be victims of violence, verbal assault, rape and a variety of other dangerous consequences. In fact, genderqueers, transgendered people, and anyone who appears as anything other than a typical masculine or feminine person are frequently attacked and harassed in public restrooms for merely threatening the notion of binary genders. Needless to say, gendered bathrooms create quite a few problems. As PISSAR (People in Search of Safe and Accessible Restrooms) explains, "These practices—privatizing public spaces and placing them under surveillance—demarcate the boundaries of appropriate and permissible behavior, thereby policing both bodies and bathrooms" (Chess, et al. 195).

Given this, it is no surprise that gender-variant people feel intense pressures to pass in these public spaces in an effort to avoid potential harassment and violence. Examining masculine-looking women specifically, it becomes quite obvious that this social pressure to pass in public as conventionally-gendered is highly problematic and potentially quite dangerous. Even for people who may identify themselves personally within a binary (such as masculine-looking, or "butch" women who may present their gender in extremely masculine ways, yet feel comfortable using the word "female" or "woman" to describe themselves) but deviate from the traditional gendered expectations

that go along with that label are still at risk for violence and harassment, and are therefore oppressed and hurt by passing politics. Additionally, this reinforces the notion that passing is not about an individual's self-identification, but rather about how they are perceived by others. Betsy Lucal, an assistant professor of sociology, explains how our culture characterizes those who fall outside the gender dichotomy—those for whom we have no words to describe:

> Given our cultural rules for identifying gender, (i.e. that there are only two and that masculinity is assumed in the absence of evidence to the contrary), a person who does not do gender appropriately is placed not into a third category, but rather into the one with which her or his gender display seems most closely to fit; that is, if a man appears to be a woman, then he will be categorized as "woman," not as something else. Even if a person does not want to do gender or would like to do a gender other than the two recognized by our society, other people will, in effect, do gender for that person by placing her or him in one and only one of the two available categories. We cannot escape doing gender or, more specifically, doing one of two genders. (Lucal 784-785)

Lucal explains that the world can be an unfriendly and even dangerous place for those people who are gender non-conforming—essentially those who do not fit the traditional standard of what "male" and "female" should be. Lucal describes her appearance as that of a masculine woman who is often mistaken as a man. She explains that, due to the fact that she has a female-sounding name, a female marker on her driver's license, and a masculine appearance, she constantly encounters an onslaught of problems. Consistently, cashiers believe she is using fraudulent credit cards; she is harassed in dressing rooms when trying on masculine clothing and has resorted to avoiding such spaces all together; and, illustrating the concept PISSAR explained, she is subject to harassment in restrooms. In her daily interactions, Lucal is generally perceived as a man. (Lucal 789-791). Tori Amato, a butch woman in a position similar to Lucal, can attest to this same experience:

> …When the cop does a double take over my ID, when the cashier is hesitant to accept my credit card signature, when some lady pulls a face as I shut the stall door—when these things happen, I laugh, and think that they are just jealous because they can't walk between the worlds, because they don't know the half of it, and because they better watch out, better be careful, better step lightly. (Amato 225-226).

For both Amato and Lucal, there is certainly an aspect of empowerment to bending gender norms, but there is also an intense pressure to pass and consequentially, to assume whatever gender one is perceived as in public, in an effort to avoid not only embarrassment and ridicule, but potential violence and harassment. This furthers the point that passing is reinforced not only through the public spaces previously described, but by individuals and the population as a whole through the continuous reproduction of the gender dichotomy. As I illustrated in my personal experience, "Gender is pervasive in our society. I cannot choose not to participate in it. Even if I try not to do gender, other people will do it for me. That is, given our two-and-only-two rule, they must attribute one of two genders to me" (Lucal 791). People like Lucal allow their genders to be assumed because they have to—because, as Lucal explains, she is harassed more when people realize she is a masculine woman than when she is assumed to be a straight man. Like Lucal, people who are gender-bending are passing to "survive", meaning that they are passing as whatever gender people perceive them as to avoid potential harassment and violence. This is done due to public places, among other things, that force people to pick a gender (one of only two choices), an expression, and ultimately an identity that acts in accordance to normative society. A person must embody a gender identity that is either male or female and must exhibit this gender in accordingly masculine or feminine ways. There is no middle ground allowed and for those, like Betsy Lucal and the other butch woman I will discuss, they must pass—either as male, which seems to be an easier space to inhabit since accepting a person who appears to be male with a masculine gender is much easier than a masculine woman, or as female and risk violence and harassment. This pressure to pass is enormous and is highly problematic in its restriction on and policing of identities, genders, and expressions.

Lucal herself is a masculine-looking woman who, while deviating from a traditionally feminine gender expression, still identifies as female. Yet even as someone who is, to some extent, able to identify themselves within binary terms such as "woman", Lucal is still subject to the pressures to pass in public spaces. Lucal explains this clearly, stating that, "…although I ultimately would like to see the destruction of our current gender structure, I am not to the point of personally abandoning gender. Right now, I do not want people to see me as genderless as much as I want them to see me as a woman. That is, I would like to expand the category of "woman" to include people like me" (Lucal 793). Based on Lucal's ideas, I would argue that, even if a woman exhibits her gender in non-traditional or masculine ways yet still feels comfortable, to some degree, with the word "woman" as a self-identification, the binary gender system and subsequent pressures to pass within it are still excruciatingly oppressive due to this rejection of

socially acceptable ways of expressing femininity. In fact, Lucal explains that masculine women are subjected to "terrible condemnation and brutality" (Lucal 792) due to this rejection of femininity. For women like Lucal and Amato, when they are perceived as men, much of the discrimination they face as butch women evaporates. Both women use their own life experiences as data to support this claim (Lucal 792).

Furthering Lucal's argument here, Leslie Feinberg's *Stone Butch Blues* tells the brave and tragic tale of a butch woman (Jess) growing up in working-class New York in the 1950's, subjected continuously to harsh ridicule, embarrassment, discrimination, and violence. Eventually, Jess finds that it would be easier for her to live as a man, since this meant the avoidance of violent and dangerous situations she had so frequently been a victim of. Even as a young child, Jess is consistently ridiculed for her masculine appearance. She always knew she was different and even experimented with her father's clothes when she was younger.

> I put on the suit coat and looked in mirror. A sound came from my throat, sort of a gasp. I liked the little girl looking back at me… I didn't look like any of the girls or women I'd seen in the Sears catalog…All the girls and women looked pretty much the same, so did all the boys and men. I couldn't find myself among the girls. I had never seen any adult woman who looked like I thought I would when I grew up. There were no women on television like the small woman reflected in the mirror, none on the streets. I knew. I was always searching. For a moment in that mirror I saw the woman I was growing up to be staring back at me. She looked scared and sad. I wondered if I was brave enough to grow up and be her. (Feinberg 20-21)

Jess's childhood schoolmates are rarely kind to her and her parents do not give her much love and affection either. As a young teenager, Jess starts going to the local gay bar where she meets other "butches", or masculine women just like her. While she finds community and solace with these women, they cannot escape the harsh constraints that society has placed on them. Continually, the gay bars are raided and the butches are taken down to the precinct where they are subjected to violence and harassment from the policemen. As a fifteen year old, Jess witnesses her close friend, Al, another butch, get raped and humiliated by the guards. This is especially traumatizing for Jess, as Al was the one who took her under her wing and showed her what it meant to be a butch. Years later, Jess is subjected to the same fate. As she grew older, Jess begins working in factories, which is common of the butches she knows. All of the butches that work in these factories build camaraderie with each other but they continually notice the lack of promotions they get and the reprimanding they receive from their bosses (Feinberg 1-94).

Given the hardships Jess faces throughout her life, it comes as no surprise that once she meets Rocco, a former butch who transitioned to male, she begins to think about transitioning herself.

> The last time the cops beat her she came close to dying. Jan heard that Rocco had taken hormones and had breast surgery. Now she worked as a man on a construction gang. Jan said Rocco wasn't the only he-she who'd done that. It was a fantastic tale. I'd only half believed it, but it haunted me. No matter how painful it was to be a he-she, I wondered what kind of courage was required to leave the sex you'd always known, or to live so alone. (Feinberg 95)

Jess eventually finds out that this is not an uncommon practice amongst butches. Many of them, much like Rocco, realize the dangers of being a gender-bending person in a binary-gendered world. Jess's experience with violence and harassment due to her gender identity and expression is something many of the butches she knows experience as well. Yet even with all of these factors considered, Jess still experiences anxiety over what to do: should she continue her life a butch, knowing it is an uphill battle to merely survive and escape violence, or should she transition to be male and sacrifice the community she has come to know and love, her partner, and her identity? (Feinberg 95-147)

Eventually Jess decides to take testosterone and transition to male, much to the dismay of Theresa, her partner. When she begins thinking about transitioning, she confesses to Theresa that she believes that she cannot continue to fight a battle she knows she will never win, as she explains in the following passage, "'Honey, I can't survive as a he-she much longer. I can't keep taking the system head-on this way. I'm not gonna make it'" (Feinberg 146). Jess ends up losing Theresa over her decision and goes through the painful process alone.

Jess's story is a tragic one, but not an uncommon one. Throughout the novel, Jess consistently experiences ridicule due to her masculine appearance. For Jess, the pressures to pass are enormous. Passing as a masculine woman meant violence, harassment, and discrimination in its most blatant form, while passing as male meant going about her business and being unnoticed, yet it comes at a great price. Much like Sarah Jane in *Imitation of Life*, Jess is faced with a lose-lose situation. If she continues her life as a masculine woman, she is facing a difficult road ahead of her but she has the support of a partner, not to mention an entire butch community, and she also has the comfort of an identity she knows and likes. As a man, she avoids the social problems that come with being butch, but she does so alone, with no partner, no community, and an identity that does not fully suit her. There are other problems Jess experiences as a

transitioned male, such as her lack of identification. All her identification indicates that she is female; therefore she cannot go and apply for credit cards, bank accounts, etc. since she presents and passes as male. Were she to do so, she would be met with a similar reaction that Betsy Lucal is faced with when she uses a credit card and passes as male. What is perhaps most interesting about Jess and about *Stone Butch Blues* as a novel is the fact that the character of Jess is so frequently misread as a transgendered person. It is obvious to me that Jess is uncomfortable being a man, yet she transitioned solely because of the pressures placed on her to be normatively gendered. Were this character to encounter Betsy Lucal's statement about opening up the label of "woman" to include masculine, gender-bending identities, it seems that she would be inclined to agree.

Nowhere is this pressure to pass illustrated more obviously than with this character in this novel. Since she was a small child, Jess was constantly ridiculed and tortured for being a masculine woman and for not conforming to femininity. The institution of passing is clearly and strictly enforced here and throughout Jess's life. She is pressured first into femininity and then into masculinity and it is communicated clearly to her that she is not allowed to exist anywhere in between. These pressures for Jess get so intense that falling into a normative space and inhabiting a male identity becomes the only way for her to operate and avoid the problems she faces as a masculine woman. Jess is a perfect example of how and why people pass merely to survive.

As is obvious, gender bending like Betsy Lucal and Jess from *Stone Butch Blues* creates many layers of problems in relation to passing. For these women who call into question what exactly it means to be a woman and how essential femininity is to a female identity, the pressures to pass are enormous. Our society continually reproduces standards of femaleness (namely that it is associated with a female body—breasts and a vagina—and with a feminine gender) on both an individual and a broader scale. Public spaces force people to pass as one gender or the other within this binary structure, thereby restricting identities and expression of people who may not fit this binary structure.

It has become quite evident that there are pressures everywhere to pass both racially and within the binary gender system. Yet trans identities—those that take the gender dichotomy and not only bend it (like Jess and Betsy Lucal) but break it all together—take pressures to pass to a whole different level. In certain aspects, trans identities are highly grounded in passing. For some trans people, much of their validation of their trans identity rests in their ability to pass as the gender they identify as. Katrina Roen explains this phenomenon as well. "The political stance that privileges crossing over passing as been described as problematic from a feminist perspective and is inevitably problematic from the points of view of the many transpeople whose lives

depend on their skill at passing" (Roen 503). Roen further explains that for many trans people, their trans status is not something they proudly proclaim throughout their lives, rather there is an endpoint to this identity, namely to transition fully to the opposite gender. In others words, the identity moves from trans to either male or female (Roen 502). It is because of this pressure to pass in society that another layer of passing, a "hierarchy" of sorts is created with trans communities. This is a phenomenon I have noticed both in my personal experience and in the research I have done in which a trans person who consciously chooses not to pass, or who does not pass well enough for any number of reasons, is alienated and ridiculed by other trans people as not being "trans enough" (Roen 504). It is with this in mind that I would argue that the pressures to pass within trans communities are just as intense as the pressures for trans people to pass within society as a whole.

Much like butch or masculine women, passing within public spaces is absolutely required for trans people. Bathrooms are a constant source of anxiety for trans people because, much like Betsy Lucal and Jess from *Stone Butch Blues*, they are very much prone to violence and harassment if they do not look man or woman "enough" to be in a given bathroom. Documentation is also a problem, as many trans people transition or start dressing as the gender they identify as before they get their documents changed. A person with facial hair, a low voice, and a flat chest who has a driver's license that still says "female" creates an onslaught of problems for a transgendered individual. In fact, document changing is one of the spaces in which pressures for transgendered people to pass is perhaps most intense. According to Patrick Califia, a document can only be changed from one gender to the other if it is confirmed that the person had genital surgery. Not only is this surgery horrifically expensive, but it is not desired for all trans people, who may present as a certain gender but may not want genital reconstruction (or sex reassignment) surgery, or may not be able to get it, for any number of reasons. Thus, it is quite dangerous for trans people to travel, especially if they present as a certain gender but their identification says otherwise (Califia 69). In addition to these problems that have already been discussed, traveling is yet another public space in which trans people must conceal their trans identities in an effort to avoid harassment—they must pass as normatively gendered to survive.

Terre Thaemlitz, a transgendered educator and writer, speaks about the trials that trans people go through when traveling, specifically at airports. As Thaemlitz explains, since many trans people have not had their documents changed to match their gender transition, either because it is illegal, they do not have the money, or for any other number of reasons, they are forced to travel in gender neutral clothing and sometimes

even "resort to using false passports showing genders that match their appearances," (Thaemlitz 174) all in an effort to avoid the problems that they may be faced with. Thaemlitz continues to say that traveling with a suitcase filled with clothing that may not match the gender marker on a person's identification could result in accusations of stealing. Needless to say, all of these public spaces demand trans people to pass, or at the very least hide their trans-ness as much as possible (Thaemlitz 174-175).

It is clear to see that public spaces create pressures to pass not only for trans people, but for *all* people. Transgendered people are affected quite a bit by these institutions since, as previously stated, a piece of trasngenderism is grounded in passing. Dean Spade, a transgendered lawyer, describes the problems of these public spaces in relation to trans people:

> There are a few different threads that run through all of the battles we have been fighting, whether those battles are about drivers' licenses, name changes, Medicaid, or juvenile justice facilities. All of these threads are about the authenticity of trans identities, and all are based on the idea that the state should determine people's gender identities using binary gender as the standard. (Spade 66)

While it would be unfair, not to mention inaccurate, to lump *all* transgendered people into a certain category, it is safe to say that at least a fair part of trans identity and trans experience is based on passing and answering the following question: How can I, as a trans person, exhibit my trans identity so people perceive as the gender I identify as, or at least a person who is something other than the gender I was assigned at birth? Not only is this pressure to pass in public present, but there is another underlying pressure that trans people experience as well, namely the pressures to pass within the trans community. I do not doubt that within communities of people of color and masculine women there is a pressure to pass within the community, yet both my personal experience and my research has shown that this pressure is extremely intense within trans communities.

Dean Spade got arrested for trying to use the men's room in Grand Central Station in New York City in 2002. Since then, Spade explains that he was ridiculed horribly by many trans people for not passing well enough and basically for not being "trans enough." Spade continues to say, "People were pissed that I was representing myself in public as trans and was not passing as a non-trans man. Folks were concerned that the legitimacy of trans identity in the eyes of a transphobic culture is frequently tied to how normal and traditionally masculine or feminine trans people appear. I was ruining it for everyone" (Spade 65). For Spade, there were certainly pressures for him to pass in public, yet there were equally as intense pressures to pass within trans communities: to

prove that he was masculine and essentially "trans enough" to own the label he had given himself.

I can attest to this pressure first-hand. I came out as transgendered when I was nineteen years old. Immediately, I went to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered Community Center to seek counseling and to try and find resources for people like me. Through this process, I discovered a trans-masculine drop-in group: a weekly meeting for transgendered people who were assigned female at birth but feel that is an incomplete or inaccurate description of themselves. I lost a lot of sleep that month between when I found out about the meetings and when they started up again for the winter session.

I showed up to The Center with my hair short and spiked up, makeup on, purse in hand, and black glitter scarf around my neck that I had hand-knit the month before. Needless to say, I was not your stereotypical transmasculine person. Nobody outright said anything to me, telling me I was in the wrong place, but they did not have to—their eyes said it all. When I walked into that room, all eyes were on me and people looked perplexed. They were obviously confused as to why I was there and why I looked the way I did. I could very well have seen all of this as being much more dramatic than it actually was, but the fact remains that I absolutely felt this pressure that Spade is talking about. Through all of my interactions with transgendered people, I felt a pressure to be hyper-masculine: to keep my hair short, to stop wearing makeup, to wear strictly men's clothing, to bind my chest tightly in hopes of getting top surgery later on, to pack my pants, and most importantly, to take testosterone. None of this was ever my intention when I assumed the label "transgendered" but all of these pressures were place on me, and for a few months, I seriously considered taking testosterone and I did what was expected of me as a trans man. I stopped wearing makeup for 6 months even though it is something I enjoy. I wore only men's clothing that was loose-fitting, even though I preferred more fitted clothes and I would rather look pretty than look hyper-masculine. I shaved my head even though I loved my hair and had always seen it as one of my best features. I bound my chest and even though I liked that it was flatter, it was uncomfortable and potentially a hazard to my health. As I write this now, I am almost ashamed to admit I did all of these things and that I denied who I was in favor of passing as a trans man. The pressures to pass were so intense that I felt I had no other choice—that if I did not pass, I would have no community. Given the fact that being transgendered makes a person an outsider to begin with, any kind of community I could foster was something I was willing to sacrifice for, no matter how great that sacrifice may be.

I have since rejected these pressures, now that I am consciously aware of them. I refuse to feed into a certain standard of what a trans identity is supposed to be. Yet even now, I feel a distinct pressure to be hyper-masculine and exhibit my transgendered identity in these very typical ways. When I tell people I am transgendered now, they are unsure of what pronoun to use and what that label really means to me. I find that to be liberating, but others find it as a relief of sorts. If I am not hyper-masculine, that must mean that I am not going to seek any kind of medical transition, which means that I must not *really* be trans, since I am never going to be a "real man." People consistently slip up on pronouns if I have asked them to use only masculine pronouns and I take this to mean that since I am not completely masculine in my gender presentation, this does not warrant a change in what words they use to refer to me. Since they do not see me as "man enough", they do not have to use male pronouns. Once again, I am victim to the pressures to be a hyper-masculine transgendered person. I find this frustrating that even when I consciously choose *not* to feed into these pressures, they still restrict my identity expression. As Betsy Lucal explained, if I do not "do" gender, others will "do" it for me. My parents find comfort in the fact that I am not seeking medical transition because it means I will always be their daughter. This is clearly not the case as I do not, nor will I ever, identify as female and navigate myself as such in society. This notion of what makes a man or what makes a woman are so deeply embedded in our minds, as products of our culture, that nobody can remove themselves from it entirely. Regardless of where I go or what I do, these pressures to pass are completely impossible to escape.

It is blatantly evident that these pressures to pass exist everywhere. People pass for survival, people pass unconsciously, and people pass for any number of reasons. Yet the complex politics that are involved in the institution of passing plague us all. Those who are marginalized to begin with, namely those who are non-white, who are gender-bending or who are transgendered, are further marginalized by the restrictive categories that the institution of passing creates. We are forced to fit ourselves into these categories, but from both my personal experience and from the experiences of those I have discussed, it is clear that nobody passes. I would argue that passing only restricts the identities and expressions of everyone, but especially those who are already marginalized.

Passing has so deeply permeated our society that it exists absolutely everywhere and it is virtually impossible to escape. We need to examine each and every area in which the pressures to pass have restricted us and look to break down these categories and allow for people to not only exercise a full expression of their identity, but to navigate themselves throughout society without being victim to violence or harassment

because they do not pass, or they pass as the "wrong" thing. As Mattilda AKA Matt Bernstein-Sycamore wonders, "If we eliminate the pressure to pass, what delicious and devastating opportunities for transformation might we create?" (Bernstein-Sycamore 19) We need to evaluate and eliminate these pressures and discover these "delicious and devastating opportunities" for ourselves in an effort to create an environment of freedom and acceptance, rather than one of violence and oppression.

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The Function of Narration in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*

Jenna Pocius (English)[1]

Snow by Turkish author Orhan Pamuk explores the dynamics of Turkey's political, social, and religious turmoil through the fictional story of Ka, a middle-aged man who returns to the rural, Turkish city of Kars after twelve years in political exile in Germany, and his relationships to the other characters. With the multitude of complex issues examined in the novel, the Western reader may at times feel inundated with unfamiliar information. Obviously aware of this conflict, Pamuk skillfully focuses on universal emotions, such as fear and jealousy, which permeate the novel. More importantly, however, is his recognition that, just as in their own lives, readers need to make meaning of events; specifically, the reader will look to the ending to gain a full understanding of the novel. In *Snow*, narration serves as the vehicle to allow the reader to reach that much desired ending. Moreover, the narrator, Orhan, surprisingly transforms from narrator to protagonist, and the reader willingly accepts this change. Using the reader's desire for an ending, Pamuk effectively develops Orhan to enable the reader to accept the plot shift and to actualize his desire to expose readers to the realities of Turkish life.

Readers seek meaningful endings that tie events together in a coherent manner, and Pamuk's awareness of this need is reflected in Orhan's narration. The desire for an ending in literature reflects an instinctual human tendency to discover the meaning of the events of their lives. Thus, psycholoanalyst Sigmund Freud's assertion that, "the aim of all life is death" (Brooks 1039) is readily applicable to one's reading experience. In its most basic form, Freud's statement implies that people find meanings in endings, for endings offer a decisive conclusion from which people can base their analysis of events and make sense of them in a larger, definitive context. Therefore, it is natural for people to assume that the end of their lives will offer insight on past and present events. However, knowledge of this future end is intangible, for there are no fast-forward buttons for one's life. Thus, as Freudian scholar Peter Brooks explains in his article, "Freud's Masterplot," it makes sense that readers "seek in fictions the knowledge of death, which in our own lives is denied to us" (1036). In this context, readers project their unattainable

[1] Written under the direction of Dr. Anne Hurley (English) for EN111: *World Literature*.

desire to discover the ultimate meaning of their lives onto the attainable experience of meaningful reading.

Recognizing this aspect of human nature, Pamuk uses Orhan to ensure readers that they will reach their desired end. From the reader's first encounter with Orhan as a narrator, Pamuk makes it clear that Orhan possesses power within the novel. After briefly introducing Ka, Orhan explains that, "I begin this story knowing everything that will happen to him during his time in Kars" (5). By establishing his ability to expose events, he simultaneously confirms that it is through his narration that the reader will reach the end of the story. As a result, Orhan's narration becomes the promise of a final coherence that the reader desperately desires.

By allowing Orhan to have such power, Pamuk also discourages readers' expectations of a straightforward narrative. Literary critic Frank Kermode's explanation of the theory of the apocalypse and its application to literature in his book *The Sense of an Ending* sheds light on Orhan's narrative power, for he explains that, "through this power to manipulate data in order to achieve the desired consonance, you can of course arrange for the End to occur pretty well at any desired date" (9). Though specifically referring to the apocalypse, the statement is simultaneously pertinent to Orhan's narration; because he has the ability to manipulate the sequence of events in Ka's story, he can reveal the ending of that story whenever he so chooses. Therefore, by ensuring an ending yet discouraging predictability, Pamuk has expertly captured his audience by appealing to their natural tendencies to crave an ending and yet to be captivated by suspense.

From the establishment of Orhan's role at the outset of the story, Pamuk employs enticement and repetition to allow the reader to become accustomed to Orhan's presence. Throughout the first half of the novel, Orhan interrupts the flow of Ka's story, offering historical information, retrospective insights, and ominous foreshadowings. For example, Orhan prefaces chapter fifteen by foreshadowing the military coup that will take place during a performance at the National Theatre. He uses the change in Ka's mentality, which has become hopeful due to the possibility of living happily with Ipek, the woman he falls in love with, to indicate the change in the cultural climate, explaining that, "Everything had changed during that seven-minute interval, with a speed possessed of its own logic" (139). Embedded in this statement is the implication that events will occur that are beyond Ka's control, and the unyielding "speed" at which these events are approaching implies potential calamity, sparking the reader's interest. In his biography about Pamuk, *Autobiographies of Orhan Pamuk: The Writer in His Novels*, Michael McGaha explains that, "Throughout the novel, the narrator creates a sense of foreboding

by constantly hinting at the disastrous events to come" (167). Not only is the reader intrigued by the impeding sense of doom, but Orhan's hints of future occurrences appeal to the reader's longing to know the ending and, as a result, enhance their desire to continue reading.

The persistence of Orhan's interjections, which are filled with implications of the end, is crucial to the plot, for the readers not only accept the interruptions as a necessity to the story but crave them as a source of information. Overall, repetition represents another facet of the text that enables the reader to make meaning of events. As Brooks explains, repetition allows the reader "to make connections between different textual moments" (1037). Thus, Orhan's continual interruptions habituate the reader to his narration and simultaneously alert the reader to the fact that Orhan's presence in the text is meaningful, resulting in a reliance on his narration to carry him or her through the unfamiliar, confusing, and at times disturbing events of Ka's story.

With the reader's confidence, Pamuk strengthens Orhan's narrative power and utilizes the unpredictable nature of Orhan's role. While the reader is engrossed in what will happen between Ka and Ipek, he or she is jolted by Orhan's narration in chapter twenty-nine, which not only forces the reader out of Ka's story and into Orhan's but also reveals the ending of Ka's story in the midst of events. Orhan begins the chapter informing readers that, "Four years after Ka's visit to Kars and forty-two days after his death, I went to see the small Frankfurt apartment in which he had spent the last days of his life" (271). The reader accepts Orhan's statement as truth because he is the source of power and knowledge within the text, yet the finality of his words leaves the reader bewildered and grasping for more information. Even though Orhan reveals himself to be a novelist and friend of Ka who is writing Ka's biography, the reader has nonetheless conflictingly reached an ending yet to be explained.

Though one may assume that the reader would be stifled by this plot shift, it is precisely the conflict it evokes and the ending it implies that compels the reader to move forward. Readers revel in crisis, for as Kermode explains, "we concern ourselves with the conflict between the deterministic pattern any plot suggests, and the freedom of the persons within that plot to choose and so to alter the structure, the relations of beginning, middle, and end" (30). In other words, readers recognize and accept the potential for characters' actions to change their expectations of the text because it is through unpredictability and conflict that readers remain intrigued and continue to make meaning of the story. Furthermore, the readers recognize that the end of Ka's story does not necessarily constitute the end of the novel, for the reader is still in the middle of the book and must learn of the events that lead to Ka's fate. More significantly, however, is the

cyclical nature of beginning and end. As Brooks explains, "The sense of beginning is determined by the sense of ending" (1035). Thus, the ending of Ka's story logically coincides with the beginning of Orhan's story. Ka's end has been disclosed, and Orhan's engagement as a central character, rather than as just the narrator, initiates his story.

In addition to the expectation of a new plot line, the reader accepts the transition because Orhan is a credible character. As literary theorist Edward Rosenheim explains in his book, *What Happens In Literature: A Guide to Poetry, Drama, and Fiction*, "Characters must be credible," so that readers can, "believe in them sufficiently to be concerned about them" (80). In other words, the characters' actions must be plausible in the context of the story, and the characters themselves must be rooted to the story in relation to the other characters in order to establish connectivity and meaning. Because Orhan has been established as both an all-knowing presence and a former close friend of Ka, he has a pivotal and influential role in the novel. Therefore, his transition from omniscient narrator to protagonist is convincing and acceptable to the reader.

By recognizing the reader's desire for meaning attained through an ending and by establishing Orhan as the vehicle to reach that ending, Pamuk is able to fulfill his own desire to expose readers to the realities of Turkey. In an interview with Z. Ezra Mirze in 2008, Pamuk explains that, "my whole subject matter is Turkish" (Pamuk 177), revealing that his novels serve as outlets for analyzing the issues of his country. Having such a personal subject matter, Brooks' description of narration in *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* as "the inchoate intent to tell" (53) affirms that Pamuk utilizes Orhan to satisfy his desire to tell of Turkish experiences. Orhan keeps readers engaged in the story through his capriciousness and omnipotent nature, and this engagement sparks curiosity in readers as well as a desire to understand the issues that the novel presents.

Because of the personal subject matter, Pamuk inevitably shares himself and his experiences with the readers. McGaha explains that Orhan serves as a partial self-portrait of Pamuk, for, "Orhan is the famous novelist we are familiar with." (160). Through Orhan, the reader gains a sense of Pamuk's struggle as a novelist to enable readers to understand his subject matter. For example, as Orhan sifts through Ka's belongings in his Frankfurt apartment, he posses the question at the heart of the story: "How much can we ever know about the love and pain in another's heart?" (281). Essentially, Orhan's attempt as a novelist to "peer into the dark corners" (281) and understand Ka mirrors Pamuk's struggle to understand and effectively express the plight of the Turkish people to a Western audience. Therefore, Orhan's ability to engage the reader actualizes Pamuk's goal of opening readers' eyes to Turkish experiences.

Narration represents a powerful literary tool, and within *Snow* it functions as a mechanism to captivate readers and use their interest to expose them to the realities of Turkey. With the recognition that people instinctively seek endings, Pamuk constructs Orhan as a powerful narrator, which convinces readers that he will bring them to the ending they desire. Moreover, Orhan's unexpected and often jolting interruptions to Ka's story that typically serve as ominous foreshadowings further enhance the reader's fascination with the story. Because the reader becomes engrossed in the events and has accepted Orhan's narrative power, his switch from narrator to protagonist as he exposes the end of Ka's story is, though disorienting, acceptable to the reader due to its implication of a new beginning and hence another ending. Thus, Pamuk effectively engages the reader through Orhan's narration, facilitating his ability to write about Turkey in a way that both interests and informs the reader. Pamuk's choice of narrative style within the novel, then, proves that the adept use of literary tools can not only enthrall readers but allow them to gain understanding of foreign experiences as well.

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Section V: Intercultural Understanding

Laura Cereta and Humanist Theory on Female Education in 15th and16th Century Italy

Nicole Mahoney (French and History)[1]

Discrepancies seem to plague questions about the true role of women in the Italian Renaissance. In *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 19th century historian Jacob Burckhardt claimed, "The education given to women in the upper classes was essentially the same as that given to men."[2] Much later in the 20th century, Joan Kelly asserted that "there was no renaissance for women- at least not during the Renaissance."[3] Even more recently, Gaia Servadio proposed that the Renaissance was a "feminine movement, sprang from the new status of women" and the Renaissance only began when "women became more masculine and men became more feminine."[4] Spanning a massive plane of feminist theory, these three historians illustrate the diverse hypotheses surrounding the socio-historical resonance and tone of women in the Renaissance. Correspondingly, humanist thought of 15th and 16th century Italy on female humanist education was equally as diverse and ultimately as inconclusive as that of contemporary historians. Both quattrocentro and contemporary humanist theoretical views on women can be studied through Laura Cereta, one of the more prominent female humanist thinkers of Renaissance Italy. Her writings prove the membership of women in humanist higher thinking and represent the Renaissance female voice within the ranks of learned women throughout history.

As an invention specific to the Renaissance, humanist thought shifted ideas about the education of women away from more conservative medieval thinking. Traditional medieval theory held that women were to be educated by their mothers and by their husbands. As the private home was a woman's natural arena, she was expected to absorb and learn all she could about running a household from her mother. Then, it was the responsibility of the woman's husband to give her a simple education based in

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[1] Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith (History) for the honors course History 362(I): *Renaissance Italy*.

[2] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (1878).

[3] Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19.

[4] Gaia Servadio, *Renaissance Woman* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 2.

religion and ethics. It was widely understood and accepted that a woman would not participate in the world as a man and so, she did not require the same education.[5] Conversely, humanist thinkers used a woman's domestic place to redefine thoughts about female education, rather than to unequivocally bow to long-established tradition, as was done in medieval Europe.[6]

Although humanist thought grants women more intellectual freedom and educational opportunities than medieval thought, Renaissance ideas about women's learning were not prejudice-free or gender-blind. For example, Lodovico Dolce's *Della institution delle donne* (1545) starts by declaring that women are equally as intelligent as men. Then, he describes that despite a woman's intellectual capabilities, she will always be weaker and will have less willpower than a man. Consequently, she is unable to learn at the same level and remains inherently less than a man.[7] In his *Epistola…de la vita che tenere una donna vedova* (1524), Giovanni Giorgio Trissino wrote that the education of even the women with the most freedom, specifically widows, should be tightly restricted, for women are essentially inferior to men. She should study only moral philosophy, with no natural sciences and no politics, and should be devout but not overly religious.[8]

Furthermore, and not unlike medieval thought, some humanists promoted the idea of female education purely as an asset to a male. Specifically through her education, a woman may prove her dedication to her household and to her husband. Thomas More, in *To Candidus* (written between 1500 and 1518), wrote that while a woman herself will ultimately benefit from a humanist education, it is for the sake of her husband that she is educated. As she becomes a female humanist, according to More, a women simply echoes and ultimately parallels her male humanist husband.[9] Similarly, Vives connected a woman's education to a man's contentment and pleasure. A woman was to become *mulier economica* (confined to the domestic), and so, her education was essentially fundamental to her husband's happiness.[10] In the same manner of thinking, Erasmus's "Abbot and the Learned Lady" first discusses women as equally capable of learning as

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[5] A.D. Cousins, "Humanism, Female Education, and Myth: Vives, More's To Candidus," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 2 (2004), 214.

[6] Cousins, "Humanism, Female Education, and Myth: Vives, More's To Candidus," 216.

[7] Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 69-70.

[8] Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models*, 71-72.

[9] Cousins, "Humanism, Female Education, and Myth: Vives, More's To Candidus," 227-228.

[10] Cousins, "Humanism, Female Education, and Myth: Vives, More's To Candidus," 216-217, 223.

men and cites intelligence as the means by which women may succeed and even hold public office.[11] He writes that women of all ages and social class should be trained in Greek and Latin letters, and even women doing manual labor should be educated in their own language. Underlying these claims, Erasmus writes that the female intellect is substandard and faulty. Only by the instruction of her husband may she truly learn. Additionally, she must be taught to be obedient and to love her husband as the center of power and knowledge.[12]

Both theoretically and in practice, the education of women was defined by subjectivity and ambiguities, with even the most educated women struggling for acceptance in the humanist world of higher thinking. While educated women hoped to have their voices heard, their poems read, and their papers discussed, a captive audience was often missing, unidentified or unpredictable. At the same time as some intellectual women worked to educate other women, others worked to change men's minds and create educational opportunities for women. Although most women were generally advised to be quiet in front of men, it was the educated woman who was asked to speak at social gatherings to heighten the evening's atmosphere. In the same way, Antonio Paleario wrote in *Dell'economia o vero del governo della xasa* (1530) that women should be well educated in classical and modern literature, rhetoric and history. Conflictingly, he advises women not to show their knowledge in front of men by engaging in intellectual dialogue with them, but they should use their education to defend themselves and their rights. Paleario suggests that women can learn through conversations with other women and close family members and by reading books, namely his own. Stressing the importance of rhetoric and literature in intelligent female social dialogue, Paleario proposes that such an educated woman would be an example to other women and may even enhance men's conversation.[13]

Specifically on the topic of the humanist notions of the female education, arguments concerning the degree to which women were educated, the means by which women were educated and the equality of this education as compared to that of men remain debated. Among historians, it has been widely accepted that some education was available to upper and middle class women in their youth, most likely reading and writing in the vernacular. However, girls were not sent to school to learn Latin and to receive formal schooling as males. If a girl was to be formally educated, she would have been

[11] Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism*, 59-60.

[12] Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism*, 62-63.

[13] Janet Levarie Smarr, *Joining the Conversation: Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 98-103.

taught privately, most likely by her father, and if not by him, her uncles, brothers, and rarely tutors would instruct her.[14] However, a full humanist education, including the development of talents, the arts, and personality, was rare, even among elitist men.[15] So, high-level humanist instruction was exceptionally uncommon among women, only found amid the wealthiest and most privileged. Accordingly, women were not invited among upper-class humanist thinkers, were largely denied equal citizenship with men and even well-educated women were excluded from the 'civic humanism' of Renaissance Italy.[16]

While representing a minority opinion, Margaret L. King argues that these learned women significantly participated in and contributed to the scholarly development of early modern Europe. With much potential, a young woman with an education could be well versed in language, literature, history, poetry, and ancient philosophy. In her youth, there was very little interfering with a woman's education and so, she was allowed the freedom and leisure of study as she pleased.[17] Rather than a means of empowerment, King argues that, in reality, a humanist education generated new problems for the learned woman. Fully educated, an intellectually liberated woman was caged by established and traditional social mores; her mind was freer than her person. Even more, as the freedom of youth passed, the continuation of a liberal education into adulthood was nearly impossible for learned women, leaving them ambitious for more.[18]

Despite the level of their education, with the advent of adulthood, women were forced to decide between the life of a married woman, governed by the laws of society, and the life of a nun, governed by the laws of God.[19] As King wrote, "For learned women, the choice was agonizing. To marry implied the abandonment of beloved studies. Not to marry implied the abandonment of the world."[20] Nevertheless, a handful

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[14] Margaret L. King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," *Journal of Medieval &Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 3 (2005), 537-538; Margaret L. King, *Humanism, Venice and Women: Essays on the Italian Renaissance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), XI 67.

[15] R.A. Sydie, "Humanism, Patronage, and the Question of Women's Artistic Genius in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 2, no. 3 (1989), 181.

[16] Margaret L. King, *Humanism, Venice and Women: Essays on the Italian Renaissance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), VIII 281.

[17] King, *Humanism, Venice and Women: Essays on the Italian Renaissance*, XI 67-69.

[18] King, *Humanism, Venice and Women: Essays on the Italian Renaissance*, VIII 280-282.

[19] Holly S. Hurlburt, "A Renaissance for Renaissance Women?" *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 2 (2007), 194.

[20] King, *Humanism, Venice and Women: Essays on the Italian Renaissance*, XI 69.

of women defied this ultimatum and among these were Isotta Nogarola, Cassandra Fedele, and Laura Cereta. Largely studied for her epistolary correspondence, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, Cereta remains a pronounced voice of the Renaissance, most importantly for her commentary on the absolute necessity of universal education for women.

Mostly extracted from her personal letters, the life of Laura Cereta stands out against the social norms of 15th century Renaissance Italy. The eldest of six children, Cereta was born in 1469 into prominent social rank as the daughter of Silvestro Cereto, an attorney and magistrate in Brescia, and Veronica di Leno, whose family claimed some nobility.[21] When she was seven years old, Cereta was sent to school at a convent where she learned the basics of reading, writing, embroidery and Latin from a well-educated nun, at the same time as her brothers were sent to a prominent humanist boarding school.[22] From this, Cereta developed a passionate life-long commitment to learning, especially for classical literature and moral philosophy.[23] Home from the convent in 1480, Cereta took responsibility for much of the household, including the education of her brothers and acted as her father's secretary.[24] Nevertheless, she continued her education under the instruction of her father, studying and writing letters after the rest of her family had gone to bed.[25]

Unlike many learned women of the Renaissance, Laura Cereta did not surrender her education to marriage. Without interrupting her studies, Cereta married Pietro Serina, a well-respected Brescian merchant, in late 1484 or early 1485.[26] Wed at age fifteen, Cereta found her marriage to not always be harmonious and loving. Through their brief correspondence, Cereta had trouble connecting with her husband who was away for months at a time on business in Venice.[27] After only eighteen months of marriage, Serina died in August of 1486, presumably from some variation of the plague.[28] Then, only

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[21] Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist* (Chicago: University of Chicage Press, 1997), 4; King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," 549.

[22] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 5.

[23] Albert Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1981), 5-7.

[24] King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," 549.

[25] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist*, 5, 8.

[26] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 5.

[27] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist*, 9.

[28] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 5.

after her husband's death, Cereta fully dedicated herself to learning. A brief period of grief and a short consolation in religion led her to a rejuvenated devotion to and enthusiasm for her studies. While she admitted to barely knowing her husband, Cereta truly got to know herself in the eighteen months following his death.[29] At this point, she wrote her most influential letters and established herself among the ranks of celebrated humanist intellectuals. No writing survives from the last eleven years of Cereta's life, if she had even written anything. Her only remaining work is her book of eighty-two Latin letters and a story about the death of a donkey.[30] Published and circulated well after her death, Cereta's private letters reflect her self-actualization as a female humanist.[31]

Not surprisingly, Cereta's writing gained the attention of critics, both male and female, who sought to depreciate her work. From her defenses in her letters, it can be concluded that Cereta was accused of plagiarism and fraud. Critics of Cereta's work charged that she had copied her writings from books or that her father had written them for her.[32] Cereta even believed that a spy had been sent to her home to investigate her education and establish the validity of her work. In her own defense, she reasoned that the accusations stemmed from the envy and the jealousy of those not as well-educated or as intellectually able as she. Underlying these accusations, Cereta's prosecutors implied that a woman could not be educated enough to write such sophisticated thoughts and that a woman could not be as learned as these letters suggested. After about six months of escalading rumors, Cereta responded with a series of five searing letters to her critics, four of which were sent to men and one to a woman. Her letters stand as a vivid and intellectually violent defense of learned women during the Renaissance.[33] Cereta's two more powerful letters, *To Bibulus Sempronius* and *To Lucilia Vernacula*, are prime examples of her intellectual shrewdness and steadfast commitment to and enthusiasm for women's education.

In one of her strongest letters titled *To Bibulus Sempronius: Defense of the Liberal Instruction of Women* (1488), Cereta argues for the universal education of women. "Bibulus" is an unknown correspondent that has not been found in any other

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[29] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist*, 10-11.

[30] King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," 550; Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 7.

[31] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 3.

[32] Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocentro Italy* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 81.

[33] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist*, 12-15.

sources and can be translated to mean "drunkard."[34] Cereta starts her essay with frustration that as an intellectually gifted female, she is considered a minority among women. In defense of her argument, she cites the impressive history of learned women that have preceded her in the past and names many that join her in the present. Rather than single out women individually, Cereta portrays women as a class, more specifically an oppressed species that has been degraded together.[35] Then, despite her own argument, she confesses that learning is more common among men than among women and she blames this phenomenon on tradition. Customarily, women are taught to be more concerned with their bodies than with their minds. She argues that until this thinking can be reversed to encourage women to study more than men, women, as a species, will remain less educated than men.[36] Along with other Renaissance humanists, Cereta recognizes that knowledge and intelligence are not rewards given at birth or designated by class, but they are the products of study, book learning, hard work, choice and will. However, she takes this statement one step further and extends it to women, a fairly unfamiliar and quite shocking idea for Quattrocentro Italy.[37] In her final argument, Cereta praises self-motivated women who search for self-actualization through learning and encourages women to commit themselves with patience to the work required to become fully learned. Even further, she denounces complacent women who idle themselves with inconsequential tasks and holds women fully responsible for their own lack of education.[38] She writes:

> May we women, then not be endowed by God the grantor with any giftedness or rare talent through any sanctity of our own. Nature has granted to all enough of her bounty; she opens to all the gates of choice, and through these gates, reason sends legates to the will, for it is through reason that these legates can transmit their desires. I shall make a bold summary of the matter. Yours is the authority, ours is the inborn ability.[39]

Cereta's unswerving dedication to the intellectual equality of men and women and the promotion of learned women among humanist circles of thought is better expressed and

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[34] King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocentro Italy*, 81.

[35] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 72-73.

[36] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocento Humanist*, 102.

[37] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 73-74,11.

[38] King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," 550.

[39] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 79.

reasoned in her letter to Bibulus Sempronius than may be found anywhere else in the Renaissance.[40]

In her defensive letter titled *To Lucilia Vernacula: Against Women Who Disparage Learned Women* (1487), Cereta responds to her female critics, who may have even criticized her more harshly than men. Once again, her actual correspondent is unknown and the name may be fabricated, but *Vernacula* can be translated as "common slave" or "hussy." As a learned female deviating from the normal social achievements of Quattrocentro women, Cereta made herself a vulnerable target for other women's resentments and envy.[41] The tone of her counterattack is violent, callous and aggressive. Cereta roots these attacks from other women in jealousy of achieved, educated women and in frustration with their own hollow, unfulfilled lives. She condemns these women for pointing their fingers at motivated and educated women while they, themselves, are too lazy to work at becoming learned.[42] Cereta explains:

> Virtue is something that we ourselves acquire; nor can those women who become dull-witted through laziness and the sludge of low pleasures ascend to the understanding of difficult things. But for those women who believe that study, hard work, and vigilance will bring them sure praise, the road to attaining knowledge is broad.[43]

She explains learning as a stem of virtue and, essentially, claims that one who does not inwardly love learning will only be led by external forces, rather than by self-direction.[44] Trapped in their own personal failure to obtain learning, these critical women resent more educated women, namely Cereta, for an education which they themselves could achieve.[45] Cereta reproaches conventional femininity, female acceptance, and women's laziness as a lack of self-motivation and will, for literature and learning had freed her from those very shackles.[46]

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[40] King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocentro Italy*, 81.

[41] King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocentro Italy*, 85.

[42] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 81.

[43] Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, 82.

[44] King and Rabil, *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocentro Italy*, 85.

[45] Rabil, *Laura Cereta: Quattrocentro Humanist*, 96.

[46] King, "Petrarch, the Self-Conscious, and the First Women Humanists," 551.

As the contributions and reverberations of women in the Italian Renaissance have been debated for decades, from Burckhardt to Kelly to Servadio, Laura Cereta's work serves as outstanding evidence for the inclusion of women into the ranks of learned humanist thinkers. Her well-reasoned, well-argued essays reflect a profound level of thinking beyond that of a quotidian domestic Renaissance woman. Cereta's studies surpass the confining and restricting theoretical views on women's education of Renaissance humanists and are an integral part of humanist theory. In rewriting women into the history of the Renaissance, Laura Cereta's life and writing prove the relevance and resonance of learned women in higher humanist theory.

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Colonization and Injustice in Horacio Quiroga's *Juan Darién*

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Widely recognized as the father of the Latin American short story, Horacio Quiroga has been universally admired by critics as being among the first to devise and advance a theory of the short story form ("Horacio Quiroga Biography" 1). Though Quiroga published two novels and wrote a play, short stories were his preferred literary genre. With influences ranging from Edgar Allen Poe to Rudyard Kipling, Quiroga crafted some of the most prominent short narratives in the Spanish-speaking world. Quiroga's life and short fiction were characterized by persistent tragedy, violence, death, and emphasis on the bizarre and madness. While thematic elements of death, horror, and madness are infused into many of his stories, many readers tend to overlook a crucial aspect of Quiroga's writing, namely his references to colonialism and imperialism in South America. Quiroga wrote a great portion of his short stories during a period of massive European emigration to his native Uruguay and neighboring Argentina. Generating many social changes, the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans arriving in South America produced considerable tension and anxiety between the native, traditional inhabitants and the new settlers. The anxiety that derives from the clash of opposing forces is portrayed in Quiroga's "Juan Darién." Viewing these poignant stories through a post-colonial lens, Quiroga resists colonialist ideologies by revealing the negative effects of oppression, depicting the evildoings and misdeeds of oppressors, and the anguish of subjugated peoples.

Over the years, Quiroga's "Juan Darién" has been extensively analyzed and interpreted as a magical-realist text, a story that incorporates fantastic symbolism and supernatural elements. In spite of this, "Juan Darién" can be interpreted as a post-colonial text in many regards. Postcolonial theory provides readers with a framework for examining human oppression across different cultures. According to Lois Tyson, postcolonial theory "seeks to understand the operations-politically, socially, culturally, and psychologically-of colonialist and anticolonialist ideologies"(Tyson 418). In addition, postcolonial criticism evaluates how dominant ideological forces compel

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subjugated non-white individuals to adopt colonial beliefs and values and how, on the other hand, endorses the resistance of colonized peoples against their oppressors (Tyson 418).

A great number of Horacio Quiroga's short stories take place in South America, particularly Argentina. The setting of Argentina is of great significance because the country was charted and colonized by Spain in the early 1500's (Rock 6). The Spanish were lured to Argentina with the hopes of acquiring bullion and thoughts of an empire that rivaled those of the Aztecs and the Incas (Rock 6). The extension of Spain's authority over Argentina would yield valuable resources such as minerals and commercial crops. In addition, Spain's authority would also yield the labor necessary to extract and export such resources to Spain (Lewis 26). Spain's grandiose plans for extracting natural resources and finding gold never came to fruition since they were unable to locate them in this part of their colonial possessions. In their eyes, the only valuable resource was the indigenous tribal populations, whom they later colonized (Rock 6). Interested in spreading its culture and religion to the native Indians of the New World, Spain had the largest cultural impact on Argentina.

Between the 1500's and early 1800's, Spain acted as the dominant imperial power in Argentina (Minster 1). Even though Spanish colonial domination came to an end in 1816 when Argentina gained independence, Spanish culture had a lasting effect on those countries that were subject to its rule. Spanish culture greatly influenced the government systems, businesses, and education in Argentina. After suffering from Spanish oppression, a great number of indigenous people ended up internalizing Spanish culture and language. Spanish culture continued to linger and impact the lives of the colonized. It greatly influenced the government systems, businesses, and education of ex-colonials (Tyson 418). The indoctrination of Spanish culture, system of government, education, and values to the colonized gradually led to what Tyson calls "cultural colonization." Cultural colonization may be defined as "the inculcation of a Spanish system of government and education, Spanish culture, and Spanish values that denigrate the culture, morals, and even physical appearance of subjugated peoples"(Tyson 419). The concept of cultural colonization shapes and influences Quiroga's "Juan Darién." With its setting in a small South American village located on the margins of a jungle, this short narrative begins with a prologue explaining the story of a tiger named Juan Darién that changed into a human (Tyler 711). When reading the prologue, one can presume that many of the villagers originated from the European continent, particularly Spain. The story begins with a description of how "a plague of smallpox that killed many people" (Quiroga 87) affected the small village. The mentioning of a smallpox outbreak in this

village can serve as a validation for the rise of European immigration to South American countries since smallpox tends to afflict recently-arriving immigrants. Since the village was colonized and established by Spain, many of the immigrants living in the village are of Spanish descent. As a result, Spanish culture would act as the dominant ideology in the village.

The Spanish inhabitants were fearful of the indigenous population, of beings that existed on the outskirts of their village, namely the "ferocious animals" (Quiroga 87) of the jungle. As an "orphaned tiger cub"(Wheelock 424), roaming in the jungle, Juan Darién belongs to this population of "beastly creatures" whom the villagers abhor deeply. Looking at the story through a post-colonial lens, one can associate the jungle animals as the persecuted and subjugated outsiders while the Spanish settlers in the village can be perceived as the domineering colonizers. Although the jungle animals, particularly tigers, were despised and feared by the villagers for their aggressive and terrorizing demeanor, the young widow who sees Juan Darién as a "tiny, hesitant" tiger cub stumbling into her gate "accepts and welcomes the new arrival as if it were a gift sent from heaven"(Tyler 711). Feeling pity for the tiger cub, the widow made a decision to assume a maternal role and starts nursing the cub with her own milk. After this incident, a series of situations occur that connect to the idea of cultural colonization. The idea of Juan transforming from a tiger to a human implicates the idea of cultural assimilation and the abandonment of one's cultural roots and background to internalize aspects of the dominant culture. Even though the serpent told the widow that "all living creatures are of equal value," the fact that Juan gets changed from a tiger to a human reinforces the idea that those who are different from the dominant population are inferior and should set their own cultures aside to acculturate the values and ideals of the dominant culture or population. Once Juan Darién transforms from a tiger to a human, he quickly gets indoctrinated with Spanish culture. Juan Darién is "raised and educated among men"(Quiroga 87). He goes to school with village children of his own age and receives a "Spanish" education. He starts to mimic the physical appearance of the settlers by dressing in "pants and a shirt"(Quiroga 87). Juan Darién also experiences the effects of cultural colonization when he resumes his animal form after being vilified by the villagers and animal trainer. After Juan returns to being a tiger, he realizes that he "has retained three human traits: his memory, human speech, and the use of his paws as hands" (Wheelock 425). Juan Darién still possessing these traits can serve as an indication of the "residual effects of colonial domination"(Tyson 419) and "assimilation that impact subjugated peoples."

Colonialist ideologies and the concept of "othering" act as essential components of "Juan Darién." Frequently referred to as "colonist discourse," Tyson describes

colonial ideology as language that conveys the colonizer's assumption of their own superiority, which was contrasted against the supposed inferiority of indigenous or native peoples, the original inhabitants of the lands they invaded (Tyson 419). Colonialist ideology stressed the belief that the culture of the colonizers was civilized and sophisticated. Conversely, native or indigenous peoples were characterized as being savages, backward, and underdeveloped. In addition, the colonizers viewed themselves as the "embodiment of what a human being should be,"… "the proper self"(Tyson 420). Alternatively, native peoples were perceived as being different and inferior, the persecuted "other" who is less than fully human (Tyson 420). "Othering" is a tenet of colonialist ideology that acts as a way of defining one's identity through the stigmatization of an "other". Othering separates the world between civilized peoples and savages (the "others"). Native peoples that are depicted as savages are recognized as "demonic others" since they are believed to be both wicked and inferior

Colonialist ideology plays a significant role in Juan Darién. The language that was utilized to describe Juan Darien as a tiger and human are incredibly degrading and reveal his alleged inferiority against the colonizers. As a tiger cub, Juan Darién was portrayed as a "little enemy of man"(Quiroga 87) since the villagers believe that tigers are horrible beasts of the jungle that can kill anything in sight, especially humans. Juan Darién's inferiority and the superiority of the villagers are exemplified when he is described as a "small, defenseless beast"(Quiroga 88) that the widow "could so easily have destroyed"(Quiroga 88). Juan Darién being labeled as small and defenseless can correlate to how the colonizers view the native, subjugated peoples. Juan Darién being viewed as small shows the subservience of the native populations to the ruling power system, which would be the villagers. Likewise, when he is rendered as being defenseless, it not only portrays the alleged inferiority of native peoples but it also shows how the indigenous population does not have a sophisticated or "metropolitan" culture with advanced technology needed to defend themselves against oppressors and invaders.

The belief that indigenous people lack cultural sophistication can be applied to the scenario in the story where a man "who was running by the women's house" hears the muffled growls of a tiger inside the widow's house (Quiroga 88). Ready to shoot the tiger, the enraged man came to an abrupt halt and took it upon himself to knock on the widow's door with his revolver in hand. This male villager recognizes Juan Darién as a "demonic other" . The widow hiding the tiger cub in the garden reinforces the notion that there are overwhelming and oppressive forces up against Juan Darién. The widow's decision to hide Juan Darien in the garden for protection can show how her mentality is influenced by the village society, the "colonizers". The act of hiding Juan Darién in the

garden can symbolize how the widow believes that he is vulnerable to attacks and is incapable of defending himself against the hostile male villager or "colonizer" since he cannot utilize any form of weapon. This action affirms the colonialist idea that colonizers saw themselves as the embodiment of what beings should be. According to Tyson, people who possess dominance view themselves at the center of the world due to their advanced, civilized culture. The savage, oppressed individuals are "stationed at the margins" (Tyson 419).

Frequent instances occur in which Juan Darién is reduced to being less than human. Juan Darien is "otherized" when he starts to attend school with children his own age. Although he was not particularly intelligent, Juan displayed a strong passion for acquiring knowledge and studying. Despite gaining recognition as the "best pupil" of his school, Juan Darién was pestered by his classmates because he exhibited physical attributes that were different than most of the students. He did not fit or conform to the village's standard of beauty. He was constantly teased for having "flaws" in his appearance such as coarse hair and the "greenish reflection" of his eyes (Quiroga 90). In addition to experiencing torment for his looks, his classmates also mocked him for being reserved and timid while in the presence of other students.

Along with his fellow classmates, Juan Darién was also "otherized" by members of the village community. An exemplary student, Juan Darién is an upstanding member of his community who possesses such positive qualities as intelligence and honesty. However, he was not "loved in the village" (Quiroga 90). The village settlers are envious of his admirable qualities and express resentment and disdain for "boys who are too generous and who study with all of their hearts"(Quiroga 90). Essentially, these villagers marginalize Juan Darién because he conveys qualities that diverge from social norms set in place by the village. Since Juan Darién neither acts nor looks like other villagers, people start to hint at his abnormality and suspect that he might be a tiger (Tyler 711). The concept of "othering" truly comes to the forefront when Juan Darién gets handed over to suffer from the vices of the animal trainer, who had a hatred of tigers. He ardently tries to expose Juan's tiger stripes to the community by brutally whipping him and throwing him into a cage for wild beasts. Even though Juan Darién was a "creature innocent of all blame", he suffered tremendously at the hands of those who feared the unknown, feared those who were different from the majority (Quiroga 96). Making a spectacle of him, the animal trainer further debilitates Juan by torturing him with Bengal fireworks to reveal his tiger stripes. The animal trainer wants to reveal who Juan Darién truly is to affirm his dominance and authority over those who are evil and different.

According to Tyson, persecuted outsiders have a tendency to experience double vision in their lives. Commonly referred to as "double consciousness", double vision is a term that is used to describe colonial subjects or oppressed peoples' "way of perceiving the world that is divided between two antagonistic cultures; that of the colonizer and that of the indigenous community"(Tyson 421). Coined by W.E.B. DuBois, this term is primarily used to describe people whose sense of identity is spilt between the dominant culture and the indigenous culture. Double vision is employed in this story when Juan gets hypnotized by a suspicious school inspector who asks him to describe the jungle and its surroundings. In a cunning manner, the inspector engages in this activity mainly to locate Juan Darién in the village and figure out if he depicts the jungle based on what he has read in books or whether he sees the jungle through the eyes of a "wild animal"(Quiroga 91). Unlike his classmates who describe the jungle using information found in their readings, Juan Darién describes the jungle surroundings through the perspective of a tiger, revealing that he sees "dry leaves flattened on rocks" and that the rocks graze his ears when walking (Quiroga 92). With all the maltreatment, hostilities, and discrimination that Juan Darién endures throughout his life, Juan Darién has an unstable sense of self. Double vision is significant because it helps him reconnect with the jungle and his early memories of being a tiger. In a way, hypnotism helps Juan Darién reclaim his past as a tiger.

The concept of nativism was woven into "Juan Darién", serving as a critique to colonialist ideology. Nativism is a term that is used to describe how ex-colonials or persecuted individuals believe in the importance of asserting a native culture to avoid being swamped and obliterated by those in dominance (Tyson 423). Nativism acts as a way to perpetuate the culture of native societies in the face of cultural colonization and imperialism. After being tortured, harassed, and severely injured by the villagers, Juan Darién, as a tiger, decided to retaliate and seek revenge against the animal trainer who had made him writhe in agony and pain. In this scenario, the animal trainer can fit into the colonizer archetype, with his European "red jacket and his high patent leather boots" (Quiroga 93), who inflicted pain and anguish on Juan Darién, the oppressed colonial. With his painful experience as a human being who was not accepted in society, Juan knows the cruelty of the villagers and wishes to protect his fellow "brother"(Quiroga 97) tigers by harming the animal trainer who catalyzed the troubles in the first place. Juan locates the animal trainer and scourges the circus trainer until he dies (Tyler 711). As he was doing this, Juan exemplifies his nativist stance by saying to his fellow tigers:

"Brothers for twelve years I lived among men, like a man.

And I am a tiger.

Perhaps what I am about to do will erase that stain.

Brothers, tonight I break the last tie that binds me to the past" (Quiroga 97). He also displays nativism when he visits his widow mother's grave to pay his final respects, to renounce his human name, and to bid "civilization" goodbye (Tyler 711).

Horacio Quiroga's "Juan Darién" can act as an example of literature that addresses the evils of colonization in Latin America. The short shory conveys the theme of loss and redemption. Through the negative sentiments of the villagers to the cruel actions of the animal trainer, Horacio Quiroga truly resists colonialist ideologies. Most importantly, Quiroga also highlights the destruction and sheer brutality that arises from the rejection of the persecuted "other".

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Dreams of 'Home' in Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*

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As in many texts that focus on the subaltern's quest to reclaim a sense of home in the wake of colonization, *Midnight's Children* represents what Salman Rushdie later describes as his "first attempt at such literary land reclamation" (Step Across This Line 180). Through the character of Saleem Sinai, whose fortuitous birth mirrors the genesis of post-Independence India, Rushdie expresses the plight of the cultural nomad, the migrant forever caught between the "present that is foreign" and the "past [that] is home" (Imaginary Homelands 9). As more of an allegory for the nation than a character in his own right, Saleem's personal quest is a reflection of the collective nostalgia for the India that "had never previously existed" (124). Rushdie poignantly summarizes the sense of unhomeliness crippling Saleem's identity formation in his later short story "At the Auction of the Ruby Slippers": "'Home' has become such a scattered, damaged, various concept in our present travails. There is so much to yearn for. There are so few rainbows any more" (93).

Attesting to his claim that "most of what matters in your life takes place in your absence" (270), Saleem begins his epic narrative by establishing what he deems his "inheritance" (119), or the tale of his alleged ancestry. Of course, as the reader later discovers, Saleem's is a falsely appropriated ancestry; as the victim of Mary Pereira's post-natal baby-swap, Saleem is ostensibly the rightful son of William Methwold (the novel's figurehead of British imperialism) and one of the local Indian wives. By virtue of his true birthright, Saleem represents the ultimate cultural hybrid, perhaps explaining his "desperate need for meaning" (190) in a world he cannot call his own. Indeed, critic R. Radhakrishnan posits post-colonial hybridity as "a frustrating search for constituency and a legitimate political identity", in which one attempts the "act of self-production by and through multiple traces" (753). In this sense, Saleem attempts to reconcile his hybrid identity by creating a legitimate role for himself in both society and history. Despite his biological roots, Saleem adamantly insists on his central role in the Sinai family saga, asserting his pivotal place in history. As critic Leela Gandhi notes, Saleem's narrative recognizes that "the colonial aftermath is also fraught by the anxieties and fears of failure which attend the need to satisfy the historical burden of expectation" (5). Saleem seeks,

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therefore, to justify his national relevancy through the foundation of a specious genealogy.

It is clear that of all his relatives, Saleem identifies most with his maternal grandfather Aadam Aziz, who, like Saleem between cultures, "was knocked forever into that middle place" between belief and disbelief (6). Having spent five years of study in Europe, Aadam returns to Kashmir as a "half-and-halfer" (13), suddenly forced to view his beloved homeland "through traveled eyes" (5)—or what Homi Bhabha describes as "the migrant's double vision" (7—8). Indeed, Aadam's own sense of displacement in Kashmir sets the precedent for Saleem's later in the novel. Critic Patrick Colm Hogan argues that the early Kashmiri chapters "outline the transition to national imagination from what went before" (528), as Kashmir represents the pre-lapsarian India of the national imagination. Aadam, as an obvious reincarnation of the biblical first man, embodies the inevitable beginnings of modernity taking root in his homeland, a Paradise that for him "is already lost" (Hogan 533). The clash between Tai, the symbol of tradition, and Aadam, the symbol of impending progress, suggests that the two cannot live harmoniously if Kashmir is to preserve its untainted tradition. Modernity, as a disruption of his homeland's harmony, therefore dooms Kashmir's innocence to be "lost in the Fall" (531). No longer able to appreciate the bucolic beauty of Kashmir, Aadam laments the curious state in which he is simultaneously "at home and feel[s] so utterly enclosed", stifled and resented by his suddenly "hostile environment" (5). As a member of a "transitional group… displaced from both camps, not fully at home in either", Aadam suffers from what Hogan calls "alienating hybridity" (531). In a similar vein, this state of cultural and self-estrangement is the novel's first example of what Homi Bhabha deems "unhomeliness", or "the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations" (13). Furthermore, Aadam's unhomeliness attests to Bhabha's claim that a real home, with all its accompanying emotional and physical attachments, is "for others who will come after" (19). Having deserted his Kashmiri paradise for the modernized world of Amritsar, Aadam must strive to mediate the clash between Naseem's traditionalism and his acquired modernity. As the first of his family to breach the boundaries of Kashmiri existence, however, Aadam himself is unable to reap the rewards of feeling at home in his adopted culture. The promise of home, therefore, lies in wait for generations to come (if not Saleem, then perhaps his own son, Aadam Sinai).

Having inherited both his enormous nose and "the alienness of blue eyes" (119), Saleem aligns himself with Aadam; together, they must choose between "Indian or Kashmiri?", forced to immerse themselves in one culture or the other. They choose India, but nevertheless, the bitter boatman Tai's "magic hangs over us still, and makes us men

apart" (119). Tai, whose "claim to an antiquity so immense it defied numbering" (9), represents the unchanging Kashmiri tradition, "the 'tie' that binds the present to the past, the people to their customs and to one another" (Hogan 528). As such, Saleem's first sense of home (or rather, of home lost) is experienced vicariously through Aadam's love for Kashmir, the Eden of India's past. Indeed, following the death of his grandfather, while Saleem is in Pakistan, he finds himself dreaming repeatedly of Kashmir, a place he has never physically visited. As the pastoral site of his family's idyllic past, Saleem covets Kashmir as an elusive, intangible dream of an unattainable past. Just as the migrant writer must create "imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind" (1982 10), Saleem longs for the serene stability of a home he never experienced. Uncertain of where his loyalties lie—Kashmir or India?—Saleem's dreams serve to remind him of his "separateness from both India and Pakistan" (377), countries with which he (similar to his grandfather) will never truly identify. That the longings of Aadam Aziz have seeped into Saleem's consciousness supports Rushdie's definition of loving a country: "that its shape is also yours, the shape of the way you think and feel and dream. That you can never really leave" (2002 180). Even in death, Aadam's desire for home has found new life in his grandson.

The motif of the perforated sheet, through which Aadam falls in love with Naseem, is also crucial to Saleem's (and the nation's) fractured identity. Just as Aadam—forced to view his future bride in fragments—must imagine her as a whole being, so must Saleem strive to envision a whole, undivided India. Aadam becomes infatuated with "this phantasm of a partitioned woman" (22), as he glimpses through the sheet "things which had filled up the hole inside him which had been created when he had been hit on the nose by a tussock and insulted by the boatman Tai" (23). Thus, the void left by his sense of unhomeliness is temporarily appeased by the dream of a full-fledged woman, who could potentially re-adhere the shattered elements of his identity. Hogan proposes that initially, Aadam is drawn to Naseem for her embodiment of "the nation-India" in its entirety—"she is dreamed of as the whole that will be partitioned" (529). That Aadam is drawn to Naseem's elusive promise of wholeness shows that he is prey to the "mass fantasy" (124) of Indian nationhood, the imagined India of his (retrospectively) idyllic past. Thus, the perforated sheet, as Saleem surmises, "condemned me to see my own life—its meanings, its structures—in fragments" (119). As a result of the eventual partition of India himself, Saleem shares Aadam's "vulnerability to women, but also its cause, the hole at the center of himself caused by his (which is also my) failure to believe or disbelieve in God" (315).

For Saleem, too, the feminized India of his imagination is symptomatic of his

internal conflicts, the sense of loss that results from his place in between identities. His recognition that his "grandfather had begun to crack" (315) is yet another indication of their bond, as well as a harbinger of Saleem's own eventual disintegration.

Irrevocably separated from the original homeland of Aadam's Kashmir, Saleem ultimately revels in the eclectic, unruly chaos of Bombay, a city "as teeming, as manifold, as multitudinously shapeless as ever" (143). Just as Saleem prefers people whose minds resemble his own "pell-mell tumble of a brain" (246), he is drawn to Bombay's celebratory embrace of Indian diversity. Despite the "constant doubts about what [he] was *for*" (187)—or perhaps because of them—Saleem purports to take his "place at the center of the universe" (143), locating that center in Bombay itself, thereby inextricably binding himself to the city. Referring to Bombay as his "kingdom… the heart of [his] childhood" (104), Saleem grounds his own sense of history in this city, a history that continually eludes him in the ever-changing India of his present. His conceit that he is "somehow creating a world" (199), wielding control over the fate of the nation and its subjects, is another attempt to "remain an individual in the midst of the teeming multitudes" (121). Unable to accept anonymity or exclusion from his ideal of India, Saleem places himself at the forefront of the nation's burgeoning history, which he himself impels forward.

Despite his retrospective bravado, however, Saleem's childhood is plagued by insecurity, as the "haze of anticipation" (173)—in many ways akin to the nation's optimistic view of the future— exacerbates his fear of a purposeless life. Driven by a desire to escape "the terrible notion that I, alone in the universe, had no idea of what I should be, or how I should behave" (174), Saleem takes refuge in a series of safe havens. The first of these places, his mother's washing-chest, is "a hole in the world", in which he is "safe from all pressures, concealed from the demands of parents and history" (177). As a place where he can forget the mocking of his nose (itself a remnant of his hybrid identity) and the folly of his father, the washing-chest is an interstitial place between home and the threat of the outside world. It is upon his mother's intrusion of this linen-lined sanctuary—"a refuge has been lost forever" (184)—that Saleem discovers his telepathic powers, and thus, his "reason for having been born" (186). It is not an entirely happy recognition, however, as Saleem discovers that his ability plunges him into "a world in which [he] could no longer tell the people who mattered most about the goings-on inside [his] head" (187). Ironically, the gift that offers him his greatest sense of connection (and arguably, his truest sense of home) also estranges him from those he loves, as he can no longer reveal his true identity.

Denied the comforts of withdrawing into his washing-chest, Saleem seeks a new

hideout in the form of the old clock tower, which, along with his newly tuned telepathy, offers him a panoptical view of the world. Safely sequestered in the clock tower, Saleem imagines himself as a god, "capable of acting-at-a-distance and shifting the tides of the world" (199). Able to experience the diversity of India through the eyes of unsuspecting natives, Saleem familiarizes himself with his country, acknowledging that, "in the exotic simplicities of travel I was able to find a modicum of peace" (198). Not only is he most comfortable in the illusion of undetected control and surveillance (as the principle of the Panopticon functions), but he also understands the appeal of a nomadic lifestyle, almost in anticipation of his eventual state of migrancy.

As a character who is perpetually thrown into varying degrees of geographical exile, Saleem finds his greatest sense of home not in the physical terrain of India, but rather in the mental community of the midnight children. Uncertain of the role he plays in his own family (particularly upon the discovery that they are not, in fact, his biological kin), Saleem revels in this family of his own creation, a family based on merit (as established through their midnight-granted gifts) rather than blood. Furthermore, the superiority of his own power enables him to claim his place at the heart of this community, as he acts as "a sort of national network… a kind of forum in which they could talk to one another, through me" (259). Deprived of a sense of home in both his domestic and political environments, Saleem builds his own, magical home (not to say imaginary), "which is somehow outside time" (243). Able to surpass the language divides that are wreaking havoc in his beloved Bombay (in form of the language marches and demands for further partition along linguistic lines), Saleem's telepathy enables him to perceive the "universally intelligible thought-forms which far transcended words" (192). In this sense, the MCC offers him respite from the continuous splitting of his national and cultural identity, the inevitable conflict of the post-colonial condition. According to Hogan, what Saleem seeks through the MCC is "to reestablish practical identity within the modern context of rival categorical identities" (524). In light of the many divisive categories that threaten his sense of a full identity—differing religions, castes, languages, and other means of public identification—Saleem attempts to gain a "direct interconnectedness" (Hogan 519) with a personal community, regardless of public or political disparities. In the community of the midnight children, Saleem's differences are beneficial—as opposed to a "shameful deformity" (190)—and therefore propel him to "the center of the most exciting world any child had ever discovered" (260). Furthermore, because the children are dependent on one another's self-projections of their appearances, Saleem is literally able to create his own identity, to paint a portrait of himself to send "across the thought-waves of the nation" (251).

The "uncanny," which Homi Bhabha defines as "a liminal, uncertain state of cultural belief when the archaic emerges in the midst of margins of modernity as a result of some psychic ambivalence or intellectual uncertainty" (206), invades Saleem's midnight sanctuary through the vessel of Shiva. Forcing Saleem to face "matter of fact descriptions of the outré and bizarre, and their reverse, namely heightened, stylized versions of the everyday" (250), Shiva presents a menace to Saleem's carefully crafted internal world. By casually juxtaposing "a picture of the world of startling uniformity" with "the dreadful murder of prostutues which began to fill the gutter-press in those days" with "the intricate details of a particular hand of cards" (250), Shiva exposes Saleem to the disorienting reality of post-colonial India, in which the simplicity of tradition is suddenly on par with the shock of modern tragedy.

It is during "his first exile" (274) with his Uncle Hanif and Aunt Pia that Saleem's sense of unhomeliness becomes apparent, as this period initiates him into a state of cultural nomadism. The discovery that Saleem is not, by blood, a true Sinai catapults him into the ambiguities of an "'in-between' temporality" (Bhabha 19), where he is neither Indian nor British; neither Muslim nor Hindu. Deserted by his parents, Saleem "realizes that something has gone wrong with the world" (274), that it has, in effect, crumbled around him. However, Saleem's hybridity endows him with yet another talent—"giving birth to parents… a form of reverse fertility beyond the control of… even the Widow herself" (278) (That this talent flaunts even the authority of the Widow, Indira Ghandi, implies that even the identity forced upon him by the newly emerging state of India cannot hinder his quest for home). Because Saleem lacks a stable, singular state of home, he is able to take advantage of his multiple places of residency, acting out his "most treasured bit-part" by occupying "the sacred place of the son [Pia] never had" (278). Rejected by his own parents, who have recently discovered his illegitimacy, Saleem has recruited a new mother and father with whom he can ingratiate himself.

Upon returning to his parents and sister in Buckingham Villa, Saleem notes that he has been guilty of neglecting the midnight children at times, allowing "the demon lurking inside me (it had two heads)… to get on with its devilment" (294). Haunted by the discovery that he is "neither-Alpha-nor-Omega" (319), belonging to neither Amina nor Amed, Saleem is once again in between; this double-headed demon embodies the specter of this newfound identity in which he is trapped. The eventual discovery that he is not the biological son of his mother and father leads to the disintegration, too, of the midnight's children. Just as he must conceal his telepathy from his family, Saleem must now seal off the part of his mind that could betray his true birthright to Shiva and their fellow children. It is this disingenuous secrecy that threatens the conference, as the

children essentially refuse to tolerate Saleem's distance. Soon after, Saleem notes, "having exiled Shiva, I found myself hurled into an exile from which I was incapable of contacting my more-than-five-hundred colleagues" (324), as he is forced to cross the border into Pakistan.

The contrast between the "amphibian terrain" (325) of Pakistan and the vibrancy of Bombay is a crucial component of Saleem's unhomeliness in the novel. Forced to relocate to the "dull, lifeless house" (327) of his Uncle Zulfikar, where he is neither welcome nor comfortable, Saleem once again finds himself at the mercy of his relatives' generosity. Furthermore, he perceives a "gap" between him and his mother and sister, terrified that their imaginations would be unable to assimilate the knowledge that he is not their own (329). Driven to prove himself "worthy of their kinship" (329), Saleem displays his "fitness for sonship" (332) by usurping his cousin's place in the household of General Zulfikar, whom he assists in a pepper pot revolution. Despite this major foray into the political sphere of Pakistan, however, Saleem refuses to see himself as anything but a "refugee, not citizen" (334). Given his embrace of "the rainbow riot" of Bombay (340), Saleem cannot acclimate himself to the banal uniformity of his relatives's home in Pakistan, where the house motto—"Let's get organized!" (327)—directly attacks his love of disorder. This characterization of Pakistan depicts it as a place fixated on categorization, classification, in pursuit of the "internal tidiness" (246) that so repels Saleem. Indeed, Saleem's own hybridity demands that he eschew any rigid definitions of identity, as he resides in the no-man's-land of hyphenated ambiguity (Anglo-Indian, Kashmiri-Indian). More than just its moral connotations, "Land of the Pure" implies the more sinister ideal of racial or ethnic purity, with little tolerance for "half-and-halfers" like Saleem, who is "forever tainted with Bombayness" (355). His "marked preference for the impure" (355) is a way of rebelling against the suffocating sameness of Pakistan, whose citizens "exuded the flat boiled odors of acquiescence" (353), to both Islam and homogeneity.

Jamila's submission to "the insidious spell of that God-ridden country" strikes Saleem as a sort of betrayal, "the final break with the legacy of her grandfather" (334), as she aligns herself with the side of the believers. Considered the "new daughter-of-the-nation" (359), Jamila comes to represent the nation (and voice) of Pakistan, a land that—given his agnosticism and mixed heritage—is largely forbidden. That he should fall prey to "the ultimate impurity of sister-love" (352), then, represents his own temporary infatuation with the "new wholeness" of both Pakistan and his sister. As critic Jean Kane argues, "Jamila, as Pakistan, becomes the missing and inaccessible part that Saleem, as India, incestuously desires to possess" (111). His fleeting, shameful desire for Jamila

implies that to Saleem, the abhorrence of Pakistan is tantamount to the taboo of incest.

Even more importantly, however, is his alienation from the midnight's children. Discovering that "the existence of a frontier 'jammed' [his] thought-transmissions" (325), Saleem is exiled from his greatest source of community, daunted by the imaginary line of partition. Having fled his original home, Saleem is unable to function as his original self, instead forced to bide his time until "Back-to-Bom!" (340). The ebullience of his homecoming, however, is fleeting. Reuniting with the midnight children after a four-year exile, Saleem learns, "family reunions are more delightful in prospect than in reality, and that the time comes when all families must go their separate ways" (341). As his mind becomes "the battleground on which they annihilated [him]" (341), Saleem is forced to accept the dissolution of his adopted community. His ultimate, final severance with the midnight children (a result of his nose-draining operation) casts him into "the desert of [his] later years" (344), in which the "silence, like a desert", and "air, like a vandal" (348) represent the emptiness that has engulfed his sense of self. The midnight children, as a microcosm of India's diversity, represent Saleem's sole connection to his homeland, a place so infinitely various that he can grasp it only through the magic of telepathy. As an extension of Rushdie himself, whose India "has always been based on ideas of multiplicity, pluralism, hybridity" (1982 32), Saleem feels most at home among the culturally superabundant crowd of the midnight children. Deprived of his "truest birthright" (325), Saleem is similarly estranged from his homeland.

In an attempt to construct a newly found sense of home in Pakistan, the Sinai family plants Saleem's (or is it Shiva's?) umbilical cord at the construction site of their new house, giving "birth to a split-level, American-style modern bungalow" (353). That Saleem's purported umbilical cord should produce such an architectural hybrid is of course appropriate, as it reflects his own cultural syncretism. His disdain for the alien city of Karachi is based on its construction of "entirely unsuitable cords", causing "deformed houses, the stunted hunchback children of deficient life-lines" (354). This is perhaps an expression of scorn for "the faith upon which the city stood" (353), the 'submission' of Islam, which instills in his new neighbors "the flat boiled odors of acquiescence" (353). Or, alternatively, the fear "of splitting, that was buried like an umbilical cord in every Pakistani heart" (404). This characterization of Pakistan is indicative of what Hogan describes as Rushdie's "conflict with a transgeographical, centralizing, authoritarian, categorical Islam" (528). Pakistan, as a country based on its homogenizing, unifying vision of an Islamic state, promotes the conformity that Saleem finds so distasteful. Religion, as "the glue of Pakistan, holding the halves together" (404), attempts to create a false sense of national identity, in branding its citizens as members of its authoritative creed.

Indeed, the narrator Saleem distances himself from his stint in the Pakistan army, as he is unable to accept that he, as he is in the present tense, "became a citizen of Pakistan" (401). He therefore disassociates himself from that period in his personal history, referring to himself ("the Buddha") in the third person: "I insist: not I. He. He, the Buddha. Who, until the snake, would remain not-Saleem; who, in spite of running-from, was still separated from his past" (414). This convenient distance is achieved by virtue of Saleem's memory loss following his encounter with a flying spittoon, an incident that allows him to "begin again" (401). Unburdened by the restraints of his consciousness and his memories, the Buddha leads a historyless existence, indulging in "the arts of submission" (401) that are so prevalent in his adopted nation. Separated from his sense of self, Saleem conforms to Islamic ideals of obedience—a dangerous example, he declares, as this same detachment from history leads Sheikh Mujib to declare the newly formed state of Bangladesh (404). Memory, as an element of "the awareness of oneself as a homogeneous entity in time, a blend of past and present… [is] the glue of personality, holding together our then and our now" (404). Thus, deprived of memory or consciousness, the Buddha does not represent Saleem as his true self; rather, this penetration into the terrain of the other (as a submissive Pakistani military man) enables Saleem to experience Pakistan without truly identifying with it.

Saleem's foray into "the historyless anonymity" of the Sundarbans (414) is effectively a journey to reclaim his lost sense of self. Just as Sheikh Mujib acts from outside the constraints of history in forming Bangladesh, the Buddha is similarly foolish in the "absurd fantasy" of the Sundarbans (417), whose canopy of anonymity frees him to act as Saleem would (or should) not. As a being untainted by the "myriad complex processes that go to make a man" (419), the Buddha exudes a passive blankness that makes him vulnerable to the lures of the rainforest. It is not until he is "rejoined to the past, jolted into unity by snake-poison" (419) that he can begin to reclaim his lost history, including the first name that continues to elude him. The fact that he is unable to summon his name, but rather can only recall his many nicknames—"Snotnose, Stainface, Baldy, Sniffer, Piece-of-the-Moon" (425)—underscores his multiplicity of selves. His agonized failure to recover his true, given name, however, indicates that a wealth of identities does not necessarily bestow a clearer sense of self. Despite his array of parents, names, and homes from which to choose, Saleem remains fixed on the notion of a sole, encompassing self. Unlike India, whose splintering states of Pakistan and Bangladesh prove faulty, Saleem is determined to retain his many identities.

Saleem is not effectively reborn (and thus given back his name) until he has abandoned the sinister reclusion of the Sundarbans, reemerging to find that "what you

were is forever who you are" (423). He likens the regaining of his name to "another independence day" (434), and thus marks this day as his personal renaissance, as he is transformed from "the Buddha in his shapeless anonymous garment" (434) to Saleem, upon the arrival of India and Parvati-the-witch. That another child of the MCC should restore Saleem to his former identity is fitting, as she instills him with the sense of self he lost upon the draining of his telepathy. It is with Parvati's help that Saleem returns—through the interstitial vessel of her "basket of invisibility", in which he is "both there and not there" (438)—to his homeland of India. This easily fits Homi Bhabha's description of a "negating activity," which establishes "a bridge, where 'presencing' begins because it captures something of the estranging sense of the relocation of the home and the world" (13). Thus, once again Saleem inhabits an in-between place between existence and nothingness, "a sphere of absence" (438) in which he resides between the conflicting nations of Pakistan and India.

"Exile," as Rushdie states, "is a dream of glorious return" (2002 181). For Saleem, however, return is by necessity a clandestine, evasive act, as he is "without passport or permit" transported across the border (438). Ironically, Saleem now finds himself "in law an illegal immigrant (having once been a legal emigrant)" (447) in his own country, with the threat of P.O.W. camps awaiting him. Having been reduced to the status of alien in his native land—his "subcontinental twin sister" (444)—Saleem must rely on the reluctant generosity of his Uncle Mustapha, the only relative to survive the night that made him the Buddha. This last remnant of family, however, proves insufficient for Saleem, who comes to view their presence in Delhi as "a desecration of [his] own past… this terrible Fly was crawling upon sacred soil" (451). The city of his parents has been effectively tainted by this pathetic excuse for family, leading him to declare the very notion of family "an overrated idea" (456).

Upon his eventual "expulsion from the last gracious home open to" him (456), Saleem seeks refuge with Parvati in the magicians' ghetto, a place where he feels "instantly and comfortingly at home" (457). The avid Communism of the magicians and Picture Singh—"the last in the line of men who have been willing to become [his] fathers" (435)—appeal to Saleem's abandonment of his "true faith… Businessism" (457), as he now shares their impoverished social status. Furthermore, like the MCC, the magicians' ghetto offers Saleem a means of benefiting from his differences, as he earns his living entertaining tourists with "the marvelous perspicacities" of his nose (457). In contrast to the illusions and untruths of Pakistan, moreover, Saleem notes that "the magicians were people whose hold on reality was absolute; they gripped it so powerfully that they could bend it every which way in service of their arts, but they never forgot

what it was" (459). Despite the magician's claims of the supernatural, they cynically recognize that such magic is superficial, refusing to believe literally in their own metaphors. Just as India presents an array of marvelous imaginary possibilities to Saleem, the magicians do not offer false promises. However, despite the absence of "religious and regionalist bigotry", Saleem observes that "our ancient national gift for fissiparousness" (459) nevertheless invades his sanctuary, as the rivaling performers are in a constant state of war. Like his beloved MCC, the magicians' ghetto "falls prey to the divisive identity categories for which it was to serve as an alternative" (Hogan 525).

In fact, as Saleem despondently admits, "the crime of Mary Pereira had detached me from two worlds, not one; having been expelled from my uncle's house I could never fully enter the world-according-to-Picture-Singh" (475). Mary's post-natal baby switch, which gave Saleem his privileged upbringing, rends him incapable of truly conforming to the anti-rich attitude of Communism. His orphan status, however, prevents him from returning to the world in which he was raised, leaving him in what Shailja Sharma terms "a position of perpetual in-betweenness" (599). Rather than belonging to both worlds, Saleem is unable to find complete acceptance either as Indian, Anglo or Pakistani; his plurality eternally excludes him from complete assimilation to any of his eclectic cultures.

Having "been forced by cultural displacement to accept the provisional nature of all truths, all certainties" (1982 12), Rushdie instills Saleem with a similar sensibility regarding India, "a collective fiction in which anything was possible" (124). Saleem distinguishes India's "infinity of alternative realities" from the "infinite number of falsenesses, unrealities and lies" (373) of Pakistan. By this, he suggests that India, in its (relative) recognition of diversity and ambiguity, embraces the "subaltern as the porous embodiment of a violent, hybrid history" (Kane 94—5), as opposed to Pakistan's stubborn adherence to the ideals of "purity" and "wholeness". Saleem's view of a human being as "anything but a whole, anything but homogeneous; all kinds of everywhichthing are jumbled up inside him" (270) underlines the importance of celebrating cultural pluralism. His additional mandate that the body (or nation, metaphorically speaking) be "indivisible, a one-piece suit, a sacred temple" (270) seems by consequence contradictory. However, as Hogan argues, the novel's allegory of the personified nation gives "imaginative unity to a great diversity of places and individuals… a way of envisioning this diversity as one perceptual form" (525). That Saleem defines himself as "the sum total of everything that went before me" (441) emphasizes his role as the unified face of India, as one being that simultaneously comprises "every one of the now-six-hundred-million-plus of us" (441). Indeed, "by placing the multiplicity inside

Saleem's (singular) mind, Rushdie tries to reconcile these apparent contradictories" through the concept of the MCC (Hogan 525).

As an identity that Rushdie describes as "at once plural and partial" (1982 15), Saleem's hybridity draws him to India's eclectic populace, its multi-faceted identities, its "hundreds of millions of possible versions" (1982 10). Rather than attempt to quash the diversity through partition (as did Pakistan and Bangladesh), India must find solidarity in its differences, much as Saleem finds refuge in the unified hybridity of the midnight children. Indeed, in his endless quest for home, Saleem's "cultural ambivalence" (Gandhi 153) manifests itself in a multiplicity of homes, rather than a dearth. As Rushdie refuses "the relative securities of belonging to one country alone" (Sharma 603), Saleem remains open to the "ambivalencies and ambiguities… [the] sundering and splitting" of the unhomely world (Bhabha 27). Though unable to maintain a stable sense of home, Saleem embraces the dynamics of his post-colonial migrancy through a series of homes and families, enabling him to consume the "multitudes… jostling and shoving inside" him (4).

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Machiavelli's Nature

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Machiavelli is not as enigmatic as is commonly believed. His views on human nature, religion and fortune remain constant and pragmatic throughout *The Prince* and *The Discourses.* That Machiavelli achieves this despite advocating for two separate and conflicting types of government is perhaps his greatest feat as a writer and political strategist. He accomplishes this by establishing that politics is a world of its own, unaffected by rules and codes of conduct that govern the other aspects of human life. Doing so allows him to speak in a commonsensical manner without creating conflicts of a moral nature. To many philosophers, this duality presents a problem, but Machiavelli was not a philosopher, and he saw no reason that he or anyone else should have to apply the rules of virtuous living to successful leadership. Machiavelli was a man exiled from his native land, desperate to reach his goal of reintegration into the Florentine political scene through his revolutionary, sometimes brutal, but always consistent, interpretation of the human psyche. It is in this context that his two major works were written, and it is this context that precludes the notion that either of them was intended to be taken in a less than serious light.

"It is safer to be feared than loved."[2] These are perhaps the most discussed and most heavily disputed words that Machiavelli ever wrote. The statement itself intentionally raises many questions regarding the nature of human beings. The answers to these questions, according to Machiavelli, define the validity of the statement itself. Machiavelli maintains that fear, when employed by a leader, is more effective in controlling people than affection. He believes this based on his assumption that because men are, on whole, self-serving beings, they will sooner betray the laws of someone they love than of someone they fear. This is because the consequences of the latter are suspected to be far more severe than the consequences of the former and often, such severe repercussions will outweigh any perceived benefits of breaking the law. In addition, the prince can control whether or not the populous fears him. Love, on the other

[1] Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith (History) for the honors course History 362(I): *Renaissance Italy*.

[2]Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince.* Translated by Peter Constantine. Introduction by Albert Russel Ascoli. New York: Random House Publishing, 2007: pg 78.

hand is largely in the emotional jurisdiction of the people. In this sense, Machiavelli displays man as unworthy of being governed by a loving ruler because he would likely abuse his leader's benevolence in times of uncertainty or war. He goes on to say that a successful prince must only strive to appear to be altruistic and selfless so as to avoid being hated. The best way to ensure such is to avoid seizure of property, "…because a man is quicker to forget the death of his father than the loss of his patrimony".[3] Here, Machiavelli sheds even more light upon the extent to which he believes men are evil. This statement seems to run counter to what all humans would like to believe about themselves. Machiavelli asserts that men value money, material, and power over family and friends. He attempts to demonstrate that human nature has existed in such a way throughout time. Machiavelli advances his theory and goes further by asseverating that a successful ruler must adequately understand human nature in order to reign over humans themselves. By understanding human temperament, his message resonates; a ruler can easily manipulate human nature to work in his favor.[4]

Machiavelli portrays a similar message in *The Discourses*, despite the fact that it advocates for a republic, over a monarchy. When discussing the value of indictments as a tool of manipulation used by republics, Machiavelli states "…for fear of being prosecuted, its [the republic's] citizens attempt nothing prejudicial to the state…"[5] Despite the fact that Republican states are generally considered to be governed by the people, Machiavelli still finds a way to employ fear against the masses. In this case, instead of a prince using fear to maintain power and thwart revolt, a republic must instill fear in its citizens to ensure the longevity of its sovereignty and to avoid mutiny. Two separate forms of government: one consistent view of human nature. Felix Gilbert argues that this concept is paramount to his success, "In *The Prince* as well as in *The Discourse*, Machiavelli outlined forms of government which used these egoistic drives of men in such a way that they would not endanger the government, but would even increase the strength of the political body.[6]" In this way, Machiavelli set himself apart from the

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[3] *The Prince:* Pg 79.

[4] King, Margaret L., *The Renaissance In Europe.* Laurence King Publishing, 2005: Pg. 230

[5] Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Discourses.* Edited with an Introduction by Bernard Crick using the translation of Leslie J. Walker, S.J. with revisions by Brian Richardson. Penguin Books, 2003: Pg 124.

[6] Gilbert, Felix. *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth Century Florence.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965: Pg 157.

ancients and from his contemporaries. In doing so, Machiavelli was able to offer something unique to his readers and demonstrate to those in power in Florence that he could offer something truly unique to the political world.[7]

Machiavelli proposed manipulation of human nature in several ways. Most offensive of which to his critics was the use of Catholicism. Machiavelli, many argue, seems to hold his own religious roots in the paganism of the ancients.[8] It is clear throughout both *The Prince* and *The Discourses* that Machiavelli views Catholicism as a great channel through which to instill a sense of morality in a populous, despite believing it to be a greatly flawed religion.[9] This use of religion is constant and exemplifies the straightforward and pragmatic way that Machiavelli catalogs leadership. He treats Christianity in an almost paradoxically secular light, advocating its usefulness only in the spectrum of control. As Gilbert notes, "…he [Machiavelli] realized the usefulness of religion for disciplining the members of society…"[10] While this is true, Machiavelli astutely recognized that religion often caused inner conflict within politicians. He believed men should choose one of two options. The first was to lead a good Christian life, devoid of politics, and the second was to live a life of politics devoid of Christian morality. Never does he advocate for evil actions over good actions, he only wishes to establish a line between politics and the rest of a human being's life. If one were to choose the path of politics, one would be forced to dedicate oneself fully to his country's cause. There was no room, according to Machiavelli, for half-invested politicians. For example, in *The Prince,* Machiavelli states, "In order to maintain the state, a prince will often be compelled to work against what is merciful, loyal, upright, and scrupulous…he must not, if he is able, distance himself from what is good, but must also, when necessary, know how to prefer what is bad."[11] This dichotomy, this sort of double standard, as it is often seen, presents a problem for critics of Machiavelli.[12] That is because they fail to see that Machiavelli recognized such moral conflicts, and found a way around them. In doing so, he decidedly states that morality and politics belong in

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[7] Gilbert: Pg. 158-161

[8] Nederman, Cary J., "Amazing Grace: Fortune, God, and Free Will in Machiavelli's Thought". *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 60.4 (1999): Pg 1.

[9] Gilbert: Pg. 196.

[10] Gilbert: Pg. 196.

[11] The Prince: Pg. 83

[12] Benjamin G. Kohl and Alison Andrews Smith, edited *Major Problems in the History of the Italian Renaissance.* D.C. Heath and Company, 1995: Pg. 188-192

two separate spheres. Unlike his contemporaries, Machiavelli advocates for a sort of political structure and mode of action that is only judged against its efficacy in maintaining a successful state.[13]

Machiavelli promotes a sort of world in which men of power and true greatness are responsible for their successes as well as for their shortcomings. When discussing the failure of Borgia, Machiavelli states, "Borgia made a bad decision. And it was ultimately this decision that brought about his ruin,"[14] clearly advocating for personal accountability on the part of a ruler. Borgia brought about his own ruin by allowing Julius to become pope, and because of this, he secured his own fate. In making such an assertion, he references and analyzes the humanist conflict between fortune and free will. Later, in his chapter regarding this issue specifically, Machiavelli sends a clear message that should be read in the context of his humanist contemporaries who advocate for "humanism of action", or in laymen's term's: the ability of human beings to overcome fortune. Machiavelli simultaneously endorses and condemns this theory.[15] While on the one hand, he places the fate of the prince on the prince's own shoulders, he also states that there are often extenuating circumstances brought about by fortune that the prince cannot avoid. His infamous comparison of Fortune to a woman seems to indicate that a prudent and politically active prince can beat fate into submission by acting violently towards her, and always anticipating her next move. "Fortune seems to be the arbiter of half our actions, but she does leave us the other half, or almost the other half, in order that our free will may prevail."[16] The incongruity of his thoughts on this subject indicates that he did not necessarily believe that any concrete conclusion could be made. That is to say, he felt that a leader must be constantly active in order to avoid the wrath of Fortune, and that even an impetuous yet somehow paradoxically prudent ruler could fall victim to her fate roughly half the time. What he does seem to believe more conclusively is that when circumstances go to extremes, man is incapable of resisting his natural inclinations.[17] A distinction must be made, however, between a man's nature and a man's fate. Machiavelli believes that while man may in fact be capable of controlling fortune, he is inherently incapable of acting with virtue against his natural, inborn complexion. On autonomy, Machiavelli is ambivalent, but at the very least, he is consistently so.

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[13] Kohl and Smith: Pg. 188

[14] *The Prince:* Pg. 38.

[15] Nederman: Pg. 3.

[16] The Prince: Pg. 115

[17] Bernard, John D., "Writing and the Paradox of the Self: Machiavelli's Literary Vocation." *The Renaissance Quartlerly,* 59.1 (2006): Pg 2.

Machiavelli saw human beings as nothing more than animals whose instincts were controlled and tamed by the norms of society. He believed that society and morality had a harmful effect on the political sphere and limited the potentiality of great leaders. It is because of this that he advises a new ruler to possess traits of a fox (cunning) or a lion (strength) or, ideally, both. Only by doing so could humans reach their full potential in the world of politics.[18] He criticizes those who condemn the use of military force by a ruler, recognizing that in order to manifest expansion and promote the longevity of sovereignty, a good military was irreplaceable. Throughout *The Prince* and *The Discourses* Machiavelli denounces mercenary militaries as uniformly bad, "They have driven Italy into slavery and disgrace"[19]. Because humans are driven by egoistic desires, mercenary armies may seem most professional in times of peace, but are unlikely to be great in times of war. In times of peace there is great incentive to be a part of a mercenary army because it is a paid position with little risk involved. As soon as war breaks out, the mercenary salary is not great enough to offset the perilousness of war. Consequently, when needed most, Machiavelli recognized that the natural desire to keep oneself out of harm's way would greatly outweigh any amount of fiscal gain. A municipal, state controlled army with the state's best interest in mind was always preferable. While, in *The Discourses*, promoting an army that fights for glory and not salary, Machiavelli states, "…for they [mercenaries] have no cause to stand firm when attacked, apart from the small pay which you give them".[20] Hence, in yet another way, Machiavelli's viewpoints run perfectly parallel to one another between the two acclaimed works.

On the subject of slander against a republic, Machiavelli states that it should be a crime punishable to the fullest extent of the law. "Calumnies, too, are among the various things of which citizens have availed themselves in order to acquire greatness".[21] Because this is a tool used to play on human nature, and often effective in turning a large number of people against a governing body, Machiavelli sees character assassination as a terrible crime. So too he condemns conspirators in *The Prince*, stating that "The worst that a prince can expect from a hostile populace is for them to abandon him, but from hostile noblemen he has also to fear their conspiring against him."[22] Here, he sagaciously notes that slander and intrigue against a prince is only really effective when in the hands of the nobles, because they possess the intellect to prudently wield such weapons of

[18] Glibert: Pg. 191-193
[19] *The Prince: Pg. 62.*
[20] *The Discourses: Pg. 218*
[21] *The Discourses: Pg. 130*
[22] *The Prince: Pg. 45*

deceit. Because it is human nature to desire to be free, and to gain and maintain power, noblemen are always to be feared, and the denigration that they may use against the state must be punishable.

Machiavelli's pragmatism was so revolutionary and unique that it has been embraced by philosophers and politicians alike. His controversial views on the use of cruelty by a leader must have given rise to theories of utilitarian consequentiality, more simply described in the maxim that "the ends justify the means". This is best exemplified in *The Prince*, when Machiavelli states "Cruelty can be called well used if it is executed at a single stroke out of necessity to secure one's power and is then not continued but converted into the greatest possible benefit for one's subjects."[23] This seems to resonate very well with John Stuart Mill's Greatest Happiness Principle, which, written several hundreds of years later, epitomizes the above quote. This consequentialism runs rampant through Machiavelli's work. To most, it is this theory that makes Machiavelli equally interesting and disturbing. Many theorize that *The Prince* was written by Machiavelli in an attempt to mock the type of ruler it describes, however the down-to-earth tone he employs throughout each of his political works, especially when regarding cruelty, would seem to hinder the rationality of this theory.

That *The Prince* was intended to be a parody is a theory that only assumes any sense of validity if one removes the context from which it was written. With the Medici family's return to power in Florence, came Machiavelli's 1513 exile. He was accused of conspiring against the family, and was thus thrust out of the political world. During the time of his exile, he first drafted a preliminary copy of *The Prince* that was dedicated to the Medici, and then wrote *The Discourses.* Through production of *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, he attempted to demonstrate that he had attained a great deal of knowledge about politics through both his experiences and through his studies. If he could adequately sell himself as a cunning and adept politician, he was fairly certain that the Medici would allow him to play a part in the Florentine government. Make no mistake; Machiavelli was, at heart, a republican. It is very clear that he demonstrated great preference for a governing body led by the people because, in his own words, "…the blending of these estates [monarch and aristocracy to form democracy] made a perfect commonwealth…"[24] Many wonder, "if he was in fact such a staunch republican, why, then, did he write an entire book about princedoms?" The answer lies in his desperation to become active in politics once again. He thought that if he could sell himself as not only sensible and masterful but also versatile, that he would maximize his chances of

[23] *The Prince Pg. 43*

[24] *The Discourses: pg. 111*

political reintegration. The disparate ideologies of the two works would seem less strange to Machiavelli's contemporaries, who were "accustomed to write under an external stimulus, often with the intention of gaining the favor of a patron."[25]

Many fall victim to the illusion that *The Prince* and *The Discourses* advocate for different things. This illusion is perpetuated by the fact that they discuss different political ideologies, but is dissolved by the fact that each ideology is supported by the same assertions and assumptions about human nature. Only by looking past the superficial premise of each work does the overall message become transparent. By establishing that all men are inherently evil and are egoistic by nature, Machiavelli creates a methodology for successfully sustaining a government that could adequately suppress that nature. That, above all else was his intention.

Obviously, Machiavelli will continue to be the topic of political, philosophical and historical debates until the end of time. He successfully captivates the imagination of his readers by speaking in a truly down to earth manner that few others dare to wield. By reading critically, and studying the circumstances under which Machiavelli wrote his two famous works it becomes very clear that he was a man desperate to reenter the world of politics, for, in his mind, the better of his country. This sort of patriotic goal makes Machiavelli admirable. He would argue that he was only fulfilling his duty to the state by exercising the one thing that was truly important: his political mind. Writing and theorizing were only done in the absence of work for the state, and it is very clear that given the choice between writing about politics, and living in the political world, he would choose the latter time after time. Given the nature of the renaissance movement in 16th century Italy, it is easy to see that Machiavelli rose to the challenges presented to him by his contemporaries.

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[25] Gilbert: pg. 188

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Weight of Womanhood: The Condition of Women in African Literature

Sarah Nehm (English)[1]

When reading Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* or Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*, the reader cannot help but take notice of the condition of women in these texts. As Lois Tyson explains, there is an unfortunate "double oppression of postcolonial women" (Tyson 423). While the colonizing culture manipulates and controls the colonized, men within patriarchal native cultures likewise oppress women. In both texts women are controlled through economic and marital practices, live in a virtual state of servitude, are considered less worthy of an education, and are unable to express their sexuality. Influenced by the colonial condition, these practices become even more complicated and oppressive. Women are often subject to physical, and even sexual, abuse. Both texts also show that there is some flexibility to the roles women are forced into, but this flexibility comes with severe consequences. However both Dangarembga and Emecheta end by offering a glimmer of hope that these conditions for women are changing or at least have the possibility to change.

In both texts, men economically control women. In both *Nervous Condition* and *Joys of Motherhood*, when a woman makes money it automatically becomes the property of the husband or father. In Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* the character Maiguru, Tambu's aunt, explains to Tambu how Babamukuru and her have received the same education, "Yes, we both studied, your uncle and I, in South Africa for our Bachelor's Degrees and in England for our Master's" (102). She does nearly the same job as Babamukuru yet she "never received her salary" because it became part of Babamukuru's wealth (103). Scholar Deepika Bahri argues that Babamukuru has essentially "'stolen' her labor to enhance his position" (6). Babamukuru is highly esteemed in the family for his wealth and for his generosity with this wealth. He is so highly thought of that he is seen as a deity type figure, demonstrated by Tambu's description "Stoically he accepted his divinity. Filled with awe, we accepted it too" (Dangarembga 88). However, a large portion of this wealth, and therefore the ability to be generous, comes from Maiguru's income; Maiguru states "Your uncle wouldn't be able to do half the things he does if I

[1] Written under the direction of Dr. Christopher Hogarth (English) for EN314(I): *Postcolonial Literature*.

didn't work as well" (103). Sadly she is never given real credit for her economic input and is not given the same respect. Tambu, the narrator, also experiences this custom of a woman's money not belonging to her. She had successfully earned enough money to pay her school fees, but her father believed the money was rightfully his; "That money belongs to me. Tambudzai is my daughter, is she not? So isn't it my money?" (30). While the headmaster does not agree, and Tambu is allowed to stay in school, this episode still demonstrates this custom.

In Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* a group of wives in Lagos teach Nnu Ego how "to start her own business so that she would not have only one outfit to wear" (52). This does not seem problematic at first; Nnu Ego will have something to do that will give her a little money for herself. The kind women "let her borrow five shillings from the woman's fund" (52). The "women's fund" shows that women in the community have found it necessary to have a separate pot of money that they can keep away from their husbands and help other women with it. It also seems that this money is kept secretly to buy things that a husband would not allow or give money to his wife for such as starting up a new business or the "luxury" of a second outfit. Her trading becomes the main source of income when Nnaife takes a position in the armed forces. She starts to pay for almost everything including her children's school fees by selling firewood and other wares (Emecheta 216). Yet she explains in the court scene towards the end of the text how even though this was money she earned it was technically Nnaife who paid; "Nnaife is the head of our family. He owns me, just like God in the sky owns us. So even though I pay the fees, yet he owns me. So in other words he pays" (217). Nnu Ego is flustered trying to explain this unjust system where women are economically oppressed and unable to call anything their own.

The colonial condition both helps and hinders the economic freedom of women in these cultures. In *The Joys of Motherhood,* after Nnu Ego's nod, which confirmed she not only paid the school fees but also helped with feeding and clothing the children, Nnaife is condemned in the eyes of the court; Emecheta writes, "she had nailed the last nail in Nnaife's coffin. It became clear that she was doing nearly all the providing and that Nnaife was away in the army for four years, she had only received two allowances even though she had five children to look after" (217). It seems that the court set up by the colonial powers is for the economic freedom of women; they saw the injustice of Nnaife calling this money his own. The colonial powers also employed many of the native people. However, in a conversation between Nnu Ego and her friend Cordelia, we find out that these jobs underpay for the work they require. The women compare their husbands to slaves, "the only difference is that they get some pay for their work, instead

of having been bought. But the pay is just enough to rent an old room like this" (51). If the colonizers had paid more money, the financial hardship for the native people may not have existed or would have existed to a lesser extent, which would have made the native culture's unjust system less obvious.

Part of this economic oppression was caused through the institution of marriage. Both novels portrayed patriarchal marriage systems that considered marriage more of an ownership than a partnership and trapped women at a young age. Tambu felt this inescapable pull towards marriage, "it was irritating the way it always cropped up in one form or another, stretching its tentacles back to bind me before I had even begun to think about it seriously, threatening to disrupt my life before I could even call it my own" (Dangarembga 183). In this culture women are commodified, or used to promote "advancement financial or socially" like objects may be used (Tyson 62). Tambu's mother examined Nyasha for her marriage potential like one examines a farm animal "'The breasts are already quite large' she declared, pinching one" (Dangarembga 133). In addition, the way the system is set up, parents are less willing to invest in their daughters. Tambu's parents often say that they are unwilling to send her to school because her education will only benefit her husband's family; "'Have you ever heard of a woman who stays in her father's house?' growled my father, 'She will meet a young man and I will have lost everything'" (30). They will invest in sons with the hope that it will bring greater wealth to the family one day, but with daughters investing seems like a waste for they will inevitably be married off and their income will improve the condition of their new family.

In *The Joys of Motherhood,* marriage, like the economy, favored the male gender. In this polygamous society a man demonstrates his wealth by his many wives and children. The co-wives are set up to constantly be in competition with one another. Co-wives compared the time they spent sexually with the shared husband, how much money each was given, and how many kids or more specifically sons each had. Nnu Ego states that when Adaku, the co-wife, first came it was "strange how in less than five hours Nnaife had become a rare commodity" (Emecheta 121). Nnu Ego never really cared too much for Nnaife but she also did not want to share him or compete for shared resources, "Where would Nnaife get the money from?" she wondered (115). Nnu Ego has an even more difficult situation because she lives in Lagos; instead of having her own hut like she would have had back in her village she has to share a bedroom with the other wife and her kids. She becomes disgusted when Adaku, her co-wife, and Nnaife make love for the first time in her presence. Nnaife says to Adaku loudly enough so that Nnu Ego can overhear, "You must learn to accept your pleasures quietly, my new wife Adaku. Your

senior wife is like a white lady: she does not want noise" (Emecheta 124). As the novel explained earlier it was bad for a woman's "morale to hear her husband giving pleasure to another woman" (21) and yet Nnaife seems to enjoy the jealousy he inspires between the two women when they overhear the other making love. It is also important to note that with this polygamous society, like most polygamous societies, men could have multiple wives, but women could not have multiple husbands.

The colonial culture complicated the marriage systems that were already in place in these native cultures. In *Nervous Conditions,* Babamukuru believed in the Christian view of marriage. Although there were still references to the brideprice (Dangarembga 128) and multiple wives (129) in the book, Babamukuru enforces Christianity and coerced Tambu's parents into having a traditional Christian ceremony "to be cleansed of sin" (163). Tambu's mother did not like the idea but she went along with it simply because Babamukuru was the head of the family and he believed it was necessary; Tambu's mother "waited without enthusiasm for her wedding" (163). Tambu was so outraged by this wedding that it was one of the first times in the novel that she refused to obey direct orders and did not attend the "wedding that made a mockery of the people I belonged to and placed doubt on my legitimate existence in this world" (165). The colonial conditional also complicated Nnu Ego and Nnaife's marriage in Emecheta's text. Nnaife was almost forced to marry Nnu Ego in the Christian church for fear he may lose his job if he did not do so (Emecheta 50). Nnu Ego fights with Nnaife on this subject "You behave like a slave! Do you go to her and say 'Please, madam craw-craw skin, can I sleep with my wife today?" (50). This made the hierarchy in their marriage even more unfair. It was not just Nnu Ego being controlled by Nnaife, but Nnaife was ultimately controlled by the colonizing power.

This economic and matrimonial oppression led to a virtual state of servitude for women. Women were conditioned to believe that it was their duty to serve the men and bear heavy burdens; Tambu is told by her mother that "When there are sacrifices to be made, you are the one who has to make them" (Dangarembga 16). Tambu is frustrated with these beliefs, "what I didn't like was the way all the conflicts came back to this question of femaleness. Femaleness as opposed and inferior to maleness" (118). At the nightly dinner table, Maiguru serves Babamukuru first; she held each dish "out for him respectfully with both hands while he spooned food on his plate" (81). No one else is allowed to touch a dish until he has taken what he pleases from all the plates. Once when dinner was held up for a while to make gravy, Maiguru took the lukewarm plate that Babamukuru had first made himself and let him take a nice warm new plate; "Maiguru said that Babamukuru's old meal was no longer fresh. She said she would eat it herself,

that Babamukuru should serve himself another portion of food" (82). When Maiguru becomes fed up with this life of servitude she leaves the house and exclaims that she is tired of being a "hotel," a "housekeeper," and "of being nothing in a home I am working myself sick to support" (174). Being a hotel and a housekeeper indicate her position as one of service, and "being nothing" further indicates that she is in a slave-like position; not only does she act as servant but she also has the status of one.

In *Joys of Motherhood,* Emecheta throughout the novel skillfully connects the role of being a wife and mother to being a slave. In the very first chapter the reader learns that Nnu Ego's "chi was a slave woman who had been forced to die with her mistress" (Emecheta 9). Expert on African literature, Stéphane Robolin believes it is this original connection "through which Emecheta eventually conjoins the condition of slavehood and the condition of womanhood" (78). This theme frequently reoccurs. First, when her child is born Nnu Ego accepts clothing from her landlord, "She forgot that in her own culture only slaves accepted worn outfits for a newly born baby" (Emecheta 54). Her condition is so close to slavery that she acts like a slave is expected to act in her culture. Emecheta makes the connection even more obvious when the narration states that Nnu Ego's "love and duty for her children were like a chain of slavery" (186). Many characters actually use the word "own" like one would for a slave or an object to describe the relationship between a man and his daughter or wife. Ona, Nnu Ego's mother, used it early on in the novel; "she supposed she should regard herself as lucky that two men want to own her" (25). Later in the novel when Nnaife's brother dies, Nnaife inherits his brother's wives (115). The fact that one could inherit a wife like one could inherit land demonstrates this slave-like position again. The wives are passed from being property of one brother to the property of the other.

Women in both texts have to serve men, not just their husbands, but their fathers, sons and the colonizers as well. Emecheta's Nnu Ego cries to her son "Please stay and be my joy, be my father, be my husband" (104). One scholar explained that "from this perspective… a change in the specific authority figure- be it father, husband, or son- makes minimal difference when one is invariably required to remain a 'serviceable and serving' enabler of male privilege" (Robolin 82). Nnu Ego is told, "you have already proved you are a good daughter, but a good daughter must also be a good wife" (Emecheta 155). She must show proper service to each man in her life. Colonial occupation again complicates this matter. Nnu Ego's friend Cordelia explains this well; while speaking about their husbands she states, "They are all slaves, including us. If their masters treat them badly, they take it out on us" (51). In Dangarembga's text, Tambu's mother explains to her the type of double servitude women in a colonized area oppose,

"And these days it is worse, with poverty of blackness on one side and the weight of womanhood on the other. Aiwa! What will help you, my child, is to learn to carry your burdens with strength" (Dangarembga 16). This seems to be the overarching message of each text; a woman's position is a difficult one complicated and worsened by the colonial condition.

In both texts, it is more important for the male children in the family to receive an education than it is for the female children. Male children were seen as more important because they will one day bring greater wealth and status to the family. In Dangarembga's text, Tambu has to fight for the right to be educated even though she has shown more passion for learning and more initiative than her brother. Tambu comes up with a plan so that their family can afford school for all the children, she states, "I will earn the fees," "If you will give me some seed, I will clear my own field and grow my own maize" (Dangarembga 17). Even when she earns the money, her father still tries to make excuses for why she cannot go. He does not even seem the least bit proud of his daughter's intelligence because as he states "Tambudazai's sharpness with her books is no use because in the end it will benefit strangers" (56). Tambu knows even from an early age how important it is for her to receive an education; "I knew how lucky I was to have been given this opportunity for mental and eventually, through it, material emancipation" (89). Education is seen as the path to freedom and Tambu has to continuously struggle with her family to let her continue her education.

In Emecheta's work, Tyson might describe Nnu Ego as a patriarchal woman because she has "internalized the norms and values of patriarchy" (85). She finds it more important for her sons to go to school than for her daughters. The girls need to help with the household chores because the boys "have to go to their lesson" (Emecheta 175). Nnu Ego states "there may be a future for educated women" when she is speaking about the daughters of other women, but for her own daughters she believes "the most important thing is for them to get good husbands" (Emecheta189).

The school fees enforced by the colonizing power exacerbated the education problem. These fees made it impossible for the native people to send all of their children to school. Often families chose whom to send by gender and birth order. While there may be a more just way of deciding who goes to school and who stays home, the fact that these families had to make such a choice was a position that was forced on to them by the colonizing power. Tambu actually earns her school fees from the charity of a white woman named Doris. When Doris first saw Tambu selling cobs she yelled "Child labour. Slavery!" and then she said, "This child ought to be in school" (Dangarembga 28). While the words spoken by Mr. Matimba, the teacher who took her into town to sell her mealies

to the white woman, are not written, it is implied that he explains how the school fees imposed by whites have created Tambu's position and now she was raising the money for this cost. This woman then donates and the crowd cheers but others point out "white people could afford to be, in fact ought to be, generous" (29). As we saw in both texts children often had to receive scholarships for the opportunity to gain a higher education. In Dangarembga's text, the only reason Tambu is able to continue her education is because she receives a full scholarship for the "finest education in Rhodesia" and even Babamukuru believes that Tambu "must not be denied the opportunity" (186). In Emecheta's text, Nnu Ego, who had originally chosen to pay for her sons' educations over her daughters, later said that "my only regret is that I did not have enough money to let the girls stay at school" (214). This again demonstrates that the colonial powers that offered an education also at times made it impossible for all children to go. When forced to make a decision, families did what was going to help them most economically.

Beyond being controlled by economic, marriage and education systems, often sexuality is another aspect of a woman that men control in these texts. Having control over one's body seems like it would be the most basic form of autonomy, however both Dangarembga and Emecheta demonstrate that even at the most basic level, women are again without authority. The culture contains rules on how to dress, sexual appetite, how and when to have children, etc. Tyson explains that "'bad girls' violate patriarchal sexual norms in some way: they're sexually forward in appearance or behavior, or they have many sexual partners" (90). In *Nervous Conditions,* Nyasha is considered a "bad girl" and branded a whore by Babamukuru for the way she behaves and dresses even though there is no evidence of sexual promiscuity. Babamukuru insists that Nyasha will not leave the house "dressed up in such an ungodly manner" even though Maiguru has bought her the dress as a reward for how well she did on her exams (Dangarembga 111). After this scene Tambu and Chido tease Nyasha, "It's your fault. What do you expect if you insist on dressing up like that?" (111). Even though this is just gentle teasing, the fault is placed on Nyasha when all she has done is wear a dress that her mother has bought her. When Nyasha returns home a few minutes later than Chido and Tambu, she is scolded for her actions; "No decent girl would stay out alone, with a boy, at that time of night," Babamukuru stated (115). Her father has equated a simple, innocent act as absolute indecency.

Tambu similarly struggles with her body as she transitions from child to adult. Tambu loved to dance but once she became better at dancing and had a shapelier body she had to stop, "As I had grown older and the music began to speak to me more clearly, my movements had grown stronger, more rhythmical and luxuriant; but people had not

found it amusing anymore, so in the end I realized there were bad implications for the way I enjoyed the rhythm" (Dangarembga 42). While women are expected to beget children, the process of menstruation that gives the woman the ability to do this is never addressed. Tambu only knows that it is a shameful part of being a woman that cannot be talked about because it would "contaminate immaculate male ears" (71). No one has even taught her about her own body; when Nyasha gives her a tampon and the instructions on how to use one, Tambu expresses surprise, "Did it really look like that on the inside?" (97). Tampons make the menstruating process more manageable and sanitary, but simply because these Western contraptions imply a certain action, or even the ability to comfortably touch one's body, they are associated with being a "bad girl." Nyasha's mom believed that "Tampons were offensive, that nice girls did not use them" (97). In actuality, the use of tampons does not reflect a woman's sexual choices. Tampons are not even remotely sexy or pleasurable yet they are equated with having sex.

In *The Joys of Motherhood,* similar restrictions and rules are placed on a woman's body and how she expresses her sexuality. When Nnu Ego marries her first husband, visitors say, "we pray that it is less than ten months our in laws will come and thank us again for the birth of her baby" (Emecheta 31). For a baby to appear in ten months that means Nnu Ego is expected to conceive within the first month. There is no question of whether Nnu Ego wants this for herself or not. Her people believe that "When a woman is virtuous it easy for her to conceive," so if Nnu Ego has trouble conceiving or hypothetically if she did not want to conceive right away, her reputation would be at stake (31). Later the reader finds out that a woman is judged harshly if she shows enjoyment during sex. Nnu Ego cannot believe that Aduku, her co-wife, enjoys sex so much; "What did she think she was doing? Did she think Nnaife was her lover and not her husband to show her enjoyment so?" (124). Tyson explains how often a "good" woman is "expected to find sex frightening or disgusting," "it was believed unnatural for women to have sexual desire." Nnu Ego embodies this patriarchal belief when she passes judgment on Adaku.

The colonial powers, and specifically Christianity, reinforce the ideas concerning sexuality and women. This is especially apparent in Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions.* Nyasha has to live up to her own culture's ideals as well as the ideals of the colonizing power. As Carolyn Shaw explains "Babamukuru's surveillance of Nyasha's sexuality derives in large part from Christianity that he learned in the mission, but also is motivated by his need to protect and promote his position in the colonial system" (10). This argument is evident when Babamukuru yells at Nyasha for staying out late with a boy, "I am respected at this mission. I cannot have a daughter who behaves like a whore"

(Dangarembga 116). He is not worried about her safety or anything besides his image and how those at the mission with see him. While Babamukuru chooses what he likes best from each culture it seems that "the traditional Shona ideal of female restraint or containment meshes well with this puritanism" (Shaw 11). In this case, the Western culture helps justify the patriarchal native culture.

Some of the most difficult parts of both novels for Western readers are the brutal beatings and virtual rape scenes depicted. In Dangarembga's text one of the most upsetting scenes is when Babamukuru viciously beats Nyasha for staying out late with a boy. The scene read more like a wrestling match than an interaction between father and daughter; "Babamukuru alternately punching Nyasha's head and banging it against the floor" (Dangarembga 117). Babamukuru justifies his actions based on Nyasha's behavior after punching him in the eye, "if Nyasha was going to behave like a man, then by his mother who was at rest in her grave he would fight her like one" (117). Violence to this extreme degree can only happen in a culture where violence between father and daughter has been previously accepted.

Emecheta's Nnu Ego is beaten by her first husband. Even though Nnu Ego is hurt so badly that her father wants her to recover in his own house for a while, he says to her husband "I don't blame you for beating her so badly" (Emecheta 35). The father accepts another man beating his daughter without becoming angry. Nnu Ego is also beaten by her second husband, "Nnaife lost his temper and banged the guitar he was holding against her head" (91). Not only has Nnu Ego been the sole financial provider at this point in the text, she is also pregnant when she is hit with the guitar. Later in their marriage, Nnaife "could now afford to beat her up, if she went beyond the limits he could stand" (117). In addition to Nnu Ego's physical abuse, a less central character, Iyawo Itsekiri is described as "mellowed by the constant beatings of her husband" (105). With Nnu Ego's second husband, the sex on her wedding night is virtually a rape, although that would not be a term applied in their culture. Nnaife demands his "marital right" and "worked himself into an animal frenzy" (44). He is described as "hungry" and "insatiable" but Nnu Ego "bore it and relaxed as she had been told" (44). Nnaife keeps waking her up to have sex and will not let her sleep even after her long journey. In addition, Nnu Ego learns that Nnaife's brother had heard them all night, and she "felt humiliated" (44). However she had no right to say "no" to him, as Nnaife pointed out this was his marital right.

In both texts the woman's body becomes a battleground over which the struggle to express sexuality and autonomy is fought. Nyasha's disordered self "suggests the texualized female body on whose abject person are writ large the imperial inscriptions of colonization, the intimate branding of patriarchy and the battle between native culture"

(Bahri 1994). Nyasha is a growing woman; she is interested in boys, Western culture, and expressing her sexuality and desired independence. Yet her father sees her confidence and love of the West as sinful. In Dangarembga's work, "Nyasha's breakdown represents her fear of the desires of her adolescent body, desires for which her father condemned her" (Shaw 9). Nyasha is caught in between, "How could she be an obedient daughter and at the same time a sexually mature adult? Caught in this dilemma, Nyasha tries to stave off womanhood through anorexia/bulimia" (Shaw 9). By starving herself she denies Babamukuru the right of deciding what goes into her body. She refuses his authority by refusing to eat the food prepared in his house. However, she also denies her body and her emerging womanhood. Preferring "bones to bounce" (Dangarembga 202) may be an internalization of Western ideals, but she is also denying the type of body that is makes her a commodity in her own society. She is both denying her body and showing her control over it at once.

In Emecheta's text, Nnu Ego is similarly pulled in too many directions and breaks down as a result of this. When she finally has a child after being declared "juiceless" (33) she has proven herself, but the loss of this child is too much. She has not lived up to other's ideals so she attempts to take her own life. However she is denied the right to do this, in her culture "you are simply not allowed to commit suicide in peace, because everyone is responsible for the other person" (60). Her own body and her life did not belong to her; they believed "an individual's life belongs to the community not just to him or her" (60). This may have been true for men too, but it still demonstrates how oppressive her culture is. When she is stopped she is told, "you are shaming your womanhood, shaming your motherhood" (61). Everything she does is a reflection of those two roles, and those two roles are the only reflection of herself. Throughout the text Nnu Ego believes that if she can have children she will be cared for in her old age. Robolin points out her "repressive service to society throughout life and the ever-deferred honor, which she cannot enjoy alive and 'not even in death'"(Robolin 81). Nnu Ego continues to deny any personal desires to become an esteemed wife and mother. Nnu Ego's "double pursuit of social acceptance and internalized sense of self-fulfillment must most ironically be achieved by suspending her own hopes, desires, and goals; hence the double-bind of minimizing self in order to maximize one's esteem "(Robolin 81). By the end of the novel she has minimized herself to the point of death; she dies unexpectedly and alone on the side of the road.

The roles of women and the institutions that kept women in these roles were oppressive, but this did not stop the women from trying to fight against them. One critique argues that third world women are always portrayed as "ignorant, irrational,

poor, uneducated, traditional, passive and sexually oppressed" (Wood 430). However, this seems unfair especially when it comes to the terms "irrational" "passive" and "traditional." Both Dangarembga and Emecheta offer examples of women who try to break out of their presubscribed roles. Unfortunately the women who do so are often met with severe consequences. For example, Emecheta's Adaku, Nnu Ego's co-wife, does not like being trapped in an oppressive system and seeks to emancipate herself economically. She leaves Nnaife to gain economic independence. While she successfully breaks out of the system, she faces consequences for doing so. This act earns her "a certain degree of social ostracism" (Robolin 88). She is labeled a prostitute and even calls herself one (168); though the reader is unsure of whether she has truly become a prostitute or rather she has just been labeled as such; "Adaku reveals the workings of an oppressive and damaging social structure that she desperately wants to abandon even at the cost of her own social respectability" (Robolin 88).

While Emecheta's Adaku breaks out of the economic system, Dangarembga's Lucia, Tambu's aunt rejects, the role of wife. However she is not able to do so freely. She faces social ostracism as well, others talk about her and say "There is nothing of a woman there. She sleeps with anybody and she hasn't borne a single child yet" (128). Her womanhood is taken away from her simply because she does not want to settle down and have children. Not only is she considered less of a woman, but she is even demonized; the men of Tambu's family say "She's been bewitched. More likely she's a witch herself" (128) because of her marital status. Tambu states that Lucia was "indicted for both her barrenness and her witchery" (128). In addition, her promiscuity affected her family's reputation and caused her sister's brideprice to be reduced greatly (128).

In Emecheta's text, one of Nnu Ego's twin daughters, Kehinde breaks away from the system of arranged marriages and marries a man from the Yuroba tribe. Basically from her parents neglect, "no one missed Kehinde , until it was too late" she is able to break free from one of the customs that bound women (Emecheta 206). The Yuroba people, although disliked by Nnaife are described quite favorably. They do not have the same tradition of a brideprice (215), many send their daughters to school (168), and they found the tradition of multiple wives "strange" (217). It is hopeful that Kehinde will have a better life than Nnu Ego did. The depiction of the in-laws at sister Taiwo's wedding is bright and joyful, "The Yoruba in-laws made the whole thing more colorful than many anticipated," (Emecheta 221). This is one of the final scenes in the novel and it shows cultural blending and a mellowing of strict cultural norms. However there was a dark shadow that loomed over this action. It led to violence and the eventual court sentence for Nnaife. The reader is not given too much information, but based on the

hatred between the Yuroba and the Igbo it seems likely that Kehinde will be disowned by her people for this action.

In both texts the youngest generation of females seem to reject the idea of serving the men in their family. Dangarembga begins her novel with Tambu stating, "I was not sorry when my brother died" (1). One literary expert explains, "This unapologetic statement stands out against traditions of male preference, or female solicitudes, and of family loyalty" (Shaw 14). Nyasha also refuses to stand for this sort of servitude. While Maiguru is making quite a ceremony of serving Babamukuru, Nyasha helps her self to the dish of rice, one of the earliest signs of her rebellion (82). However later her love of Western culture leaves her completely torn, she is severely beaten and eventually develops bulimia. In Emecheta's novel, Nnu Ego's older twins likewise seem unwilling to serve men in the same way Nnu Ego does. They point out a few times how it is unfair that they have to do chores when the boys can go to school (175).

While many of the younger women in *Nervous Conditions* and in *Joys of Motherhood* want to attend school and stay in school as long as their brothers do, Dangarembga offers an example of a woman who has done just that and suffered for it. Tambu describes how because of Maiguru's education she was in a state of alienation, "I was concerned that she did not have many people to talk to, but I supposed it was the consequence of her being so educated since none of the other married women at the mission with whom she may have been friendly had degrees, not even a Bachelor of Arts, let alone a Master of Philosophy like my aunt did" (Dangarembga 99). Maiguru being one of very few educated woman is unable to make friends. In addition, she knows that she brings in a good portion of the wealth into the household and yet she is not honored for doing so as she should be. Her education has made her more aware of her oppressed condition, but she says she chose "security" over "self" (103).

Tambu, likewise, has the ability to continue her education, but is met with obstacles to overcome. Her diligence earned her a full scholarship to one of the best schools. This seems like a great moment in the text, Tambu receives the freedom that she desired. However, when she arrives at the school she finds out she will be anything but free. The "Africans" share a room meant for four between six girls (Dangarembga 198). She will be separated from the white girls who live at the school. In addition to being a minority at the school, Tambu's mother believes that Tambu's brother, Nhamo's death and Nyasha's break down were both caused by "the Englishness" (207). She said "It'll kill them all if they aren't careful" (207). Although Tambu enjoyed studying away at school, her mother's theory plagued her with nightmares. Tambu may have rid herself of a man's rule for a period of time, but now she would fully understand what it meant to be black in a colonized society.

The question the reader must ask is "Do Dangarembga and Emecheta offer any hope?" This is a difficult thing to answer. It seems that any step forward was met with a huge amount of resistance, and that if anything even the strongest women characters were able to win only half- victories. Dangarembga ends her text with Tambu completely separated from her family. Yet she is telling "the story of four women and our men" (208), which shows a sense of self and a voice that she did not seem to have earlier in the text. She even demonstrates possession of the men with the use of "our." Likewise the last scene of Emecheta's text is bittersweet. Nnu Ego's spirit refuses to grant children to barren women. While her rebellion is overshadowed by the fact that she had to wait until death, it is not a completely pessimistic end. Both Dangarembga and Emecheta see that it is necessary to critique a culture for it to change and hopefully progress. They are both able to be realistic about the possibility of change. The half-victories in the novel demonstrate that change is possible, but it will not be easy. Both Dangarembga and Emecheta, provide a window into a culture that for many seems scary and unknown, but by doing so they are increasing awareness of the obstacles that many postcolonial women encounter and offering the possibility of change.

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