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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.

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Section I: The Natural Sciences

Full Length Papers

- 3 Species-Area Relationship of Colonial Waterbirds Nesting on Barnegat Bay
Saltmarsh Islands
Alexandria Mary Zummo

Section II: The Social Sciences

Full Length Papers

- 23 America Needs to Make a SNAPy Comeback: An Empirical Humanitarian Study
Arguing in Favor of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)
Justin S.E. Bulova

Section III: Critical Essays

Full Length Papers

- 43 Modal Jazz, Miles Davis and *Kind of Blue*
William Pegg
- 55 Opening Doors: The Broadway Musicals of Harold Prince
James Forbes Sheehan
- 65 Rochdale Village: Integration, Urban Renewal, and Decline
Jessica Catanzaro
- 76 The Life of R.D. Laing and an Analysis of Laing's Theory of Schizophrenia
Laurie Fogelstrom
- 88 Accepting a Healthy Dose of Falstaff: The Element of Irreducible Rascality and Sir
John Falstaff's Role in *Henry IV, Part I*
Krag Kerr
- 94 Edward Said: The Critic as Exile
Aisha Raheel

106 What is Madness: Analyzing “Equus”
Kaitlin Newlin-Wagner

110 Urban Stratification
Quincy Rasin

Section I: The Natural Sciences

Species-Area Relationship of Colonial Waterbirds Nesting on Barnegat Bay Saltmarsh Islands

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The species-area relationship (SAR) is described as the dependence of the number of species in a region on the size of the region. The species-area hypothesis states that an increased number of species will be found in larger areas since larger regions can support larger populations and contain greater habitat diversity. SARs are important in the analyses and conservation of biodiversity. The study and measure of species-area relationships can help in the maintenance of biodiversity and the prevention of species extinction. A study of the species-area relationships for species of nesting waterbirds took place on the Barnegat Bay islands in New Jersey. During the summer of 2013, records of any waterbird species nesting on the islands (e.g. terns, gulls, ducks, oystercatchers, etc.) were recorded during visits to the island along with the habitat diversity and vegetation present on the six islands explored. The areas of the islands were calculated using Google Earth™ software. The data was calculated and compared to construct what is known as a species-area curve. This ultimately determined the relationships between area size and habitat diversity with the number of species occupying the land, leading to increased knowledge of habitat selection of waterbirds. As expected, islands that occupied a larger area in turn harbored a greater number of species. In addition, these islands specifically contained several habitats rather than islands with simply one type of habitat.

I. Introduction

Species-Area Relationships

The relationship between habitat area and the species that inhabit the area is known as a species-area relationship (SARs). A common pattern in ecology states that the larger the amount of area available, the higher the number of species that populate the area. Area has the ability to influence species richness directly in more than one way. For example, larger islands present larger targets for dispersing individuals and they generally support larger populations (Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999). In addition, a large area has the

¹ Research performed under the direction of Dr. Brian Palestis in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

ability to support a more diverse habitat. Therefore, the increased habitat diversity indirectly increases the number of species occupying the area since increased habitat diversity will provide the environmental conditions to accommodate various plant and animal life. Three biological systems have been used to explain species-area relationships, and are known as the habitat diversity hypothesis, the area per se hypothesis, and the passive sampling hypothesis (Connor & McCoy, 2001).

The habitat diversity hypothesis suggests that there is an increase in species within large areas as opposed to small areas due to the fact that large areas support a larger range of diverse habitats (Ricklefs and Lovette 1999; Connor & McCoy, 2001). The various environments present on larger areas of land permit a larger array of species that naturally reside in specific habitats to select these areas to occupy. It also provides a place for species requiring multiple habitats to populate. Ultimately, large areas will prosper in species richness more than small areas leading to the establishment of a species-area relationship. The habitat diversity hypothesis places more emphasis on the direct effect of habitat diversity rather than the effect of area upon species richness. In regards to this hypothesis, area is only indirectly correlated with species richness.

The second hypothesis, known as the area per se hypothesis or the random placement hypothesis assumes that the number of species within a certain region varies as one would expect if species were dispersed at random among sites with the number of species in a site proportional to the area of the site (Connor and McCoy, 2001; Guadagnin, Maltchik, and Fonseca, 2009). In addition, the probability of extinction occurring within the area is a negative function of abundance and overall area. In other words, larger areas will contain a higher number of species in comparison to small areas because larger population size allows more species to survive overall and avoid local extinction. Simultaneously, as area size increases and the risk for extinction decreases, there is a higher probability of immigration. That is, there is a greater chance that new species will be introduced to the island and balance any local extinctions (Kallimanis et al., 2008). Furthermore, according to the area per se hypothesis, a species-area relationship could still be observed even in spaces of area with only one habitat (Connor and McCoy, 2001).

The third hypothesis mentioned is known as the passive sampling hypothesis. This hypothesis illustrates the theory that larger areas will be inclined to acquire more colonists than smaller areas. Thus, according to the passive sampling hypothesis, species richness is independent of the influence of habitat diversity and the probability of extinction. The species-area relationship only considers the variables of species number

and area. Researchers observing passive sampling of seasonally colonized areas have supported this hypothesis. As stated by Connor & McCoy (2001), these studies demonstrate that seasonally colonized habitats receive more colonists and ultimately have higher species richness.

Typically, the formula for SARs is expressed as a power law $S = cA^z$ (Allen & White, 2003; Kolasa, Manne, & Pandit, 2012). S represents the number of species, A is the area, and z is the slope of the species-area relationship when graphed on a log-log plot. The double-logarithmic transformation ultimately linearizes the power-function model so that the resulting species-area curve is linear (Connor & McCoy, 2001). The value of c is a constant specific to the location and type of organisms, with $\log(c)$ as the y-intercept in the log-log plot.

For data to be retrieved based on the relationship between species and area, the most universally accepted method used has been to sample physically separated areas such as islands or habitat patches. Sampling from this observed natural range of areas, generates a range of sample areas. The alternative technique is to sample adjacent areas of continuous habitat as independent regions. The land is divided up into a series of non-overlapping subregions in order to generate a range of sample areas (Connor & McCoy, 2001). The following study within this thesis sampled areas physically separated by surrounding bodies of water. This approach is commonly used in studies of SARS.

Area, Species Richness, and Habitat Diversity

As stated previously, species richness is also directly affected by habitat diversity. Considering a larger area of land will usually be able to support a more diverse range of habitats, the species richness will rise. Additionally, larger populations typically involve high genetic variation among individuals of the population. This will permit them to respond better to changes in the environmental conditions that may occur in a more diverse habitat. Different habitats also attract a wider variety of species that have specific nesting and settling preferences. Expectedly, landscapes with diversified habitat types, and higher levels of natural fragmentation (heterogeneous landscapes), should maintain higher species number for the same surface area than homogenous landscapes (Kolasa et al., 2012). In essence, habitat diversity exerts a significant effect on species richness (Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999).

In spite of this, the study of habitat diversity within the context of species-area relationships is problematic by reason of three factors (Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999). First and foremost, it has been viewed that habitat diversity is challenging to define. Habitat diversity

is quite complicated and has many different forms with many different meanings. Appropriate measures of habitat diversity are likely to differ from one type of organism to another (Simberloff, 1976; Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999). A second complication arises in that the effects of area and habitat diversity on species richness are indistinguishable with island area. This causes difficulties in separating the independent statistical effects of habitat diversity and area per se on species richness (Simberloff, 1976; Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999). A third problem that is posed in determining the influence of habitat diversity is that it is not yet completely understood how species respond to different habitats. Without some type of species differentiation between habitats, the concept of habitat diversity is irrelevant (Hart & Horowitz, 1991, Ricklefs & Lovette, 1999).

Nonetheless, despite the difficulties in analyzing the effect of habitat diversity upon species richness vs. area, each variable contributes to the overall species richness in a profound way. Connor and McCoy (2001) express that species-area relationships are universal and have been observed within a considerable group of taxa extending from diatoms to mammals and for geographical entities such as islands, woodland, grassland, and cropland habitat patches, and lakes.

Island Habitat

Coastal ecosystems, much like Barnegat Bay, are the interface between coastal mainland and the open ocean (Burger, et al. 2001). The habitats that form within these estuaries and bays are the homes for a multifarious amount of species including plant life, invertebrates, fish, and microorganisms. Furthermore, these ecosystems provide adequate nesting sites for a vast assortment of birds to strengthen and maintain survival and reproduction during the breeding season. For example, Burger (1998) explains that colonially-nesting species often attempt to reduce their interactions with humans and other predatory species by choosing to nest on more remote island locations. Since barrier islands provide not only protection from natural predators, but preferred habitat specifications, and plenty of available food and nutrient sources, they are desirable sites for nesting.

Much of the island habitat located in estuaries and bays are salt marshes. Dominated by salt-tolerant plants, shrubs, and grasses, salt marshes are relatively stable sites despite the regular tidal flooding that occurs on these islands. Since they lie between land and open saltwater or brackish water, the accumulation of sediments from adjoining rivers, streams, and other water sources, these areas build up low-lying saltmarsh islands. Burger (1977) describes the predominant vegetation type that populates the saltmarsh island known as *Spartina alterniflora* or Smooth/Saltmarsh cordgrass, while some high

marsh areas also grow *Spartina patens*, a hay like grass that grows taller than *S. alterniflora* as well as *Iva frutescens* bushes, *Phragmites*, bayberry (*Myrica pensylvanica*), and poison ivy (*Rhus radicans*).

S. alterniflora covers saltmarsh islands almost exclusively, while other habitat types such as sandy beaches or woody tree areas populated with trees and shrubs like the species mentioned above, can also inhabit the land. The image in **Photo 1** depicts *S. alterniflora* carpeting part of Little Sedge Island. A stream of water that cut through a portion of the island, most likely a result of flooding is visible in the photograph. The herring gulls (*Larus argentatus*) that populate the island along with other species can be seen in the background of the picture.



Photo 1. Picture of saltmarsh island- Little Sedge Island (North).

Waterbird Classification and Habitat Selection

To put it simply, birds that live on or around water are also known as waterbirds. These birds occupy numerous diverse regions of both marine and freshwater habitats and are vital contributing members to the aquatic ecosystem in which they inhabit. Often, most waterbirds tend to have slow life histories in which they are long-lived, lay relatively small clutches, and most individuals do not breed until around the age of three or later (Palestis, 2014). Some major groups of waterbirds include the wading birds or shorebirds, waterfowl, and seabirds.

Waterfowl, categorized by duck, swans, and geese are able to swim and spend long periods of time living in the water. These birds are often recognized as game birds. Shorebirds otherwise known as waders or wading birds include species such as oystercatchers and sandpipers that are often found feeding on saltwater or freshwater shorelines. Seabirds, also known as marine birds, commonly feed in saltwater and have adapted to reside in a marine environment or a pelagic zone (any body of water on the open ocean). These birds are grouped apart from other waterbird classes since these other groups include bird species that have not necessarily adapted to a predominantly marine habitat. Seabirds, such as terns, cormorants, and pelicans often remain out in the open ocean. However, some may nest on islands present in the ocean or on the mainland. Nevertheless, common characteristics of seabirds also incorporate their abilities of surface feeding, existing within colonies for the purpose of breeding, and migration after the breeding season has concluded. During the breeding season, it has been evident that a majority of these waterbirds, specifically terns, prefer to feed mainly on small schooling fish close to the surface of the water, but diet may also include crustaceans, insects, and other prey (Palestis, 2014).

While the waterbirds identified in this study selected the salt marsh habitat for nesting, each species of waterbird has a specific range of preference. For example, common terns (*Sterna hirundo*) traditionally nest on sand and shingle beaches, sand dunes, and on sand islands in freshwater and coastal marshes. However, on saltmarsh islands common terns prefer to nest upon either species of *Spartina* or nesting substrate composed of wrack, dead eelgrass (*Zostera*) and other dead vegetation that is often deposited on the salt marsh islands by floods (Burger & Lesser, 1979; Palestis, 2009; Figure 2). Wrack allows the nests to survive flooding as opposed to nests on bare soil, bare sand, or in *S. alterniflora* since they increase elevation, provide structure, and can float (Palestis, 2009). However, colonies of herring gulls prefer to nest on islands where they are able to detect approaching dangers. Typically they are usually found occupying sandy or rocky barrier beach island habitats with *S. patens* and *S. alterniflora* but have also been found nesting in higher regions, under *Iva* or *Buccharis* bushes (Burger, 1998; Burger et al., 2001). Other bird species such as herons prefer highly elevated islands that allow the growth of *Iva* or *Buccharis* bushes and poison ivy which provide the herons with structures for nesting. Yet different species might prefer densely vegetated areas that allow them to hide, making them not quite visible from the edge of the island (Burger et al., 2001).

II. Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to establish and discover the pattern of species-area relationships of waterbirds in the Barnegat Bay region. Many are knowledgeable of species-area curves and the concept that as area of an island increases, the number of species or species richness will also increase. In other words, area is directly proportional with species richness. It is believed that this pattern seen in ecology occurs due to the impact of habitat diversity. A larger region of area has the capacity to support a more



Photo 2. A common tern (*Sterna hirundo*) nest in eelgrass (*Zostera*)

diverse habitat; in turn this attracts a wider variety of species to inhabit the area. In testing this theory with six very distinctive islands within a coastal ecosystem environment (i.e. an environment that provides many vital resources for survival), it is possible to conclude if the theory is in fact true. Species-area curves are important in the pursuit of conservation and the prevention of loss of biodiversity. Many natural habitats and the species that reside there are at risk for extinction. Predatory effects, natural disasters, and human interference threaten many of the living species worldwide. By establishing a baseline using the observations and conclusions of biodiversity from this study and similar studies, conservational attempts can be mapped out and put into effect. As Desmet & Cowling (2004) state, conservation targets are an integral part of present-day conservation planning, implementation, and monitoring. It is possible to utilize species-area relationships to set conservation targets for different land classes. The ability to predict the rate of extinction is also something that the SAR has provided researchers. By reversing the SAR, and inferring backwards from area, to calculate expected species

loss based on habitat deterioration, the extinction rate can be estimated (Fangliang & Hubbel, 2013).

III. Materials and Methods

Field Research

During the summer of 2013, beginning prior to the start of the breeding season during the middle of May and continuing until mid-late August, six islands located in Barnegat Bay, New Jersey were visited multiple times to compare island size and habitat diversity with the number of nesting waterbird species. Accessibility to the field sites was accomplished using a small 2-3 person motorized boat.

Of the equipment used at the field sites, a hard hat was included and used for protection against aggressive nesting birds occupying the island. Rain boots were necessary as a precaution against the unpredictable weather and terrain of the islands. During the exploration of the island, the habitat type was recorded along with any observed waterbird nesting species using a Rite-in-the-Rain® notebook. In order to identify a waterbird species, binoculars were used for larger areas of land where species were farther away. However, for many of the species identified, visual enhancement was not necessary. In these scenarios, nests were present containing eggs or young, and were discovered in the grass. The egg sizes and colors were indicative of the species of birds that laid them. Additionally, species occupying the nest were frequently identified when an adult bird would fly up and away from the nest site.

Study Sites

Barnegat Bay is a small area located between the main coastline and the barrier islands of Ocean County, New Jersey in the United States. Approximately 50 kilometers in length, the barrier islands separate the bay from the Atlantic Ocean, protect the main coastline from damaging weather conditions such as storms and hurricanes that may emerge from the ocean, and create several different habitat types that are ideal for various species. Generally, barrier islands form a long chain of offshore islands, separated from one another by tidal inlets that allow sediments and tidal mixing with the open ocean to form brackish water. The Barnegat Bay estuary, a tidal inlet of the sea where fresh water and ocean water meet through open connections to the sea, is consisted of a large number of various habitat types such as sandy beaches and salt marshes that support a variety of wild life including migratory birds, threatened and endangered species, and several species of fish and shellfish.

The six islands that were explored include Pettit Island, Little Sedge Island, Little Mike's Island, Ortley Cove (Unknown) Island, Surf City (Unknown) Island, and Cedar Bonnet Island East. The most northern island that was frequented most often was Little Sedge Island (39° 58'N, 74° 04'W) located in Great Swan Bay, Lavallette, NJ. The island itself adjoins another island with very similar habitat and area size. However, there is a distinct separation between the two bodies of land. It is assumed that rising sea levels and floods could have washed a portion of the low lying island (elevated 1 to 2 ft.) area out leaving a distinct channel that separates the island. Therefore, the island was considered as two land masses (Little Sedge Island North and Little Sedge Island South).

Little Mike's Island (39° 57'N, 74° 05'W), a smaller island in northern Barnegat Bay, New Jersey is a low salt marsh island populated predominantly with *S. alterniflora*, with about 10 % *S. patens*. This island is located approximately 45 m from a nearby barrier island and 60 m from Mike's Island. In the early 1990's, Little Mike's Island had contained one of the largest nesting colonies of Common Terns in Barnegat Bay with a range of 200-500 pairs (Burger, 1998). However, in recent years the amount of active nests that survive throughout the season has reduced to meager numbers.

Pettit Island (39° 40'N, 74° 10'W) is a smaller island at an elevation of 2 ft. and an area of approximately 0.35 hectares covered predominantly in *S. alterniflora* located in Manahawkin Bay. Many studies have taken place here over the past 40 years by scientists Burger, Gochfeld, and Palestis, who have analyzed the behavior and nesting patterns of common terns and other colonial nesting waterbirds. For the past few decades, it is known that Pettit Island has been the site of a common tern colony. The total number of common tern nests on the island often varies from approximately over 110 to 210 nests. (Palestis, 2009). Nevertheless, recent years have produced poor reproductive success for terns with many abandoned or washed out nests.

The island referred to as Cedar Bonnet East Island (39° 39'N, 74° 11'W) is located not far from Pettit Island in the Manahawkin Bay of Ocean City, NJ near the Long Beach Island (LBI) Causeway area. This island along with the Unknown Island in Surf City (39° 39'N, 74° 10'W) and the Ortley Cove (Unknown) Island (39° 57'N, 74° 04'W) are located very close to residential human populated areas. For example, Cedar Bonnet is located very close to Rt. 72 West, while the Surf City (Unknown) Island is located approximately 70 m from the residential area located on the nearby barrier island. Ortley Cove is the closest to the adjacent barrier island located with the nearest part of the island a mere 10 feet from the barrier island.

Once data was obtained regarding the species richness and habitat diversity of each island, the area of each island was calculated using Google Earth™ software. The measurements of each island in meters were taken using the Ruler tool provided by Google Earth. Once the approximate length and width of the island were noted, the area was computed and the resulting number indicated the island area in square meters. For the necessary study, the area in meters squared was then converted into hectares. A hectare is a unit of area equal to 10,000 square meters. Keeping the conversion factor of 1 square meter is equal to 0.001 hectare in mind, the area in hectares was calculated simply by dividing the m² value by 10,000.

Bird Banding

Throughout the course of this study, a simultaneous study implemented by Dr. Brian Palestis was taking place that analyzed the migration and nesting preferences of common terns within Barnegat Bay. The study objective has been to trap, band, and spot previously banded common terns in order to understand the population dynamics exhibited by the common tern. The execution of this ongoing, annual study has continuously been accomplished by arranging multiple metal wire traps on top of active nests that permit the tern to walk into the ensnarement, but make it difficult to escape. The traps are built so that the terns are not harmed. After vacating the island and allowing a sufficient amount of time for the terns to calm, settle, repopulate the island and their nests once again, and potentially enter the traps that have been set up, reentry of the island to evaluate the traps is executed. If the terns are successfully caught in the traps, the birds are carefully removed from the cages and placed in small drawstring bags to calm them and prevent them from escaping during the banding procedure. Once the short banding procedure is completed that again does not harm the bird or hinder flight, the tern is released. The method does not cause abandonment of the nest.

Trapping and banding has progressed in 2012 to additional islands and the use of color bands for Dr. Palestis. The adults that are captured receive a metal band that reads a serial number and a combination of five celluloid colored bands that allow him to identify birds from a location farther away than normal and determine the nesting choices of the adult bird i.e. whether they have chosen to disperse to another island or return to the same island. The newborn terns that are unable to retreat when humans or predators approach, often attempt to hide in areas close to the nest that provide shade and camouflage. If young are found, these birds are also carefully banded. However, the chicks are only banded with a single metal band rather than with both metal and celluloid color bands.

In addition to trapping and banding, a record was kept of the number of nests present on each island. To track the initial number of nests and their progress throughout the season, wooden craft sticks are often placed to mark the start of a nest and to recognize nests that were marked during previous visitations. For islands with thicker and more compact substrates, numbered ceramic tiles instead of wooden craft sticks were used. This also aided in the resistance to removal of the marker via flooding of the island. The study allows the observations and analysis of resulting behavioral and nesting patterns of the terns.

IV. Results

Observation of Waterbird Species

Over the course of about fourteen weeks, approximately eighteen total different nesting waterbird species were identified in Barnegat Bay, NJ. The species of waterbird that was surveyed the most was the Common tern (*Sterna hirundo*). This species chose to nest on almost every island. The willet also chose to nest on many of the islands that were explored. However, when recognized, there were few nests totaling one or two nests on each island where they were located. On the other hand, *Sterna hirundo* typically occupied multiple nests on the islands they populated, sometimes having over one hundred nests on some islands such as Little Sedge Island (North).

Table 1. List of Nesting Waterbird Species

Common Name			Scientific Name	
Common tern			<i>Sterna hirundo</i>	
Willet			<i>Tringa semipalmata</i>	
Mallard			<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	
Swan			<i>Cygnus atratus</i>	
American Oystercatcher			<i>Haematopus palliatus</i>	
Killdeer			<i>Charadrius vociferus</i>	
Osprey			<i>Pandion haliaetus</i>	
Great Black Backed Gull			<i>Larus marinus</i>	
Herring Gull			<i>Larus argentatus</i>	
Green heron			<i>Butorides virescens</i>	
Tricolor heron			<i>Egretta tricolor</i>	
Little blue heron			<i>Egretta caerulea</i>	
Great Egret			<i>Ardea alba</i>	
Snowy egret			<i>Egretta thula</i>	
Glossy ibis			<i>Plegadis falcinellus</i>	
Yellow Crown Night Heron			<i>Nyctanassa violacea</i>	
Black Crown Night Heron			<i>Nycticorax nycticorax</i>	
Black Rail			<i>Laterallus jamaicensis</i>	
Total				18

On the smaller islands, there were fewer nests observed for species other than the tern nests. For example, mallard duck, oystercatcher, killdeer, swan, and clapper rail often had one or two nests per island, with the exception of Little Sedge Island. Little Sedge Island had numerous nests of herring and black backed gulls as well as tern nests and multiple additional species, totaling 11 different species (Some species were present on both islands). Little Sedge Island provided the largest area as well for both sides of the island, equaling almost 11 total hectares. Separately, Little Sedge Island still granted the largest territory for nesting at 4.95 ha (Little Sedge Island North) with 7 observed different species (Table 2) including common tern, willet, oystercatcher, osprey, great black backed gull, herring gull and green heron, nesting on the island, and 5.95 (Little Sedge Island South) with 10 different nesting species including four herons (tricolor heron, little blue heron, great egret, and snowy egret), two gulls (herring gull and great black backed gull), osprey, glossy ibis, yellow crown night heron, and black crown night heron.

Table 2. List of Islands Where Nesting Observed

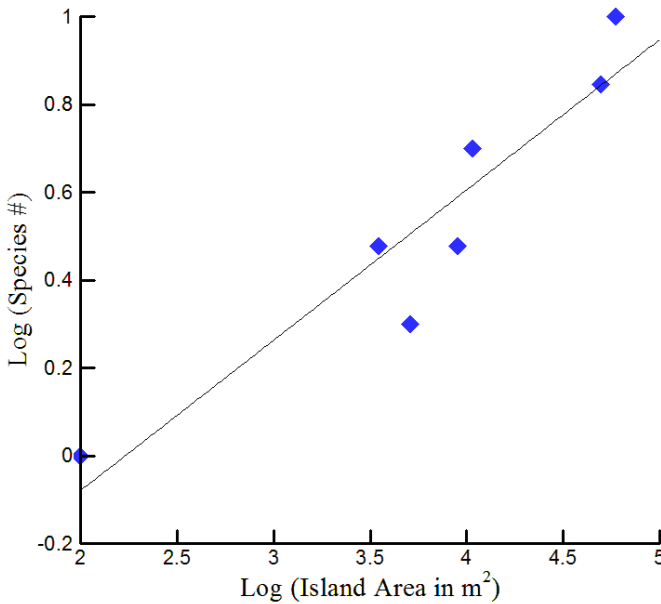
Island Name	Area	Sq. meters	Area (ha)	# of Habitat Types	# of Species
Little Sedge Island North	550 x 90	49500	4.95	3	7
Little Sedge Island South	350 x 170	59500	5.95	3	10
Ortley Cove Island	170 x 30	5100	0.51	2	2
Pettit Island	70 x 50	3500	0.35	1	3
Cedar Bonnet Island East	240 x 45	10800	1.08	2	5
Surf City Island	10 x 10	100	0.01	1	1
Little Mike's Island	180 x 50	9000	0.9	2	3

Cedar Bonnet Island (East) was the next largest island with an approximated 1.08 ha for nesting. A number of different species preferred to nest on this island equaling a total number of 5 nesting species. The species that nested here included willet, common tern, mallard duck, oystercatcher, and clapper rail. However, on Little Mike's Island, a 0.9 ha island and Pettit Island, a 0.35 ha island both possessed 3 different nesting species. Pettit Island contained common terns, willet, and mallard duck species while Little Mike's population included terns, swan, and mallard duck. On the other hand, Ortley Cove Island, a 0.51 ha island had only 2 species, despite being bigger than Pettit Island. These species included common terns and the mallard duck. The smallest island, Surf City Island at approximately 0.01 ha plot of land, had only one visible

nesting species of killdeer. Although other species were present on this island and a few other islands during the time spent there, these visible species often showed no signs of nesting. It was predicted that these non-nesting species were just flying low near the island and/or searching for food on the island.

Species-Area Curve

Overall, the curve that was produced, (Graph 1) followed the normal expectations for a species-area curve. A linear trend line was produced depicting that the number of species nesting on an island is directly related to island size. The increase in number of species was seen in islands that were much larger in area size. With the exception of Pettit Island and Cedar Bonnet Island (East) where a smaller number of species nested on the larger island, it is possible that nesting species were missed in the observation process. It is also possible that the island of Cedar Bonnet was not an ideal nesting ground. Ultimately, the larger area of the island influenced the species richness by increasing it.

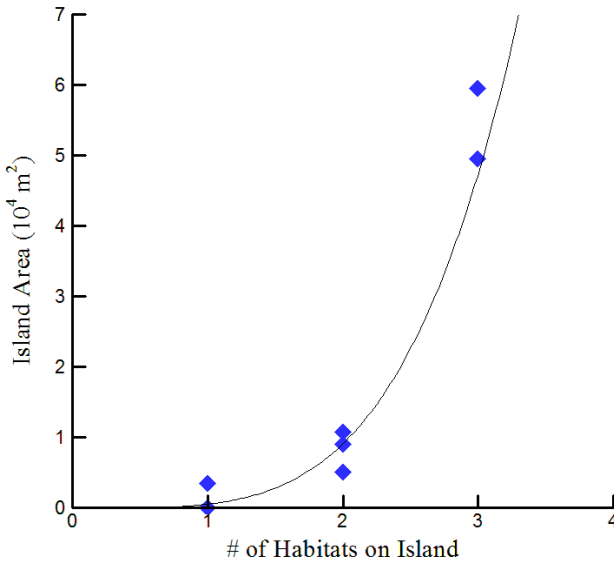


Graph 1. Species-Area Curve

Habitat Diversity vs. Species Richness

As expected, it was also recognized that the larger islands also supported a richer habitat. The two largest islands of Little Sedge supported three different diverse habitats of different vegetation. The habitats included sandy beach, spartina cordgrass, and woody areas that supplied shrubs and small trees. The medium sized islands Cedar Bonnet, Ortlely Cove, and Little Mike's both supported two types of habitats. Typically these islands contributed either *S. alterniflora* or *S. patens* cordgrass as well as woody areas for nesting. Furthermore, the smaller islands of Pettit Island and Surf City Island only contained one habitat type of spartina cordgrass.

The rich habitat on the larger islands supported a copious amount of species. This is largely due to the fact that current types of vegetations on the islands catered to certain preferences that the different species nesting there possess. For example, osprey perches present on Little Sedge Island supported the presence of a higher nesting structure for the ospreys. Likewise, the diverse vegetation present on Little Sedge Island included bushes and trees for species that are more inclined to nest in hidden areas where they are not usually visible. For instance, this diverse habitat supported a wide variety of birds such as the herons that were seen nesting there.



Graph 2. Habitat Diversity Curve

V. Discussion

Analysis of Data

As hypothesized, the number of species inhabiting a specific area (species richness) directly correlated with island size/area. In addition, the effects of habitat heterogeneity upon species richness among Barnegat Bay islands correlated with one another as predicted. Within small isolated sample of islands located in the Barnegat Bay area of Ocean City, NJ, approximately eighteen species of colonial nesting waterbirds were observed during the summer breeding months. This is fitting considering that Barnegat Bay supports some of the largest and most diverse breeding colonies of birds along the Atlantic coastline. In 2001, Burger estimated that 20 species of colonial waterbirds nest in the Barnegat Bay and Little Egg Harbor area. The species included were ten different species of herons, three species of gulls, six species of terns, and black skimmers. Excluding a few rare species amongst the description, the waterbird species observed in this study vary from the index given by Burger, allowing the conclusion that changes have occurred over the past decade that have altered island conditions resulting in a loss or modification of biodiversity.

Chances for Errors/Inaccuracies

It is largely possible that insufficient exploration of the islands increased the chances for inaccurate and unreliable data. For example, during the walk through of each island examined, nests may have been overlooked or remained unseen within the tall grass that camouflaged nests. It is also highly possible that incorrect identification of the nests occurred. One could argue that observation of species flying very close to the islands, and what was speculated as adult parent waterbirds flying up from a nest could be mistaken for what is simply a search for food or resources.

When approaching the island and ultimately advancing onto the island, many of the species nesting there become visibly agitated. Most abandon the island and their nests upon it in fear, attempting to seek immunity in areas that humans cannot attain contact with the birds such as the air or the waters surrounding the island. Many of the species remain in the area surrounding the island, squawking angrily and swooping down, striving to attack or scare predators away. This behavior pursues in protecting the constructed nests and potential young within. However, from experience, some species did not flee. Instead, they remained hidden in the grass either on top of or in close proximity to the nests they have assembled. Only when a human ventured too close for comfort to these birds and their nests, did they fly up and away. Therefore, it is possible that some nests remained undiscovered as they were hidden well within the cordgrass.

Furthermore, it is possible that by not completing a thorough inspection of the larger islands such as Little Sedge Island, species that were nesting there remained unnoticed during the survey of the island.

Species-Area Relationships and Conservation Efforts

Although the islands have remained the same with typically the same habitat and area size over the passing decades, it is possible that significant changes in regards to the conditions within the Barnegat Bay area have influenced the changes seen amongst the different waterbird species and the success of these species over the course of the last twelve years. Typically, colonially-nesting species attempt to reduce predator interactions including human interactions by nesting on remote islands. However, according to Burger (1998), there has been a significant increase in the population of residents among the Barnegat Bay area as well as a great increase in the number and use of personal water crafts or PWC's (e.g. jet skis, motor boats, and waverunners) in more recent years. Also, as stated by Navedo & Herrera (2012), increases in human population density close to estuaries as well as an increase in human activity have resulted in a number of adverse effects upon the coastal wetlands which includes, but is not limited to an approximate 30% loss. Similarly, with humans so close in proximity to colonial-nesting waterbirds, the chance for interaction has increased tremendously.

Along with the threat of predation and interactions with humans, waterbird populations are constantly threatened by continuous habitat loss, predatory introduction, colony site displacement, and decrease in resource availability amongst other threats such as rising sea levels and constant climate changes (Palestis, 2014). All of these factors play a role in the loss of biodiversity of not only the Barnegat Bay islands, but other habitats and ecosystems around the globe as well. Many waterbird species are threatened and endangered at the current time. For example, most species of terns are currently present on conservation lists in specific nations, states, and provinces along the Atlantic coast (Palestis, 2014). Efforts of conservation are very much needed in specific areas or adverse effects of decreasing biodiversity will negatively influence the adjacent and surrounding ecosystems.

As stated earlier, species-area relationships can be applied to conservation efforts and aid in determining species richness, predicting species extinction rates, and estimating appropriate sizes of areas requiring protection. While the islands chosen for observation and analysis followed expected species-area patterns, it is clear that over the past few decades, there has been a severe decline in the number of waterbird species that

choose to nest in Barnegat Bay and their overall reproductive success on these islands. One can assume the declines in waterbird species are caused by natural occurrences such as flooding, and rising sea levels as well as the increase in movement of human populations, increase in human interaction, and general disturbances of humans and other species. However, it is clear that the conservation efforts and commonly practiced techniques are desperately needed for colonial waterbirds nesting in Barnegat Bay, New Jersey.

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Section II: The Social Sciences

America Needs to Make a SNAPy Comeback: An Empirical Humanitarian Study Arguing in Favor of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)

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The United States federal government is doing more harm than good by cutting funding for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). The Official Journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics provides a background on the effects of SNAP and food security in the United States. Data from the United States Census Bureau suggests that SNAP reduces the number of households with children living in extreme poverty and is therefore effective in reaching its objectives. Economic research by Moody's suggests that the SNAP can provide long term stimulus and could potentially improve unemployment rates. The American government has a responsibility to assist the underprivileged citizens of the country, making sure they are well equipped to fulfill their basic needs. This paper will address the positive aspects of the SNAP and explain how the program is conclusively protecting the citizens of the United States. Continued funding of the program is necessary because the SNAP program has the ability to assist the underprivileged public in remaining food secure, reduce extreme poverty in the country, and boost economic growth in the long term.

I. Introduction

In 1939, the food stamp program distributed benefits to its first participants. The program was established in order to provide food purchasing assistance to the underprivileged. Rather than assist low-income households with cash, the government was able to control how the funds were being spent and help families put food on the table. In the 1970's, with leadership from congresswoman Shirley Chisolm, the food stamp program underwent radical legislative changes and became more accessible across more states in the United States. In the late 1990's, the food stamp program transitioned from paper stamps that were redeemable at local grocery stores, to electronic bank transfer cards which could be swiped like a credit card at any authorized retailer. In 2008,

¹ Research performed under the direction of Dr. Abe Unger in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

the program was renamed the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (USDA – SNAP History, 2014).

In 2014, the United States federal government passed legislation to cut funding to the SNAP by five billion dollars in just one year. Research suggests that further reduction in benefits for SNAP will result in economic stagnation and an increase in poverty. The cut in funding also indicates the government’s failure to adequately protect the citizens of the United States. For these reasons, it is imperative that the American public does not allow further funds to be cut from the SNAP.

In 2013, the federal government paid a total of \$76.1 billion in SNAP benefits (Resnikoff, 2014). The five billion dollar decrease in 2015 will negatively affect the recipients of the SNAP benefits. Although some state governments have chosen to subsidize the decrease in benefits, it is important for the federal government to be aware of the dangers involved in making further cuts.

Food Security

Nearly fifteen percent of households were food insecure during the financial crisis of 2008 (FRAC, 2014). The Urban Institute conducted a research study evaluating how much SNAP reduced food insecurity at that time. “The receipt of SNAP benefits is found to reduce the likelihood of food insecurity by 16.2 percentage points” amongst the low income sample used in their study (Ratcliffe, 2014, 13). This information strongly suggests that SNAP has had a substantial affect on the households’ food insecurity. Thusly, in the past the program has proven to be successful.

Poverty

Although not commonly acknowledged, poverty is a massive concern in the United States of America. SNAP is a program which indirectly attacks the unspoken crisis in America by providing food stamps in the hands of those most in need. While nearly 16% of the U.S. population had income below the poverty level, only about 15% of Americans took advantage of the social program (US Census Bureau, 2014).

Long-Term Economic Stimulus

Economic research suggests that SNAP can provide long term stimulus. Every dollar in SNAP benefits goes on to generate nearly double that in economic activity. According to a study by economist Mark Zandi of Moody’s, “increasing food stamp payments by \$1 boosts GDP by \$1.73. People who receive these benefits are very hard-

pressed and will spend any financial aid they receive within a few weeks” (Zandi, 2008, 4). By spending these suddenly available resources, the underprivileged have the opportunity to become consumers. It is likely that those receiving these benefits will pay off debts or purchase school supplies, which they were previously unable to afford. This creates a ripple effect in the economy resulting in increased revenue in all industries. The greatest beneficiaries of this plan however, are the small grocery store owners (who accept food stamps) and the farmers from whom the store owners purchase their produce from. Not only does SNAP put food on the table of those struggling to make ends meet, but the program also directly puts money into the hands of small business owners and farmers.

Long-Term Employment

An individual earning minimum wage may make enough money in a work day to pay for rent and utilities, but struggle to put food on the table. This individual would have to work overtime whenever available to afford the cost of living for themselves and their family. With the assistance of food stamps, participants of the SNAP may find themselves not feeling overwhelmed to put food on the table and have free time to train or educate themselves. If SNAP can continue to stress education in conjunction with food nutrition as part of its multi-pronged approach, beneficiaries may be more inclined to use this time to further develop their career training. This would motivate the participants to obtain fruitful and meaningful careers with their education and training. It is likely that SNAP participants who make good use of their time, are less likely to require additional benefits in the future.

Morality

As of March 2014, roughly one in every seven people living in the United States received benefits from the SNAP (Hunger Coalition, 2014). Although participants did not have a nutritious meal every day, food insecurity has not increased, even during times of financial crisis. Taking into consideration the international hunger crisis, the United States has been consistently viewed as a leader in the coalition against hunger. This data, which is readily available across a number of platforms, raises the question of morality. Although America currently faces a massive debt crisis, it would be truly disappointing if the US government overlooked the most fundamental needs of its underprivileged citizens (Hunger Coalition, 2014).

With the current state of the American economy, the national deficit being a massive concern, government officials are looking to make budget cuts anywhere possible. Many might argue that while the SNAP has noble intentions, the program is serving as less of a safety net to the American public and more as a form of additional income. Others may object to the program, wondering whether the benefits are actually going to those that are really in need. Another negative view of the program stems from the many international charities that have recently been exposed as having massive overhead and administration costs (Ellis, 2013). Finally, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program was intended to improve the obesity problem amongst America's underprivileged, yet obesity remains a massive concern amongst the nation's youth.

Objection #1 – Fraud and Trafficking

Cases of fraud are a genuine concern for the SNAP. Many cases have been reported of beneficiaries 'trafficking' their benefits. 'Trafficking,' in this context, refers to beneficiaries taking their food stamp electronic benefits card to small grocery stores, where the owner is a willing participant in this scam, and receiving cash instead of goods. The electronic benefits transfers (or EBT) can be swiped just like a credit or debit card at any authorized food stamp retailer. The owners of these small grocery stores may charge the beneficiary one hundred dollars on their EBT, and then hand the beneficiary sixty dollars in cash which they can then use as they please (Mantovani, 2013). Unfortunately, it is assumed that most of these cases of trafficking are directly funding the unhealthy habits of these less-than-honest beneficiaries.

However, since the transition of food stamps from paper checks to EBTs in the 1990's, cases of fraud have fallen significantly. According to Government Information Quarterly, published by Elsevier, the EBTs "also give the government more control over how they (and the applicants' data) are used (Mantovani, 2013)." Some states employ sophisticated data-mining to identify fraud patterns," (Wilson, 2014). Those objecting to the program must recognize that the SNAP trafficking has fallen. Studies suggest that only about 1.3% of all benefits are being trafficked (Mantovani, 2013).

Objection #2 – Cost of Administration and Implementation

Individuals that believe the SNAP is ineffective discuss the high cost of administration as another low point of the program. Since SNAP is a social program, which in its very ideology is concerned with the welfare of the underprivileged, many observers associate the program with charity. These individuals may view the program as

a handout rather than as an economic tool which functions to benefit the participants and the economy. Most importantly, those not benefiting from the program are concerned with its implementation and administration costs. It is not uncommon to discover that a major charitable organization spends nearly fifty cents of every dollar contributed on overhead costs and massive salaries for the organization's staff (Ellis, 2013). Those opposed to SNAP will point to such data and suggest that the same is happening with their tax dollars.

According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the federal share of state administration and other federal administrative costs amounts to five percent of all federal dollars spent on SNAP. Therefore, about 95% of all federal dollars spent on the program goes directly to benefits.

Objection #3 – Health and Nutrition Failure

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program was additionally intended to improve the health conditions amongst underprivileged Americans. There is no concrete evidence to suggest that it has succeeded in this objective. Observers who object to the SNAP program may do so on the basis that it has actually made no effect on the medical welfare of its beneficiaries. These individuals may also argue that the EBT card has made it easier for beneficiaries to purchase and consume sugar-sweetened beverages (SSBs) which leads to increased rates of diabetes and heart disease.

While there is no data suggesting that SNAP assists participants to make healthier food choices, there is data to support the increase in food security among participants. Individuals that object to the SNAP, on the grounds that it does not promote a healthy lifestyle, believe the program should focus more on nutrition and promote healthy choices. This is an excellent opportunity to increase funding in the program and improve beneficiary nutrition education. If SNAP made a point to send out a monthly newsletter to all participants, which includes not only the dangers of making unhealthy choices, but also how to stretch the participant's benefit dollars further, the program could make an even greater difference in people's lives.

II. Literature Review

Pediatrics, the official journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics, published "Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Participation and Child Food Security" in March of 2014. The American Academy of Pediatrics provides a background on the issue of food security in America. In this study, the authors James Mabli and Julie Worthington

discuss the correlation between SNAP and children’s food security. Using funding from the US Department of Agriculture (USDA), the study was able to survey nearly 3,000 households. “The data came from the SNAP Food Security (SNAPFS) survey, which was conducted by the Mathematica Policy Research for the US Department of Agriculture Food and Nutrition Service from 2011 to 2012”, (Mabli, 2014). The survey determined that out of all the individuals applying for SNAP, more than one third of those individuals were food insecure. Having low food security, as defined by the USDA, means that the household reduces the quality of their diet, while occasionally skipping or cutting the size of a meal due to financial concern. The study found that the program completely eliminated food insecurity in one of every ten households enrolled in SNAP, while also cutting households with very low food security nearly in half.

In March of 2010, the Urban Institute published “How Much Does SNAP Reduce Food Insecurity?” The authors, Caroline Ratcliffe and Signe-Mary McKernan, sought out to prove that SNAP is meeting its key goal of reducing food-related hardship. Implementing data from 1996 though 2004, provided by the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), their research measures the effectiveness of SNAP in reducing food insecurity using an endogenous variable model. Their findings show that “households that do and do not participate in the SNAP show higher rates of food insecurity among SNAP-recipient households... The percentage of households that are very food insecure is higher among SNAP-participating than SNAP-nonparticipating households,” (Ratcliffe, 2010, 13). An issue the SNAP needs to address is the households that are most likely to suffer from food insecurity, but are not receiving the benefits. In Ratcliffe and McKernan’s endogenous variable model, “SNAP receipt shows that SNAP participation is associated with increased food insecurity, while the model that does control for indigeneity shows that SNAP participation reduces food insecurity,” (Ratcliffe, 2010, 13).

The National Poverty Center published a policy brief in February of 2012 titled “Extreme Poverty in the United States, 1996 to 2011.” In this policy brief, the poverty center seeks to examine the effects of the Great Recession of 2008-09 on the poverty rate in the United States. The poverty center defines extreme poverty in a household “if they report \$2 or less per person, per day in total household income in a given month,” (Shaefer, 2012, 2). The policy brief goes on to explain that the number of total households living in extreme poverty has more than doubled from 1996 to 2011. However, suppose we were to include food stamps, or SNAP, as income, then the number of households living in extreme poverty is significantly lower. The National Poverty

Center concludes that “counting SNAP benefits as income reduces – but does not eliminate – this rise in extreme poverty,” (Shaefer, 2012, 2).

Economy.com, a subsidiary of Moody’s, published “Assessing the Macro Economic Impact of Fiscal Stimulus” in January of 2008. Mark Zandi, a well-recognized economist, reviews the macroeconomic impact of the stimulus put in place following the Great Recession. Included in this stimulus was the immediate and temporary extension of unemployment insurance and increase in government funding for food stamps. Zandi explores this decision and proclaims that “extending UI [Unemployment Insurance] and expanding food stamps are the most effective ways to prime the economy’s pump,” (Zandi, 2008, 4). Zandi goes on to explain that households receiving such benefits are finding it incredibly difficult to make ends meet, therefore they will spend any additional income almost immediately. Since these programs are already in place, implementing the increase in benefits will not take very long. This will in turn provide a direct cash flow back into the local economy.

The United States Department of Agriculture published “The Extent of Trafficking in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: 2009-2011.” One of the most prominent objections to SNAP is that there is a great deal of fraud going on at the local level. While some beneficiaries of the program may be lying about their income, others may be trading their food stamps for a smaller value in cash. USDA sought out to identify these cases of fraud, examining trafficking from 2009 to 2011, and reviewing recent trends. This study implements data from SNAP administration, any investigations conducted by the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS), and data from the Anti-Fraud Locator using the EBT Retailer Transactions (ALERT) system. USDA was able to determine that although one of every ten retailers engage in some fraud, only about one dollar out of every hundred distributed in benefits is actually trafficked. Translated into a dollar figure, the number is hardly negligible. However, while the amount of benefits trafficked supports public opposition to the program, the percentage of benefits trafficked proves that this fraud is not all that common among SNAP participants.

Government Information Quarterly published “Implementation Issues for Programs for Low-Income People” in January of 2014. While this study, written by Susan Copeland Wilson, focuses on the various application methods for federal aid programs, the author also touches on fraud within SNAP, and the effects of education on poverty in general. In the 1990’s, as the food stamp program was evolving into SNAP, the federal government rolled out nationally standardized Electronic Benefit Transfers (EBTs) which functioned like debit cards at all SNAP participating retailers. In its

implementation, “EBTs have helped reduce the stigma of receiving assistance, thus increasing participation. They also give the government more control over how they (and the applicants’ data) are used. Some states employ sophisticated data-mining to identify fraud patterns,” (Wilson, 2014, 45). The growth of the EBT program has allowed the SNAP to reach more needy people than ever, while monitoring the usage of their benefits for potential trafficking.

Medical Decision Making published “Nutritional Policy Changes in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: A Microsimulation and Cost-Effectiveness Analysis” in June of 2013. As the food stamp program evolved into SNAP, the program adopted a new name along with a new set of goals. In addition to improving food security, as Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm set out to do in the 1970’s, SNAP is now more broadly focused to assist with the overall welfare of the American public. Medical Decision Making, led by author Dr. Sanjay Basu, sought out to determine if policy changes to the SNAP program could improve the overall health of its participants. Their micro-simulation used 6 policy variables to determine the most cost-effective and nutritious policy reform possible. They determined that taxing Sugar Sweetened Beverages, in supplement to current SNAP, resulted in the most cost-effective, food secure, healthy sample population. Additionally, they concluded, “increasing SNAP benefits overall may improve food security if SNAP participants were to engage in purchasing decisions similar to non-SNAP participants,” (Basu, 2013, 946). This raises the issue of education. Is SNAP unsuccessful in reducing food security and improving health? Or do SNAP beneficiaries shoulder part of the blame for SNAP’s ineffectiveness in supplementing their nutrition?

III. Methodology

The data following, drawn from various academic journals and government funded surveys, will serve to substantiate the claims introduced previously. The humanitarian question of whether or not we should cut funding for SNAP will be answered using an empirical conclusion. The data will serve to address the issue of food security in America and answer the question of what the US federal government can do about it. In addition, this paper will also discuss the depth of extreme poverty and provide evidence of SNAP’s positive effect on poverty. The data will support the proposition that SNAP can lead to long term economic stimulus.

In addition, the data below will address each of the objections introduced by conscientious objectors to SNAP. The data will serve to address the issue of corruption

and fraud within the program. In response to those opposed to SNAP, on the grounds that the funding isn't being used properly, or isn't distributed properly, the data will substantiate the contrary.

Government officials are cutting funding of SNAP, a life-saving social program, with little consideration as to the negative effects on the citizens. Disregarding the welfare of the general public, cutting funding to SNAP is directly and indirectly impacting the United States economy. The data below will function to enlighten those inclined to cut government funding for SNAP further, and encourage them to look elsewhere when curtailing government spending.

IV. Data

General data on SNAP is provided by the United States Department of Agriculture. The latest data, available from 2012, outlines that households are eligible for SNAP so long as their monthly gross income does not exceed 130% of the poverty line. SNAP has 47 million beneficiaries nationwide, or 15.1% of the general population. In 2014, the *Journal of Extension* provided statistics on education characteristics of SNAP participants. They found that out of all beneficiaries, 35% had not completed high school and 35% discontinued their education at the conclusion of high school. In addition, 8% completed a technical school, 19% had some college experience, and only 3% had a bachelor's degree or graduate work.

Studies on food security in the United States have been conducted by the Urban Institute and the American Academy of Pediatrics. In 2010, the Urban Institute concluded that 24.4% of low-income households are food insecure. 10.3% are considered very insecure. While 35.6% of SNAP beneficiaries are food insecure, 19.9% of SNAP-nonparticipants are food insecure. The receipt of SNAP benefits is found to reduce the likelihood of food insecurity by 16.2%. SNAP recipients' food insecurity would be 16.2% higher (51.8%) if SNAP benefits were not available. The decrease in the likelihood of food insecurity from 0.518 without SNAP to 0.356 with the program suggests that SNAP receipt reduces food insecurity by 31.2%.

In the *Official Journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics (2011)*, the academy concluded that one in five households with children was food insecure. One in eight households without children was food insecure. Children were food insecure in 10% of households. 37.2% of new SNAP beneficiaries with children were food insecure. Six months following enrollment, that number dropped to 27.1%. Enrollment in SNAP reduced food insecurity by 10%.

The United States Census Bureau published poverty statistics from 2013. 48.8 million people or 15.8% of the American population, had income below the poverty level. From 2008 through 2012, the poverty rate increased each year. In 2013, 20.6% of Americans had an income below 125% of the poverty threshold.

The National Poverty Center (NPC) released a policy brief addressing the economic issues faced by Americans immediately following the recession of 2008-09. According to the NPC, extreme poverty is defined by a household income not exceeding \$2 per person, per day. The number of households living in extreme poverty increased from about 636,000 in 1996, to about 1.46 million households in 2011 (growth of 130%). 2.8 million children lived in households suffering from extreme poverty. Compared to the numbers above and including SNAP benefits as income: extreme poverty rose from 475,000 in 1996, to 800,000 households in 2011 (growth of 67%).

In 2008 Moody's economist, Mark Zandi, released a study on the economic stimulus provided by tax cuts and spending increases. Moody's economist determined; the one year fiscal change in real GDP for a given fiscal dollar reduction in federal tax revenue or increase in spending. Zandi's research concluded that non-refundable lump-sum tax rebate produced \$1.02 for each dollar and refundable lump-sum tax rebate produced a lofty \$1.26. Temporary tax cuts created a similarly impressive \$1.29. Permanent tax cuts however did not have as significant of an effect producing only 48 cents in GDP. Spending increases however provided the most significant return in GDP, where in extending unemployment insurance benefits returned \$1.64 and a temporary increase in food stamps produced \$1.73 in GDP. Furthermore, spending increases in stimulus lowered unemployment by about 0.5%.

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) published statistics on fraud and trafficking in 2014. Their findings included an annualized dollar amount of trafficking within SNAP, by study period. In 1993 that dollar figure was \$811 million, which decreased to \$660 million in 1996-1998. The annualized dollar amount of trafficking continued to shrink to \$339 million and then \$241 million in 1999-2002 and 2002-2005 respectively. The dollar amount grew in 2006-2008 to \$330 million and swelled further in 2009-2011 to \$858 million.

Further study by the USDA explored the rate of trafficking within SNAP by this same study period. The rate of trafficking has generally declined since the early 1990's. Declining from a high rate of 3.8% in 1993, that percentage fell to 3.5% in 1996-1998 and 2.5% in 1999-2000. Starting in 2002-2005, the rate fell to 1.0% and remained there through 2006-2008 as well. The rate rose to 1.3% in 2009-2011.

Also explored in this same study, the rate of store violations by approved SNAP retailers. This rate has floated around 10% over the course of the entire study. Beginning in 1993 with a rate of 9.4%, the rate of store violations grew to 11.7% in 1996-1998. The next few study periods saw some improvement to 9.3% in 1999-2002 and then 7.4% in 2002-2005. The rate was at 8.2% in 2006-2008 and in 2009-2011 returned to 10.5%.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities is responsible for reviewing the costs of administration and implementation. In a study conducted in 2014, the center found that 92% of federal SNAP spending goes directly to beneficiaries. The federal share of state administration was reportedly 4.8%. Nutrition Assistance in territories accounted for 2.5%, support for food banks reported 0.3%, while other federal administrative costs are 0.2% of the spending. The remaining 0.1% of spending was used on food distribution programs on Indian reservations.

Individual states reported intriguing statistics on poverty and SNAP participation. Poverty statistics were reported by the United States Census Bureau as of 2014. SNAP participation was reported by the Food Research and Action Center as of 2014.

In California, 16.8% of the population, or 6.3 million people, were living below the poverty level. 11.9% of the population, or 4.4 million people, were receiving benefits from SNAP. Since the recession of 2008-09, there has been a 55.6% increase in SNAP participation.

In Florida, 17.0% of the population, or 3.25 million people, were living below the poverty level. 18.9% of the population, or 3.55 million people, were receiving benefits from SNAP. Since the recession of 2008-09, there has been a 64.6% increase in SNAP participation.

In New York, 16.0% of the population, or 3.05 million people, were living below the poverty level. 16.0% of the population, or 3.08 million people, were receiving benefits from SNAP. Since the recession of 2008-09, there has been a 24.6% increase in SNAP participation.

In Texas, 17.5% of the population, or 4.53 million people, were living below the poverty level. 15.1% of the population, or 3.8 million people, were receiving benefits from SNAP. Since the recession of 2008-09, there has been a 27.1% increase in SNAP participation.

V. Findings

SNAP eligibility and participation are determined primarily by household size and income. Using these factors, state appointed Nutrition Outreach and Education

Program (NOEP) coordinators can determine whether or not a person is deserving of the benefits. NOEP coordinators will also factor lease or rent agreements, utility bills, liquid assets and any other form of social programs into their determination. So long as the monthly gross income does not exceed 130% of the poverty line for the household, applicants should be approved for participation. The most recent data available suggests that 47 million Americans, over 15% of the population, are currently receiving SNAP benefits.

There is a direct correlation between the level of education achieved and SNAP participation. Seven out of every ten SNAP participants did not continue their educational pursuits following high school. Only three percent of SNAP participants have completed their bachelor's degree.

Among low-income households, one of every four households is food insecure. One of every ten such households is considered to have very low food security, meaning that the household has been forced to skip several meals a week. The Urban Institute conducted a research study on SNAP's effect on food insecurity. They concluded that the program's assistance was able to bring three out of every ten households living with food insecurity to a food secure state. The American Academy of Pediatrics concluded similarly that one of every ten households with children, living with food insecurity, was food secure after six months of SNAP participation.

According to the United States Census Bureau, in 2014 one in every five Americans had a gross income of less than 125% of the poverty level. The National Poverty Center confirms this information, adding that from 1996 to 2011 poverty in America grew by 130%. Counting SNAP benefits as income, poverty in America grew at a significantly lower rate of 67%.

Government Information Quarterly (2013), published statistics on poverty rates by education. The study concluded that 26.7% of poverty stricken individuals had not completed high school. 13.5% of such citizens discontinued their schooling following a High School Diploma or GED. Meanwhile, 9.8% of those in poverty completed some college, and only 4.2% have a Bachelor's Degree or Higher.

Economic research conducted by Moody's concluded that out of all the common stimulus programs, such as tax cuts and spending increases, increases in SNAP funding actually had the greatest effect on gross domestic product. Moody's study concluded that for every dollar increase in SNAP funding the almost immediate return in GDP was \$1.73. The explanation behind this is that the people receiving the benefits are in fact the most in need. Since SNAP beneficiaries' financial situation is one that is already

stretched so thin, these are the people most naturally inclined to spend any excess money they may have.

The USDA's research on fraud and trafficking within the SNAP program have concluded that the rate of such activity is relatively low amongst participants. While the most recent annualized dollar amount of fraud and trafficking within the SNAP program is \$858 million in 2011, the actual rate of such activity in that same year was only 1.3%. The USDA actually concluded that the most egregious fraud and trafficking was conducted by the authorized SNAP retailers, at a rate of 10% in 2011.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities concluded that 95% of federal spending on SNAP is either going directly to the beneficiaries or is being used to deliver benefits to remote areas and food banks. According to the center, only 5% of federal spending is going toward federal or state administrative and implementation costs.

Analyzing poverty data from the United States Census Bureau, alongside SNAP participation statistics provided by the Food Research and Action Center, there is a clear subsection of the population that is not enrolled in SNAP despite being eligible. In California, 4.9% of the population living in poverty have not enrolled in SNAP. In Texas, 2.4% of the population living in poverty have not enrolled in the program. In Florida and New York, most of the population living in poverty is enrolled in SNAP, but since the requirements are 130% of the poverty level there is still a great deal of the population eligible and not enrolled.

VI. Explanation of the Findings

Food insecurity has been established as an issue in America using the data from the Urban Institute and American Academy of Pediatrics. In the study conducted by the academy, they were able to conclude that SNAP participation reduced food insecurity by a significant rate. SNAP is conclusively reaching its objective, systematically improving upon a far reaching crisis.

The United States Census Bureau confirms that roughly 20% of American citizens are living at or below 125% of the poverty line. In correlation with the recession of 2008-09, the number of households living in this condition has grown significantly. Although this growth has gone stagnant since 2012, allowing this number to grow further or standing by without making an active effort to reverse this phenomena, would be

irresponsible on behalf of the US government. When SNAP benefits are calculated as income, this poverty growth is cut in half.

According to Government Information Quarterly, there is a correlation between education and poverty. Seven out of every ten poverty stricken individuals did not further their education following high school. Only three out of every hundred such individuals has a bachelor's degree. Educated individuals are more likely to obtain, and maintain, a career because they have a broader skill set. A college education provides students with the very basic skills required in a professional environment.

Economic research has conclusively proven that GDP and unemployment rates are excellent indicators of economic trends. The poverty rate has grown since the recession of 2008-09, the American economy is still recovering. SNAP is a tool proven, by Moody's economists, to provide immediate long term stimulus to GDP.

Research conducted by the USDA concluded that only about one in every hundred SNAP participants is guilty of fraud or trafficking. Advanced data mining technology has been put in place for almost two decades now and has made a significant impact on the cases of unjust misuse. However, the USDA's study has brought valuable information to light. For over two decades, one of every ten authorized SNAP retailers has been guilty of fraud.

Research conducted by the Center of Budgets and Policy Priorities has proven definitively that 95% of federal SNAP funding goes directly to benefiting the participants. It would be fair to say that such a rate is highly efficient and there is very little that could be improved upon. SNAP is effective in ensuring nearly all of their funding reaches the participants directly.

Using data from the United State Census Bureau and the Food Resource and Action Center, it is clear that not all eligible individuals are taking advantage of the program. It could be that they are ashamed or dislike the program on some ideological ground. However, it is much more likely that they simply are not aware, or are not able, to take advantage of these benefits. Increased SNAP participation would only serve to improve SNAP's statistical effectiveness.

VII. Conclusion

In the seventy five years since the food stamp program's introduction, it has repeatedly evolved and adapted to better help low-income households and to address the concerns of conscientious objectors. The food stamp program has been successful in meeting its objectives. The SNAP has proven to be an effective legislation in reducing

food insecurity. The program indirectly improves poverty, provides long term economic stimulus, and is morally just in its protection of the citizens.

The SNAP has proven that it is capable in addressing issues of fraud and corruption. It has proven innovative enough that the federal funds appropriated to SNAP are being streamlined and used to directly assist low-income households. The program has evolved over time to more efficiently service its beneficiaries. While the program has been unsuccessful in improving the overall health of participants, this issue actually stems from a lack of education. A lack of education is actually something that can be addressed in legislation reform to the SNAP.

When reviewing the education characteristics in SNAP participants, food insecure individuals, and low income households the data repeatedly presents the same information. The majority of individuals that qualify for these three categories all share one thing in common, they did not continue, or did not complete, their education post-high school. In order to make long term improvements in food security, poverty, and unemployment, legislation needs to directly address this issue of education.

Currently there are programs in place to help individuals understand and apply for SNAP benefits. This program is known as the Nutrition Outreach and Education Program (NOEP) in the state of New York. This program's funding is provided by both the federal and state government. Some variation to this program is available in most states; in Florida it is known as the Family Nutrition Program (FNP). This program is not only responsible for assisting applicants with enrollment, but also has a responsibility to make the community aware of the program and inform poverty stricken individuals of education and job training. Although these coordinators are diligent in presenting individuals with these opportunities, many SNAP participants do not take advantage of these classes.

The first policy proposal for SNAP legislation reform needs to address education requirements. During SNAP enrollment, participants are required to disclose education, employment and housing arrangements. However, participants only need to confirm this information once per year when re-applying. In implementing this new legislation, SNAP beneficiaries would be required to participate in an approved form of job training or career education. A computer program would be created to confirm their enrollment, attendance and satisfactory performance, upon which their benefits would be contingent.

Additionally, the policy proposal for SNAP legislation reform needs to address the prevalent issue of fraud and trafficking among SNAP authorized retailers. The

program cannot afford to allow ten percent of retailers to continue scamming the system. Applying to become an authorized SNAP retailer can take as little as fifteen minutes and there are no recertification requirements. In order to police the retailers more effectively, the program will need to instill random auditing of the stores on location. Randomly reviewing store records and activities with no warning would allow the SNAP to crack down on trafficking among retailers.

In order to address the nutritional ineffectiveness of the SNAP, additional funding would be required to distribute educational information on nutrition. Since a lack of an academic education is prevalent among SNAP participants, it is fair to assume that beneficiaries are also rather uneducated in regards to nutrition. The program could be more effective in creating health conscious participants by mailing an informative pamphlet to them on a monthly basis. While the pamphlet would be primarily intended to educate them on the dangers of poor nutrition, it would be successful in drawing the attention it requires by including tips on how to stretch food stamp dollars. Although the effectiveness of such a policy proposal would probably be minimal and hard to gauge, it would be one simple way to stress the importance of nutrition without denying individuals their freedom of choice.

In order to maximize the positive effects of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, the program needs to increase the participation of eligible households. While 15% of the general population participates in SNAP, over 20% of this population is eligible. If the SNAP were able to get these additional 5% to enroll, the program would make an even more significant difference in the issues of food security, poverty and unemployment. In order to draw this subsection of the population, funding needs to be increased in the NOEP (or FNP, etc.). Increased funding in these Nutrition Outreach and Education Programs would allow them to reach a wider audience by hiring multi-lingual employees and expanding their community outreach efforts.

These policy proposals would all require an increase in funding for the SNAP. While that may be a massive request during a time in which the federal government is cutting spending everywhere it can, the benefits of the program cannot be denied. The SNAP has been effective in meeting its goals of reducing food insecurity and improving the depth of poverty in America. An increase in funding will provide even more significant long term economic stimulus and lower unemployment rates in the future. Although the opposition to the program may have some valid objections, simple policy changes and increased funding to already operational programs would benefit the entire nation multi-dimensionally.

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Section III: Critical Essays

Modal Jazz, Miles Davis and *Kind of Blue*

William Pegg (Music)¹

Although it was not a critical darling upon release (in fact, it flopped initially), Miles Davis' *Kind of Blue*, released in 1959, is the best selling jazz record to date. In its *Jazz Profile* on *Kind of Blue*, NPR states that this record is "a universally acknowledged masterpiece, revered as much by rock and classical music fans as by jazz lovers."² Perhaps the one aspect of *Kind of Blue* that is regarded as most revolutionary is its adherence to the principles of modal composition – a compositional technique that typifies the genre of modal jazz (which *Kind of Blue* is often credited with establishing).

This technique represents a much more abstract concept of jazz than the genre's predecessor, bebop. This can be considered a result of the progressive thinking and artistic expression which began in the early 1940's and developed through the mid-1950's; "by the mid-1950's, jazz had not only become an art, it had become a way of life and, to some extent, a science. . . . This new, more abstract attitude could be seen in other artistic arenas as well."³ Artists, authors and architects (like Jackson Pollack, Jack Kerouac and Frank Lloyd Wright, for example) had already begun to "push the boundaries" into more abstract territories well before the mid 1950's – this influences George Russell, Miles Davis and Stan Kenton (among others) to approach jazz in a more intellectual way. This being the case, it seems difficult to believe that Miles Davis was the only contributor to modal jazz and that *Kind of Blue* was really a revolutionary album (in more than just jazz), since artistic opinion was already swaying in a progressive direction. Therefore, is it correct to call Miles Davis an innovator, and was *Kind of Blue* really a "revolutionary" masterpiece?

Present in *Kind of Blue* is an apparent lack of harmonic motion and an emphasis on few harmonic changes. This is quite a contrast to bebop; "bebop and (to a lesser extent) hard bop were largely focused on ii-V-I progressions and frequent harmonic changes to emphasize an overall sense of forward motion. . . . This approach, or

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Roger Wesby for MU209-ILC: *Jazz and Blues*.

² Anonymous, dir. "Miles Davis: Kind of Blue." *Jazz Profiles*. National Public Radio: WRVO, Syracuse, 01 Aug 2001. Radio.

<<http://www.npr.org/2011/01/04/10862796/miles-davis-kind-of-blue>>.

³ Lawn, Richard J. *Experiencing Jazz*. 2nd. New York: Routledge, 2013. 227. Print.

“progression-oriented jazz,” had been the norm for nearly four decades (prior to the advent of modal jazz).”⁴ By 1959, Miles Davis already had a career that spanned over a decade, with plenty of triumphant performances on the world’s biggest stages. However, just before *Kind of Blue*’s release, he appeared to have “. . . grown tired of endlessly running over chord changes.” Given his prior success, this would seem quite a feat, as most would opt to rest on their laurels and continue to create music that would perpetuate an already staggeringly efficacious career. Nevertheless, Miles’ new vision led him “. . . on a journey to discover a new approach to improvisation that would abandon the conventional formula of harmonic progression in favor of particular scales, or modes, and their overall sound.”⁵ However, it was not Davis who articulated the theoretical underpinnings that would make his vision possible.

George Russell’s impact on modal jazz should not be understated, as the concept that governs his most enduring contribution, contained in his book *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization*, is the central theoretical device that Davis employed in the creation of *Kind of Blue*. In fact, it was Davis’ dilemma – finding a scale that could embody a chord and make the overall sound of the mode the prominent feature – that fueled Russell. In order to do so, Russell was

. . . required to shed the expectations of his ‘Western ears,’ which are trained to hear sonorities in terms of harmonic motion. Western music is driven forward by harmonic progression and listeners are most comfortable when they hear tonicization [the affirmation of a central, key or “tonic” note.] The problem with tonicization, however, is that it forces every chord into one of two categories: it is either a tonic, or it is part of a progression toward the tonic. Such a traditional approach forces improvisers to focus on where chords lead, rather than on the chords themselves. The approach Russell had in mind would permit improvisers to create melodies that embody chords in themselves rather than treating chords as mere tools of harmonic function.⁶

⁴ Boothroyd, Myles. “Modal jazz and Miles Davis: George Russell’s Influence and the Melodic Inspiration Behind Modal jazz.” *Nota Bene: Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Musicology*. 3.1

⁵ Boothroyd, Myles. “Modal jazz and Miles Davis: George Russell’s Influence and the Melodic Inspiration Behind Modal jazz.” *Nota Bene: Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Musicology*. 3.1

⁶ Boothroyd, Myles. “Modal jazz and Miles Davis: George Russell’s Influence and the Melodic Inspiration Behind Modal jazz.” *Nota Bene: Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Musicology*. 3.1

Meanwhile, other composers were contributing to the progression of jazz away from bebop, among them Charles Mingus (for his use of minimal harmonies) and Dave Brubeck (for his use of odd-numbered meters).⁷ Along with applying the theoretical and compositional techniques of contemporary composers (particularly Russell and Mingus), *Kind of Blue* also applies the chords and chordal substitutions of pianist Bill Evans. “Drawing on his knowledge of classical music and modal jazz, he developed an original approach to chord voicings. By loosening the root from the rest of the chord, he found original ways to add harmonic extensions to existing chords and to substitute chords in standard progressions. These techniques were clearly apparent in his adaptation of standards, some of which were unusual choices.”⁸ So while Miles Davis was quite remarkable in his capacity to change (“nobody looms larger in postwar jazz than Miles... He changed the rules of jazz five times from 1949 to 1969.”)⁹, it is unfair to Bill Evans, and George Russell in particular, to regard Miles Davis as the theoretical mastermind of *Kind of Blue*, although the works on this album (of which all of them, with the possible exception of “Blue in Green,” the authorship of which is subject to controversy, are Davis’ sketches) certainly stand for themselves as the definitive collection of modal jazz compositions, which neither Bill Evans or George Russell can be credited with creating.

By that token, is it fair to call *Kind of Blue* a “revolutionary masterpiece?” We have already explored the revolutionary aspects of *Kind of Blue* as they pertain to jazz composition and genre. But as the NPR quote states, *Kind of Blue* is revered not only by jazz listeners but also by classical and rock listeners (among others, certainly). How was this work able to create this crossover effect to become the masterpiece that is now revered?

Modal composition was not new to Davis before the release of *Kind of Blue*; in fact, he had experimented with these techniques in his previous record, *Milestones*. While the majority of *Milestones* was made up of compositions that owed much to the style of hard bop (of which, Davis was also a pioneer), the title track displays a minimalistic harmonic approach which would later be central to *Kind of Blue*. Another similarity that these records have in common is that both are indebted to the blues idiom: “four of the

⁷ DeVaux, Scott and Gary Giddins. “The Modality of Miles Davis and John Coltrane.” Trans. *Array Jazz*. 1st ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 2009. 425. Print.

⁸ DeVaux, Scott and Gary Giddins. “The Modality of Miles Davis and John Coltrane.” Trans. *Array Jazz*. 1st ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 2009. 427. Print.

⁹ DeVaux, Scott and Gary Giddins. “The Modality of Miles Davis and John Coltrane.” Trans. *Array Jazz*. 1st ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 2009. 422. Print.

six tracks on *Milestones* are blues numbers (“Dr. Jackle”, “Sid’s Ahead”, “Two Bass Hit” and “Straight, No Chaser”) as are two out of five on *Kind of Blue* (“All Blues” and “Freddie Freeloader”).”¹⁰ Furthermore, the roots of the blues are also explicit in the figuration (the filled-in walking sixths) of the song, “Milestones,” which later influences “All Blues” from *Kind of Blue*. “[The] extent to which modal jazz is rooted in the blues is underlined by the fact that the title track off *Milestones*, the often hailed ‘first example of modal jazz,’ is characterized by its blues figuration, with its rising and falling between chordal tones over a static harmony. This same figuration was then used as the groove on ‘All Blues’ on *Kind of Blue* (in a more characteristically “bluesy” way than the former).”¹¹

Samuel Barrett, Senior Lecturer in Music and Director of College Music at Pembroke College, Cambridge, goes on to note that other aspects of blues govern the modal jazz present on *Kind of Blue*.

The primary melodic focus of the blues, which is often limited to a particular scale (such as the pentatonic in much Delta blues, or the more extensive ‘blues scale’), acts as a precedent for the scales provided to the soloists as bases for improvisation in modal jazz. Also, the way a limited number of chords can serve as a loose and not necessarily metrically fixed support for the voice in blues, finds its counterpart in the ‘vamps’ [*ostinati* or brief, repeated accompaniment figures] used in modal jazz. The harmonic language of the blues is also not necessarily diatonic, since the tendency to treat the tonic chord as a dominant-type seventh sets up an ongoing cycle with a weakened sense of any home key.¹²

While this take on the blues is more abstract than previous forms, it should be noted that the melancholic mood of the blues is very clearly present throughout the album.

The year 1959 saw some jazz crossovers into the rock and roll charts (Bobby Darin’s recording of “Mack the Knife” and Sarah Vaughn’s “Broken Hearted Melody” are particularly noteworthy examples as both peaked in the top 10 of the pop charts)¹³, which perhaps explains why this record had a crossover effect with the rock and roll community. However, this record was perhaps most accepted by this community post-

¹⁰ Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 186. Print.

¹¹ Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the Economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 188. Print.

¹² Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the Economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 186. Print.

¹³ ("The Hot 100 - 1959 Archive." . Billboard Magazine, 28 Dec. 1959. Web. 28 July 2014. <<http://www.billboard.com/archive/charts/1959/hot-100>>.

1965 (when bands like The Rolling Stones and The Beatles were becoming more and more innovative in their approaches).

However, this only explains two tracks on *Kind of Blue*. What characterizes the other three songs and do these songs share any aspects with “Freddie Freeloader” or “All Blues?” The last track on *Kind of Blue*, “Flamenco Sketches,” is often considered, along with the opening track, “So What?” one of the ideal examples of modal jazz. However, according to Samuel Barrett, this song is also blues-based in its overall aims. If this song is one of the model compositions of modal jazz, yet adheres to the compositional aspects of blues (a style that had thrived for decades prior to *Kind of Blue*), does that mean that *Kind of Blue* is actually derivative of blues and, therefore, not “revolutionary?”

One of the defining aspects of the blues is a static tonal center and a predictable harmonic progression. This is key to Barrett’s theories on the composition of “Flamenco Sketches.” However, Barrett was not the first scholar to make the claim that “Flamenco Sketches” is based on a static tonal center. In his doctoral dissertation, Barry Kernfield, editor of the *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, proposed a harmonic progression for “Flamenco Sketches” which could link this song to the static tonal centers and predictable chord progressions that define blues.

Any suggestion that the five scales of ‘Flamenco Sketches’ were treated as familiar major and minor sonorities lends weight to the opinion of Barry Kernfeld . . . that this track is built not on modal scales, but on a series of chordal vamps. Evans’ two-chord oscillations over V–I roots in the first three segments can easily be understood as a vamp structure, and a case can even be made for an overall tonal organization to the track. . . . [Effectively] Kernfield argues that the chord progression works as an interrupted and heavily inflected II–Vmin–I.¹⁴

Barrett disagrees with Kernfield’s analysis, stating the difficulties with describing these chords in functional terms, most notably that “the track ends not on C major but on G minor, and each soloist cadences in the G minor section rather than continuing to Cma7 as both the end and the beginning of the cycle . . . the final Gmin9 serves as a closing point and Cma7 sounds as a new beginning each time around the sequence.”¹⁵ Barrett then theorizes that the blues roots of “Flamenco Sketches” lie not in a harmonic progression, but rather in a single chord (Cma7, a blues sonority) and in the exploration of the blues scale around that central sonority.

¹⁴ Kernfeld, B.D. 1981. *Adderley, Coltrane, and Davis at the Twilight of Bebop: The Search for Melodic Coherence (1958–9)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell (Ann Arbor)

¹⁵ Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 190, 191. Print.

A simpler way to hear ‘Flamenco Sketches’ is as an elaboration of a single and static blues sonority. Key to this consideration is the fact that all the roots of the harmonies on ‘Flamenco Sketches’ are drawn from a single C Aeolian scale, i.e. C, D, E-flat, F, G, A-flat, B-flat. . . . The principle is that of building harmonies on a scale over which the blues can be played, and it is this exploration of local colors within an overall blues sonority that binds together ‘Flamenco Sketches’. Moreover, it is not just that the roots of the harmonies are drawn from a scale with flattened third, sixth and seventh, but that the entire sound world is derived from the principle explored in much blues of introducing flattened alterations or ‘blue notes’ against a diatonic major scale. Considering ‘Flamenco Sketches’ as an exploration of local colors within an overall blues sonority based on C also serves to explain why the initial Cma7 sounds as a home chord without the same pull that it would have in a tonal scheme.¹⁶

So does Barrett’s analysis of “Flamenco Sketches” offer any insight into the composition of “Blue in Green” or “So What?” According to Barrett, “Blue in Green” shares several aspects with “Flamenco Sketches,” particularly in Evans’ chord voicings and in an abstract adherence to the blues form (with a substitution of the usual IV chord by a bVI chord).¹⁷ Barrett also characterizes “So What?”, the first song on *Kind of Blue*, by Evans’ rich chord voicings and by the half-step modulation, which is also used in the opening two changes of “Flamenco Sketches” (or movement from a scale of no accidentals to one of five flats, typical of Spanish music). The form of “So What?” harkens back to older jazz, employing a traditional quaternary form. This form is akin to Gershwin’s “I Got Rhythm,” which inspired the likes of Duke Ellington (“Cotton Tail”), Dizzy Gillespie (“Salt Peanuts”) and Thelonius Monk (“Rhythm-a-Ning”).

Barrett’s analysis of “Flamenco Sketches” (as well as Kernfield’s proposed harmonic progression) and “Blue in Green” (mentioned previously) represents a departure from the original analysis provided by Bill Evans in his liner notes for *Kind of Blue*. While Evans’ liner notes are more philosophical than theoretical in nature, Evans’ analysis is much more straightforward and practical than Barrett’s or Kernfield’s analysis. “Blue in Green’ is a 10-measure circular form following a 4-measure introduction, and played by soloists in various augmentation and diminution of time values. . . . ‘Flamenco Sketches’ is a series of five scales, each to be played as long as the soloist wishes until he has completed the series.”¹⁸ The “10-measure circular form” that

¹⁶ Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 190, 191. Print.

¹⁷ Barrett, Samuel. "Kind of Blue and the economy of Modal jazz." *Popular Music*. 25.2 (2006): 192. Print.

Evans' is referring to is actually quite a lot more sophisticated than Barrett's analysis seems to suggest when he calls it an "abstract adherence to the blues form." A 10-measure circular form consists of a 10-measure phrase that then circles around on itself, with the second chord of the initial phrase acting as the first chord of the new phrase. The idea that this adherence to a traditional blues form (such as the 12-bar blues) is abstract is incorrect, as a 12-bar blues form in and of itself is not abstract but quite readily identifiable (a blues is characterized by a predictable chord progression and a solid tonal center - Bill Evans' chord voicings and modal compositional techniques make this comparison to a blues false). Secondly, "Blue in Green," in its slower tempo and more sophisticated harmonic structure, has more in common with a ballad than "Freddie Freeloader" or "All Blues."

A better analysis of "Blue in Green" would be that is a harmonically rich ballad, set in a challenging form. Kernfield's proposed harmonic progression for "Flamenco Sketches" (or a "heavily inflected II-Vmin-I,") is also a bit disingenuous, as Evans' liner notes describe that "Flamenco Sketches" was not conceived with the idea of harmonic motion in mind but rather as a spontaneous jam wherein the improviser is allowed to take control of the elements of form and duration of the song's five scales. This also defeats Barrett's claim of a central "single, static blues sonority," as the song's five scales can not all be traced to a simple C blues scale – particularly not the fourth scale used in this song, which appears to be based on the Phrygian mode and not a blues scale. This fourth segment also demonstrates Miles Davis's penchant for Spanish music, which is characterized by the Phrygian mode. Davis would later utilize this fascination with Spanish music on *Sketches of Spain* (the album which follows *Kind of Blue*) and on the song "Teo" from *Someday My Prince Will Come* (which shares many elements with "Flamenco Sketches," particularly in that it is themeless and its form on the recording was dictated by the soloists).

Therefore, we can infer that Bill Evans' liner notes, which certainly make far fewer assumptions than Barrett's analysis of "Flamenco Sketches" or "Blue in Green" (or Kernfield's proposed harmonic progression for "Flamenco Sketches"), form a better analysis of those two songs and that *Kind of Blue*, by extension, is not a work that is completely blues-based in its overall aims. However, there is some credence to Barrett's concept that the blues and earlier jazz had a direct influence upon *Kind of Blue*, as the

¹⁸ Evans, Bill. "'Kind of Blue' Liner Notes." Columbia Records, 17 Aug. 1959. Web. 6 July 2014. <<http://www.cannonball-adderley.com/miles/miles07.htm>>.

blues and jazz roots of *Kind of Blue* are fairly recognizable in the general aesthetics of the album (a melancholic mood achieved through blue tonality, structural references to both blues and jazz, and in the rhythmic discipline of swing). It would then appear that to the joint blues, jazz and rock and roll communities, the term “revolutionary” is still valid in describing *Kind of Blue*, however, significant influence was most certainly obtained from blues and jazz.

But how could this record crossover into the classical realm when it is steeped in blues and jazz (two genres generally seen as contrary to classical music)? Modality in the classical realm was far from new. “[The] theory of modality originated with the Ancient Greeks and Medieval Church music, wherein the music was based on the diatonic modes.”¹⁹ For a more recent example (particularly one that would pertain to Bill Evans’ use of chords, as he was a classically trained pianist), classical listeners need only to reference Impressionism. “By the end of the nineteenth century, the ear could accept virtually any combination of pitches in a sonority, provided that it was audibly derived from the diatonic tonal system. . . . Prior to the twelve-tone system, composers such as Ives, Ravel and Debussy were beginning to find new ways to organize harmony. All of these departed [from tonality] in some way, usually without a serious break.”²⁰

One of the key harmonic organizational tools that these composers would use was modality. While modal jazz rarely focuses solely on Western diatonic modes,²¹ Impressionist composers were able to evoke similar moods with exotic scales some fifty years earlier, most notably Debussy, who had a preference for Eastern Scales, like the Balinese scale.

Russell’s *Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization* differs from Impressionist theories of modal harmonic organization, in that his theory cared more about the sound of a chord that could embody all notes in a scale rather than as an exotic effect that blurred the lines of tonality. In this sense, while modality was not new to the classical realm, Davis’ vision differed from the vision of the Impressionist composers and therefore can still be considered “revolutionary” to a classical music listener.

Another aspect that perhaps resonated with classical music enthusiasts is not only in the refined playing of Bill Evans but also in the expressivity and virtuosity of

¹⁹ Lawn, Richard J. *Experiencing Jazz*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2013. 240. Print.

²⁰ White, John David. *Comprehensive Musical Analysis*. 1st ed. Baltimore: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994. 140. Print

²¹ “Modal jazz.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 11 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

John Coltrane and Julian “Cannonball” Adderley, who give extraordinary performances on this record alongside Paul Chambers (who is often revered as one of the greatest bassists in jazz history)²², and Jimmy Cobb (who exhibits particularly tasteful drumming on this record). It should also be noted that while perhaps not as technically gifted as some of his contemporaries, Miles Davis’ playing (especially on this record) demonstrates an introspective virtuosity that exhibits an incredible musical intelligence, particularly as this pertains to note choices, as Davis’ note choices (like Evans’ chord voicings) often avoided the obvious for more abstract or expressive choices (thus expanding harmonic and melodic possibilities)²³.

With all of these considerations in mind, it is unfair to call Miles Davis the “originator” of modal jazz, as many of the principles that define modal jazz were taken from various sources, most notably the blues and early jazz, Davis’ contemporaries and classical music. However, an artist taking influence from other artists or styles does not negate artistic innovation. In his article “A Sense of the Possible: Miles Davis and the Semiotics of Improvised Performance,” Christopher Smith, Chair of Musicology/Ethnomusicology and director of the Vernacular Music Center at the Texas Tech University School of Music, argues that Miles Davis’ “. . . particular genius was centered in an ability to construct and manipulate improvisational possibilities, selecting and combining compositions, players, musical styles, and other performance parameters.”²⁴ But Smith’s analysis of Davis’ genius extends beyond his acknowledgement of Davis’ ability to combine musical styles, as he goes on to stress that it is Davis’ ability to find the right combination of players to interpret his vision that is just as important.

The five compositions that comprise *Kind of Blue* entrusted the improvisers with levels of freedom rarely afforded them previously. “There were two immediate effects of modal jazz (in jazz recordings): the tempos slowed down (although Miles tended to favor conservative tempi in many recordings) and solo durations tended to be longer (rather than the traditional 24 or 32 bar long solo, the improviser was allowed to invent and re-invent for as long as he/she wanted).”²⁵ This “manipulation of improvisational possibilities” allowed for tremendous personal creative contributions to *Kind of Blue* that were not necessarily intended when Davis composed the initial sketches. Indeed, some of

²² Kahn, Ashley. *Kind of Blue*. Boston: Da Capo Press, 2001. Print.

²³ Kahn, Ashley. *Kind of Blue*. Boston: Da Capo Press, 2001. Print.

²⁴ Smith, Christopher. “A Sense of the Possible: Miles Davis and the Semiotics of Improvised Performance.” *TDR* Vol. 39. No. 3 (1995): 41. 11 Oct. 1995. Web.

²⁵ Kahn, Ashley. *Kind of Blue*. Boston: Da Capo Press, 2001. 68. Print.

the greatest moments on *Kind of Blue* are the solos played not only by Miles Davis but also by Bill Evans, Wynton Kelly, John Coltrane, Julian Adderley and Paul Chambers. Therefore, the performers can be considered of a near equal status with the composer in the freedom granted by modal jazz. Thus, the contributions of the performers on *Kind of Blue* cannot be overstated.

The importance of the performers' role is also evident in that every song (with the exception of "Flamenco Sketches") on *Kind of Blue* was done in one take. This certainly preserves the spontaneity of the recording. Also, the sheet music provided to the performers would usually have been quite minimal and nearly illegible; a jazz recording would not have been conducted like a classical recording at that time, with published editions of sheet music being given to the players before the recording. More than likely, most jazz recordings of that period would have used handwritten sheet music with minimal instruction. Therefore, along with the compositional freedom given to them, the performers on *Kind of Blue* would have needed to be able to think on their feet. More than likely, without this collection of players, the album would not have been as successful.

Another remarkable aspect of Davis' zeitgeist is in his ability to bring together the right musicians at the right time. After *Kind of Blue*, Bill Evans explored other areas of jazz, as did John Coltrane, who began to embrace the emergence of free jazz after his split with Miles. Miles Davis himself would depart from modal jazz not long after *Kind of Blue*, progressing into the realms of post-modern jazz and jazz-fusion. The fact that these progressive musical minds could be drawn together (with Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, who was remarked as coming "into his prime" with this recording²⁶, Paul Chambers and Wynton Kelly) for this short window of time to create this album is certainly a testament to Davis' ability to bring together the best players at the right time. Such zeitgeist should not be underestimated.

The "manipulation and construction of improvisational possibilities" that Miles Davis exhibits on *Kind of Blue* would prove to be particularly influential, as the precedents of solo lengths in recorded jazz were shattered but also in live performances as well, as these solo lengths could be even longer live. These improvisational practices would be central to the proceeding jazz genre of free jazz, which based improvisation on tonal centers. This genre is still practiced today by jazz musicians some fifty years after

²⁶ Devaux, Scott and Gary Giddins. "The Modality of Miles Davis and John Coltrane." Trans. Array Jazz. 1st ed. Ann Arbor; University of Michigan 2009. Print.

Kind of Blue's release, making this one of the more significant achievements of *Kind of Blue*. Although jazz has evolved to a considerable degree in fifty years, the techniques introduced by this record have yet to become irrelevant. In fact, many of the songs on *Kind of Blue* (particularly "All Blues" and "So What?") are still staples of the jazz repertoire.

Because of these achievements, *Kind of Blue* can be considered a revolutionary masterpiece, in which Miles Davis once again manifests his vision, taste and, some would say, genius. While he was influenced by a wide variety of different musicians and styles, he can be considered an innovator in his ability to incorporate these styles into his approach and a visionary in his initiative to surround himself with the right musicians at the right time. What ties everything together are his compositions – the truly timeless sketches that make up the music on *Kind of Blue*. As is often the case with music, something that is truly groundbreaking is usually not appreciated immediately; certainly the idea of tonicization, which was a central tenet to listeners in 1959, when bebop was still accepted stylistically, was left behind by *Kind of Blue*. However, *Kind of Blue* is now certainly the best-selling jazz album of all time, mostly due to the universal ideals of freedom and integration that this album represents. As long as these ideals are relevant to music, *Kind of Blue* will remain an essential work.

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Opening Doors: The Broadway Musicals of Harold Prince

James Forbes Sheehan (Arts Administration)¹

“No doors!” remarked the revered theatre producer-director Harold Prince during a conversation at William Paterson University in May, 2014. Prince is referring to the set designs for the majority of his musicals: he finds doors unnecessary, cluttering the action and movement of the show. So, the title of this essay—a Stephen Sondheim lyric from the 1981 musical *Merrily We Roll Along*, which Prince directed—is a title of great truth and great irony. Despite Harold Prince’s dislike for physical doors onstage, he thrust open the doors to a new type of musical theatre, spearheading the creation of a more serious, interesting, adult art form; a theatre that no longer tolerates—in his own words—“dopey” musicals with nice songs laced together by a thin book.² (Along the way, Prince garnered a record-breaking 21 Tony Awards: ten for producing, eight for directing, and three special awards.)

In the 1979 book *Broadway Musicals*, historian Martin Gottfried noted that “the man most responsible for the musical book’s most dramatic change after [Oscar] Hammerstein’s development of the musical play was not a writer but a director. . . . [Harold] Prince’s name has never appeared on a program as an author. Yet he has been the dominating collaborator on every musical he has directed.”³

A protégé of the playwright, producer, and director, George Abbott, young Prince was afforded many opportunities by Abbott. “So many directors, actors, and writers have come out of the ‘school of Abbott’ because George Abbott is a very generous man,” Prince stated in 1989, when Abbott was still alive and working at the age of 102. (Abbott lived to be 107.) “He has always known how good he is and so he never resented when we went off on our own.”⁴ Prince, in turn, has inspired the generations of musical theatre practitioners who have followed him.

After three shows as a stage manager, Prince co-produced his first musical at the age of 26: *The Pajama Game*, in 1954, which Abbott co-wrote and directed. The show

¹ Written under the direction of Prof. Dan Venning for TH235: *Musical Theatre History*.

² Prince, *An Evening With Harold Prince*

³ Ilson, *Harold Prince*, 159

⁴ Hirsch, *Harold Prince and the American Musical Theatre*, 22

won the Tony Award for Best Musical, and Prince went on to produce such hit shows as *Damn Yankees*, *West Side Story*, and the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Fiorello!* before directing his first musical, *A Family Affair*, in 1962. (Prince had been called in as the second replacement director; the show quickly flopped after 65 performances.)

The following season, he once again tried his hand at directing, this time with *She Loves Me*, a delightfully romantic musical written by Joe Masteroff, Jerry Bock, and Sheldon Harnick. Though the musical was warmly received by most critics, it ran just short of ten months. Twelve years after the musical's opening, Prince mused on the fact that it did not succeed financially because it was a small show that seemed out-of-place next to big, splashy musical comedies like *Hello, Dolly!* and *Funny Girl*. Nevertheless, Prince regrets nothing about it, from the casting (he chose Barbara Cook over Julie Andrews) to the writing, stating that it was "as well directed as anything I've ever done."⁵ Prince's direction, however, was not mentioned in most of the reviews.

Following *She Loves Me*, Prince struck gold producing *Fiddler on the Roof*, but he received mixed-to-negative reviews for his next two directorial endeavors (*Baker Street* and *It's A Bird...It's A Plane...It's Superman*). Finally, in 1966, he was properly recognized as a director, with the musical adaptation of John Van Druten's 1951 play *I Am A Camera*. The show—titled *Cabaret*—was a major critical and commercial success, and it redefined the "concept musical." (Kurt Weill, George Gershwin, and Moss Hart's *Lady in the Dark* from 1941 is considered by many to be the first concept musical, but Prince and his collaborators—most notably Stephen Sondheim, John Kander and Fred Ebb, and Michael Bennett—greatly improved upon the form.)

Prince and his *Cabaret* creative team—book writer Joe Masteroff, composer John Kander, lyricist Fred Ebb, and scenic designer Boris Aronson—were attracted to the show's source material because they identified similarities between "the spiritual bankruptcy of Germany in the 1920s" and America's Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.⁶ As remembered by Aronson, Prince said that the primary goal for the production was "to show that what happened then in Berlin could happen here now."⁷ Thus, Aronson designed the set to include a large mirror, tilted so that the audience members could see their reflections; the audience became part of the action of the show.

⁵ Prince, *Contradictions*, 99-101

⁶ Prince, *Contradictions*, 125

⁷ Ilson, *Harold Prince*, 145

The cabaret and the mysterious Master of Ceremonies who inhabited it became a metaphor for Hitler's Germany, commenting on the corrupt, desperate, and confusing "real world" of Berlin in the early 1930s. Prince drew inspiration for the Master of Ceremonies, portrayed on Broadway by Joel Grey, from his time in the army, when he was stationed in Stuttgart. While there, he frequented "a nightclub called Maxim's in the rubble of an old church basement. . . . There was a dwarf MC, hair parted in the middle and lacquered down with brilliantine, his mouth made into a bright-red cupid's bow, who wore heavy false eyelashes."⁸

Prince also found inspiration in a political musical revue presented by the Taganka Theatre in Moscow, Russia, which he saw around 1965. He describes the revue as "traumatizing (in a good sense). It totally changed my life. . . . That one performance in the theatre totally altered my vision of the stage and what I would want to do with that space. . . . It's saying look at the stage and put there what cannot be done by films and television."⁹ Prince's time in Moscow reminded him that shows did not *need* to use the traditional American musical theatre conventions that had worked for some many years before. He returned to New York, invigorated, with new ideas of how to break down the invisible 'fourth wall' that separates the action onstage from the audience.

"[John Kander and I] didn't have the idea of a concept musical in mind when we were writing *Cabaret*," said Fred Ebb. "We were working in a form that was very accessible to me, the revue form, where performers just come out and do a number. . . . I don't think that I appreciated the portentousness of the subject we were treating with a cabaret in Hitler's Berlin, or the seriousness of it, until it was pointed out to me."¹⁰

Kander and Ebb essentially wrote two scores for *Cabaret*: the 'book songs' that were sung in the real world to propel the story, and the cabaret songs that commented on the action of the real world. It became very clear to the audience when the characters were playing in the "real world," when they were in the "cabaret world," and when they were in the "limbo area."

Company, written by Stephen Sondheim and George Furth in 1970, takes the concept musical approach a step further, blurring the line between the "real world" and the commentary. For example, in one scene, a middle-aged couple who have been bickering with each other (Sarah and Harry), begin practicing karate together, starting out

⁸ Prince, *Contradictions*, 126

⁹ Ilson, *Harold Prince*, 135

¹⁰ Kander and Ebb, *Colored Lights*, 60

in jest and quickly escalating to violence. The character Joanne, a rather cynical woman “of a certain age,” steps in to sing “The Little Things You Do Together,” which she delivers out to the audience, commenting on troubled marriages like Sarah and Harry’s while never directly mentioning the couple. Until this point, Joanne has not been a character in the scene.

In the late 1960s, playwright George Furth sought out Stephen Sondheim’s opinion on an evening of eleven one-act plays that Furth had written to star actress Kim Stanley, titled *Company*. Puzzled by the plays, Sondheim sent them to Prince. Upon reading them, Prince became overwhelmed with the fact that Stanley would be running off-stage to change costumes and wigs every few minutes. He did, however, feel that the plays that dealt with marriage would make an intriguing musical. The musical, however, would revolve around Robert—a New York bachelor who is celebrating his thirty-fifth Birthday—and all of the friends in his life (five couples and his three girlfriends).

Though *Company* did not have the controversial political undertones that *Cabaret* had, “*Company* was the first musical I had done without conventional plot or subplot structure,” Prince says. “The first without the hero and heroine, without the comic relief couple.” The plot of the show, centering around Robert’s relationships with his married friends, is “subtextual,” and it stems from “subconscious behavior, psychological stresses, inadvertent revelations: the nature of the lie people accept to preserve their relationship.”¹¹

In the way that Kander and Ebb did not set out to reinvent the musical theatre form with Prince, Sondheim states that “content dictates form and breaking form is therefore connected to the story you’re telling: we never started out by saying, ‘let’s do a non-plot musical.’” Every part of the collaborative process between Sondheim, Furth, and Prince was connected. “My music and lyrics grew out of the way we commented about the characters in conferences; before I began to write I absorbed the play’s ambiance and atmosphere, its style of speech. I don’t make the characters speak, but I try to mime or echo or enhance a story or characters invented by somebody else.”¹²

Prince states that he needs to see “the motor and rhythm of a show through the scenery to really start directing.”¹³ Thus, as with *Cabaret*, scenic designer Boris Aronson

¹¹ Prince, *Contradictions*, 149

¹² Hirsch, *Harold Prince and the American Musical Theatre*, 85-86

¹³ Prince, *An Evening With Harold Prince*

was once again a major influence on the production. Author and arts administrator Ted Chapin feels that Aronson, who was seventy years old at the time,

was having something of a renaissance under Prince. Following a long and varied career, he had found something new and imaginative in his decadent and theatrically twisted scenery for *Cabaret*. He then came up with the ultramodern, chrome, glass and shiny-black urban environment of *Company*, which was so modern and new that many felt it had been the work of a young artist. It was simply Boris Aronson being inspired.¹⁴

Two working elevators were installed in the set for *Company*, and Sondheim incorporated them into his writing. “I staged [the opening number] in my head around the elevator,” Sondheim remembers. “I asked Boris how long it would take the elevator to get from the top to the bottom so that I knew I could get the people off the stairs and onto the stage level and that’s what the climax [of the song] is about.”¹⁵

Aronson received a Tony Award for his design of *Company*, and the show also took home awards for Best Musical, Best Music and Lyrics (Sondheim’s first Tonys), Best Book, and Best Direction (Prince’s second prize for directing, having won previously for *Cabaret*). “*Cabaret* established me as commercially successful,” Prince says. “*Company* established me in my own eyes.” Despite the show’s accolades and its 705-performance run, “*Company* never played a sold-out week . . . but it paid off and shows a profit. And that’s what commercial theatre must ask of itself.”¹⁶

A week following *Company*’s sweep at the 1971 Tony Awards, Sondheim and Prince’s next musical opened at Broadway’s Winter Garden Theatre. The musical, which had a book by James Goldman, had been percolating since 1965, but was only now being mounted on Broadway. The show was *Follies*, a concept musical set at a reunion of aging showgirls the evening before their theatre’s demolition. Prince had agreed to direct and produce *Follies* (then titled *The Girls Upstairs*) if Sondheim would write *Company*. When Prince initially read *The Girls Upstairs*, the reunion involved a murder-mystery plot. He immediately discarded the murder-mystery idea, focusing more on the relationships between two ex-chorus girls and their husbands. In Prince’s words, *Follies* deals with “the loss of innocence in the United States, using the Ziegfeld Follies (a pretty girl is *no longer* like a melody) as its metaphor.”¹⁷ It was the perfect blend of old and

¹⁴ Chapin, *Everything Was Possible: The Birth of the Musical Follies*, 20

¹⁵ Secrest, *Stephen Sondheim: A Life*, 195

¹⁶ Prince, *Contradictions*, 157

¹⁷ Prince, *Contradictions*, 158

new: Using the 1920s-style Follies numbers as a way to comment on the troubled, Chekhovian relationships of the middle-aged couples.

Prince drew inspiration for *Follies* from a *Life* magazine photograph of Gloria Swanson standing in the ruins of the half-demolished Roxy Theatre. The photograph captured the glamor against the rubble, and Prince felt that it perfectly represented the metaphor of *Follies*. “[*Follies*] was to be surrealistic, inspired by [Federico Fellini’s film] *8 ½*, and rubble became the key word. Metaphoric rubble became visual rubble. . . . Is the theatre town down? Will it be torn down tomorrow? Or was it torn down yesterday?” Prince was looking to create “a mood in which to lose sight of the present, to look back on the past.”¹⁸ The musical utilized ghosts of the leading characters, appearing in flashback sequences and occasionally intertwining with their older counterparts in “real-life.”

Follies was also groundbreaking in that it was the first time Prince collaborated as a co-director, with Michael Bennett, a young man who had just choreographed *Company* for Prince. Bennett was also the choreographer for *Follies*, and Prince was the producer, so they each took on different parts of the production: Prince handled the most of the book scenes, and Bennett handled most of the musical numbers, with overlap between the two artists occurring as necessary to create a fluid piece. “[Bennett] was so talented and *Follies* was such a natural thing to collaborate on as co-directors because there was enough work on *Follies* for both of us to work all the time,” Prince remembered in 2010. “And, at the same time, I can’t actually imagine one director doing it because the book was so knotty and so complex and the tone so specific.”¹⁹

Sondheim had experienced writing for stars when he had written for Ethel Merman (*Gypsy*), Phil Silvers and Zero Mostel (*A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*), and Elaine Stritch (*Company*), but nothing could compare to the magnitude of stars for whom he wrote *Follies*. The cast of *Follies* was an eclectic mix of individuals, featuring movie stars (Alexis Smith, Gene Nelson, and Yvonne De Carlo), stalwarts of the musical theater (John McMartin, Dorothy Collins, and Mary McCarty), a former Ziegfeld girl (Ethel Shutta, approaching 80 at the time), and a former *Folies Bergère* star (Fifi D’Orsay). Sondheim tailored each song in the score to fit each performer’s character.

¹⁸ Prince, *Contradictions*, 159-160

¹⁹ Prince, *InDepth IntetView*

The score of *Follies*, like *Cabaret*, was comprised of two different musical styles: what Sondheim refers to as the “book songs” (sung by the main characters to propel the plot) and “pastiche” songs (sung by the supporting characters and written as an homage to songs by such composers as Irving Berlin, Kurt Weill, and Victor Herbert). *Follies* was, in a way, the perfect blend of *Cabaret* and *Company*, because the pastiche songs informed character and commented on the action of the “real world,” but they could also be viewed as both a diegetic production number or a non-diegetic character song. For example, “I’m Still Here,” Carlotta’s Harold Arlen-type showbiz anthem, begins in a rather conversational way. As the song progresses, it becomes more evident that it is about Carlotta, here and now, and less of a *Follies* number from her youth.

When the cast of *Follies* had their first rehearsal, the now-legendary ending of the show—a lavish, expansive *Follies* sequence set in “Loveland”—was just an empty page. As the rehearsal period progressed, Sondheim, Goldman, Bennett, and Prince created each *Follies* number for the four principals and the ensemble. On Sondheim’s writing process, original Broadway cast-member Kurt Peterson says:

The best thing about Stephen is that he’ll wait until the last minute. . . . He likes to sit in rehearsal and see what’s happening. He wants to see the scene before, he wants to see the actors doing the part, he wants to know what’s going on with the lights . . . and then he can write from character in the brilliant way that he does.²⁰

Follies, though ambitious and stunningly beautiful, was a flawed musical, and in some ways it was ahead of its time: Its topics of depression and divorce were practically taboo in 1971. The show has been discussed and debated by theatre fans since it first premiered, becoming a beloved “cult classic” of sorts. A decade before his tenure as chief drama critic of *The New York Times*, Harvard undergraduate Frank Rich was an early champion of *Follies*. In his preface to Ted Chapin’s 2003 memoir, *Everything Was Possible: The Birth of the Musical Follies*, Rich writes:

Follies remains the most elusive of landmark Broadway musicals. . . . It is a show for which the word “problematic” could have been coined. Its theatricality is lavish but its mood is downbeat. Its storytelling plays tricks with time that are poetic to its fans but disorienting gimmickry to less sympathetic onlookers. The principal characters are narcissistic, unpleasant, and prone to onstage nervous breakdowns. Yet the Stephen Sondheim songs they sing are now classic of the musical-theater repertoire, full of heart even when they delineate arid, disappointed lives.²¹

²⁰ Peterson, *Theater Talk*

²¹ Chapin, *Everything Was Possible: The Birth of the Musical Follies*, xiii

The show ran only fifteen months on Broadway, losing nearly all of its initial \$792,000 investment and making it one of the most notorious flops of the day. It won seven Tony Awards, including direction, choreography, and score, but it lost the Best Musical prize to *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. In his memoir, Prince says, “I could not do it again because I could not in all conscience raise the money for it.”²²

Follies was the second of Sondheim and Prince’s decade-long collaboration—a partnership which also produced *A Little Night Music* (1973), *Pacific Overtures* (1976), *Sweeney Todd* (1979), and *Merrily We Roll Along* (1981). However, after more than forty years and numerous collaborations, Prince still holds *Follies* close to his heart. “It’s my favorite show, really, and the reason is it is the most flying blind I’ve ever done. It was all about instincts and feelings.”²³

Though Prince is best remembered for his marvelous original works, he has also had success with revivals, particularly *Candide* in 1974. The Chelsea Theatre Center at the Brooklyn Academy of Music approached him to stage a revival of Leonard Bernstein and Lillian Hellman’s 1956 musical adaptation of Voltaire’s novella. Prince had disliked the original Broadway production, citing that Hellman’s original book was too long and too stodgy; it did not match Voltaire’s lighthearted source material and Bernstein’s operetta score. With Prince’s guidance, Hugh Wheeler penned an entirely new book, and the final product was a delightful, hour and forty-five minute long production. (Or, in Prince’s words, “an hour and fifty seven minutes with laughs.”²⁴)

Prince was paired with scenic designer Eugene Lee, and the two worked together to create an environmental production design that fully enveloped the Brooklyn Academy of Music’s upstairs theatre. Inspired by a carnival sideshow, *Candide*’s physical production consisted of seven different stages of varying heights and sizes stationed throughout the room.

Candide was a success in Brooklyn, selling out nearly every performance. Prince jokingly reminisces that there were no walkouts—because audiences were trapped, seated on benches between the multiple stages! *Candide* transferred to Broadway and enjoyed a run of close to two years at the Broadway Theatre. For that production, the interior of the Broadway Theatre was gutted and the seven stages were remodeled and installed as they had been in Brooklyn—though this time the venue accommodated 900

²² Prince, *Contradictions*, 168

²³ Chapin, *Everything Was Possible: The Birth of the Musical Follies*, 313

²⁴ Prince, *Contradictions*, 192

audience members, as opposed to 180. In the tradition of the Taganka Theatre in Moscow, where Prince had found inspiration for *Cabaret*, *Candide* began in the lobby: the floors were covered with rough, unfinished wood, the chandeliers were concealed behind draped fabric, and multiple concession stands were placed throughout the space.

The success of *Candide* in Brooklyn affirmed Prince's belief that a revival of a show requires complete reimagining. "Stake your career on trying things," Prince said in a recent interview, going on to note that he has had more financial flops than hits. "I wake the next morning and think, 'what should I do next?'"²⁵

This work ethic and wish to open the door to new types of exciting theatre has kept Prince working for nearly seven decades. Now, age 86, he is working on a new project: a musical adaptation of the film *The Band's Visit*, with composer-lyricist David Yazbek, which he hopes will premiere in 2015. He is also collaborating with Charles Strouse and Thomas Meehan on a musical version of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *A Diamond as Big as the Ritz*; a musical retrospective of Prince's life, titled *The Prince of Broadway*, has been in the works for several years and may open in Tokyo in 2015; and he regularly rehearses the casts of his biggest commercial success, *The Phantom of the Opera*, which has been running on Broadway and in London's West End for more than 25 years.

In addition to his directing and producing work, Prince was instrumental in the creation of the Theatre on Film and Tape Archives at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, which has in its collection a live video recording of almost every Broadway show since the early 1970s. (One of the first productions taped for these archives was, coincidentally, the national tour of *Company*). Prince also revolutionized theater criticism on Broadway: he was the first producer who allowed critics to attend the final few preview performances, which has become the norm today, as opposed to everybody from the press attending the show on opening night. This allowed for more articulate reviews, and it put less pressure on the performers and creative teams.²⁶

Few people deserve to be called a "legend," but the title undoubtedly applies to Prince. It has been 35 years since Martin Gottfried made the bold statement that Prince's contribution to the musical theatre was the most significant since Oscar Hammerstein II's, and that statement still holds true in 2014. The "Prince of Broadway" continues to reign, and he plans to continue working "until they make me stop."²⁷

²⁵ Prince, *An Evening with Harold Prince*

²⁶ Sondheim, *Signature Theatre 2013 Gala*

²⁷ Prince, *An Evening with Harold Prince*

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Rochdale Village: Integration, Urban Renewal, and Decline

Jessica Catanzaro (History)¹

Integrated housing developments were not a new concept in 1963 when Rochdale Village opened in South Jamaica, Queens, but Rochdale Village was something special. When the integrated housing community of Rochdale Village opened in 1963, it was the largest integrated housing cooperative that was ever built in the city of New York, and perhaps the largest built in the entire country.² When Rochdale Village first opened it housed almost 6,000 families, and about 80% of those families were white. Slowly, Rochdale Village became more integrated, with more African American families moving in. However, by the 1970's white families were moving out of the Rochdale Village housing development in vast numbers and by the late 1970's, there were very few white families left in Rochdale Village and in the not so distant future, the community would be almost entirely African American.³ What started in 1963 as a vibrant integrated housing community became in the late 1970's the complete opposite of what its creators set out to do. So why after over ten years of being seemingly successful, did the integrated housing development start to collapse? What was it that caused this great endeavor to become a virtually non-integrated community? Despite the great achievements and initial success of Rochdale Village, the events and issues surrounding South Jamaica and New York City as a whole, led many predominately white families to leave the Rochdale cooperative for better opportunities for their children in other parts of New York.

Three years before Rochdale Village opened its doors, New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller announced on February 17, 1960 that a new integrated housing development would be built on the site of the former Jamaica Racetrack.⁴ This was the beginning of the transformation of South Jamaica, Queens and the start of another step in

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith for HI297: *The Historian as Detective: Exploring the City*.

² Clarence Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 77.

³ Peter Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City's Great Experiment in Integrated Housing* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2010), ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

the integration of African Americans and whites in New York City. South Jamaica, Queens was predominately an African American neighborhood because of the mass migration of African Americans out of New York City into Queens after World War I. By 1960, before the development of Rochdale Village, South Jamaica's population was almost entirely African American which caused it to become the third largest African American neighborhood in the city.⁵ South Jamaica was always a neighborhood that was diverse in regards to income, where middle income families would be living across the street from lower income families.⁶ In fact, South Jamaica became the "premier area for black homeownership in New York City" for all levels of income.⁷ Despite the efforts of the growing Civil Rights Movement, there was some white opposition to African Americans owning homes both in and around New York. In the years before the development of Rochdale Village, South Jamaica experienced an increase in poverty among its residents caused by the poor conditions in the surrounding area of South Jamaica; it was this rise in poverty that led Abraham Kazan, the president of the United Housing Foundation (UHF) whose goal was to create affordable and attractive cooperative housing for working people in New York City, to create the plans to develop an integrated housing cooperative in South Jamaica.

Abraham Kazan had developed many other housing developments throughout the city and he made it his goal to improve the area of South Jamaica, Queens by building a housing development that would be self-sufficient and would therefore decrease some of the poverty that surrounded the neighborhood. In theory, since the cooperative would be self-sufficient, meaning that it would have its own shopping centers, schools, etc., the cooperative would be able to maintain a steady income and its residents would be able to go out into South Jamaica and help increase the wealth of the neighborhood. Abraham Kazan was not an avid supporter of the civil rights movement, however, Rochdale Village was affordable for many types of families whether they be lower-middle class African American families or middle income white families. In Peter Eisenstadt's book *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City's Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, Eisenstadt states that "Abraham Kazan's career spanned the growth, and finally the decay of the idea that nonprofit cooperative housing, attractive and relatively inexpensive, could be an alternative to the cupidity and vagaries of the

⁵ Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era*, 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁷ Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City's Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 46.

private real estate market.”⁸ It was Abraham Kazan who led the cooperative housing movement in New York City and his greatest achievement, Rochdale Village, put an end to the integrated housing revolution that Kazan began because in reality, the integration of Rochdale Village failed.

Title I of the 1949 National Housing Act “permitted the federal government to reimburse municipalities for two-thirds of land acquisition and condemnation costs for urban sites.”⁹ This portion of the National Housing Act was intended to encourage the rebuilding of tenement areas in large plots as a means of stabilizing and improving urban areas. This was the program that helped Kazan design an integrated housing development in South Jamaica. Acting as his own private developer, Kazan started his own contracting company that he used in many of his developments. The company was called Community Services Inc. (CSI) and was the general contractor for Kazan’s cooperatives; it was also the contractor that built Rochdale Village in the early 1960’s.¹⁰

With Abraham Kazan’s grand ideas for an integrated housing development in South Jamaica, Queens, came the issue of funding for the project. There were some issues with this considering it was the “largest and most significant middle income cooperative housing project in the country.”¹¹ With the help of Robert Moses, the “master builder” of New York City and the preeminent architect and developer of many areas of New York City, Kazan was able to get the funding he needed for Rochdale Village. Robert Moses was able to “flex his political muscle” and urge the government of the city to come up with a funding project for the cooperative.¹² Because of Robert Moses’ “unflinching enthusiasm for the project, which kept the idea moving forward when most [including Kazan] had their doubts,” on February 16, 1960, an \$86 million deal was announced.¹³ The New York State Department of Housing was to provide \$19 million from a housing bond issue tied to Mitchell-Lama projects. The Mitchell-Lama law was developed in postwar New York City and made it easier for middle-income housing programs to develop. Another portion of the money would come from pension benefits from the State Teachers Retirement System and the State Employees Retirement System.

⁸ Ibid., 23.

⁹ Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era*, 83.

¹⁰ Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City’s Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 42.

¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹² Ibid., 33.

¹³ Ibid., 66.

These groups would provide mortgage loans of \$28.5 million.¹⁴ The rest of the money would be raised by the UHF to be gathered from down payments by future Rochdale residents.

With the funding for Rochdale Village now complete, it was time to build the development on the grounds of the old Jamaica Racetrack in South Jamaica, Queens. A controversial issue arose when New Yorkers heard about the plan to build a middle-income cooperative in South Jamaica, Queens. Many saw this venture as risky because Rochdale Village would be built in an “overwhelmingly black area...one that would not attract whites” and because the Rochdale Village apartments would be more expensive than low income housing, which many argued that black families could not afford.¹⁵ In the words of Abraham Kazan “I am more than ever convinced that the Jamaica Track project, properly carried through, because of its size, conspicuous location, freedom from tenant removal, and from Washington red tape, etc., will pave the way for the big state aided middle income cooperative program we all want.”¹⁶ Kazan felt that even with the rising controversy surrounding the building of Rochdale Village at the old Jamaica Racetrack site, the new cooperative development would be successful because it would be a self-sufficient cooperative that was middle income and it would be appealing to any number of people.

Despite these controversies, Abraham Kazan moved forward with the construction of the Rochdale Village cooperative. However, things did not remain unproblematic for long as new issues developed outside the build site as the building of the development commenced. In the years that Rochdale Village was built, the Civil Rights Movement was in full swing. There were movements in the South that demonstrated that African Americans should have equal rights in all areas of life. Some of these demonstrations include the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Freedom Riders’ rides throughout the South, and the Birmingham demonstrations.¹⁷ It was during this time that people began to realize that the old Jim Crow laws were dying and a new age of racial

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jason Morgan Ward, *Defending White Democracy: The Making of a Segregationist Movement and the Remaking of Racial Politics, 1936-1965* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 70.

¹⁶ Abraham Kazan correspondence letters July 29, 1959 as found in Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City’s Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 64.

¹⁷ Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 374.

equality was being ushered in. By 1963, New York City had many civil rights accomplishments including bans against discrimination in housing, employment, entertainment, and education and “no city had more public and private institutions open on a nondiscriminatory basis.”¹⁸ Unfortunately many of these policies were not fully enforced, and this led to the riot that occurred at the Rochdale Village construction site.

In the early 1960’s, African Americans were not fairly represented in the job market and the most discriminatory area had to be the building trades unions. The building trades unions were a group of 121 craft unions that were responsible for those employed in the construction industry throughout the city.¹⁹ Numerous construction sites refused to hire African Americans and the same was true of the Rochdale Village construction site. Throughout the country in the 1960’s, civil rights organizations were leading demonstrations that forced building trades unions to change their hiring practices. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) successfully integrated the building unions in Philadelphia and the director of the organization decided that similar demonstrations should be undertaken in New York City. By June of 1963, a group of civil rights organizations set their targets on the large state-funded construction sites in the city. One of these sites was Rochdale Village where demonstrations began on Tuesday, July 23, 1963.²⁰

It was common knowledge at the time that the contractors working at the Rochdale Village construction site hired union members from out of state to expand their work force instead of hiring willing African Americans from the city. The goal of the civil rights organizations that were involved in the demonstrations, the Jamaica Branch of the NAACP, Long Island branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Coordinated Clergy of Jamaica, was to “block deliveries to the site and to halt or slow construction” until their demands were met.²¹ The demonstrations were generally peaceful at the Rochdale Village construction site but many protestors did get arrested, though very few were sent to jail. The Rochdale Village demonstration, as well as others across the city, placed pressure on both politicians and unions to do something about the discrimination issue. On August 6, 1963, Governor Rockefeller announced a plan that

¹⁸ Fred Siegel, *Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., L.A. and the Fate of America’s Big Cities* (New York: Encounter Books, 2000), 35.

¹⁹ Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City’s Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 85.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

would tighten up enforcement of state discrimination statutes. The plan also included working with the building trades unions to set up programs that would increase the number of minorities in construction across the city. In the end, these demonstrations at the Rochdale Village site paved the way for new anti-discriminatory laws to be enforced and ensured that full racial equality was in the near future.

As construction of Rochdale Village continued, progress report bulletins were sent out to future Rochdale residents on the status of the construction of the new cooperative. These bulletins, like the one from May 1962, told future residents which buildings were built so far and how long it would be until the cooperative was finished. One such bulletin from May 1962 stated that the buildings in the first section of the development were complete and were eight floors tall.²² The progress report also let people know which buildings would be going up next and soon, by late 1963, residents would be able to move in to their new apartments. Such bulletins as these encouraged other people throughout the city to move into Rochdale Village by announcing that the cooperative apartments would be \$21/room, a decent price for lower to middle income families.

By late 1963, Rochdale Village opened its doors to a wide variety of people. At its opening, Rochdale housed people from all races and all classes of society. On average, new residents paid about \$21 per room making Rochdale Village available to people on the low end of the middle income range.²³ Rochdale Village truly became what Abraham Kazan envisioned many years earlier. In 1960, Kazan said about Rochdale Village: “The 6,000 families that will live in Rochdale will have a wonderful opportunity- an opportunity to develop a community within the larger confines of the city that will serve their taste and needs. It will be a place where neighbors know neighbors, where roots and traditions will be established. A community which will be motivated not by self-interest, but by mutual aid and self-help. Where each can contribute and all will benefit.”²⁴ Kazan’s dream was to have a fully self-sufficient cooperative, and his dream came true. Rochdale Village supported its own food markets and shopping centers. Rochdale Village even had its own power plant that supplied Rochdale Village with its own electricity.²⁵

²² Rochdale Village Bulletin May 1962 found on: “rochdalevillageturns50.com,” *rochdalevillageturns50.com*, accessed March 30, 2014, <http://rochdalevillageturns50.com/>.

²³ Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era*, 77.

²⁴ Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City’s Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 32.

Peter Eisenstadt, a former resident of Rochdale Village, recalls that he enjoyed living in Rochdale as a child because Rochdale offered many amenities to its residents and Eisenstadt attended school there and had many life-changing moments in Rochdale Village.²⁶ In interviews conducted by Peter Eisenstadt with other former residents from Rochdale Village, we get a sense that in its early years, Rochdale Village was a wonderful place that was integrated and peaceful. One of these residents was Olga Lewis, a practical nurse. In her interview with Peter Eisenstadt she says that she moved to Rochdale Village because “I thought I needed to elevate myself and elevate my child. I knew I was going into a nice neighborhood, Rochdale’s houses were good, and the people in the surrounding area were homeowners, and East New York was beginning to go down.”²⁷ People just like Olga Lewis moved into Rochdale Village because New York was changing, there was an increase in poverty around the city and many knew that Rochdale Village was an escape from that. Rochdale Village became a haven for many New Yorkers, black and white. So what changed?

During the New Deal era, New York City prospered economically. However, as the 1950’s progressed, there were more and more families on welfare benefits and the city’s neighborhoods were becoming poorer and poorer. In 1961, New York City’s budget fell into deficit “for the first time since the Great Depression, and stayed there.”²⁸ In the 1960’s, at the height of New York City poverty levels, New York and the federal government “gambled that what makes people poor is simply lack of money and that the fastest way to eliminate poverty is to get more people on the welfare rolls” while also increasing what recipients are entitled to.”²⁹ In the years that Rochdale Village was running the way Kazan envisioned, the poverty of South Jamaica and New York City in general, was increasing dramatically. The rise in poverty in turn led to the rise in violence and these factors, among others, led to Rochdale Village’s decline.

By the 1970’s, many white families were moving out of Rochdale Village because of the changing times in and around Rochdale Village and New York City, and by the late 1970s, the cooperative was predominately African American.³⁰ Despite the

²⁵ Ibid., 7–8.

²⁶ Ibid., x.

²⁷ Ibid., 8.

²⁸ Siegel, *Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., L.A. and the Fate of America’s Big Cities*, 34.

²⁹ Ibid., 54.

³⁰ Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era*, 77.

December 1964 Rochdale Village newsletter that told residents to spread good will to their neighbors no matter their race, there were still many racial issues within the walls of Rochdale Village that caused the departure of almost all of the white families in the cooperative.³¹ According to many whites who resided in Rochdale Village, they came to Rochdale because they had accepted integration as a way of life, not because they were fighters for integration.³² This became part of the problem as the years went by, despite the fact that whites accepted integration, and vice versa, there were still racial tensions. These issues were standard for the time: “white fears of black crime, outsiders, and the problems of integrated education; black anger at curt and rude comments and treatment and black fears that the Jews in Rochdale...were trying to unduly dominate the cooperative’s political and cultural affairs.”³³

Another issue surrounding Rochdale Village arose because of the increase in crime and drug use in the areas surrounding Rochdale Village. All around South Jamaica, there was an increase in car thefts and break-ins and a rise in the usage of heroin.³⁴ In fact, between 1969 and 1973, South Jamaica’s crime rates had doubled and in some areas tripled. The earliest case of violent crime around Rochdale was in 1964 in Kew Gardens, Queens, a town just a few subway stops from Rochdale Village. This event was the brutal sex crime and murder of Kitty Genovese on March 13, 1964. The crime was a sign of the changing times of the city; it was the start of the high crime era in New York City.³⁵

Families also left Rochdale Village simply because they moved there in order to save money to buy a house in the future; along this line came the people who felt that Rochdale Village no longer lived up to their expectations and moved out to buy a house in another part of the city. Families with children left the cooperative because the education program of Rochdale was deteriorating and they wanted their children to receive a better education; one resident wrote to *Inside Rochdale*, Rochdale Village’s newspaper, that “True, young people with children moved out because of the school situation, we all know it is bad.”³⁶ Rochdale Village also faced a financial crisis, which

³¹ December 18, 1964 Rochdale Village newsletter “rochdalevillageturns50.com.”

³² Taylor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era*, 89.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City’s Great Experiment in Integrated Housing*, 175.

³⁵ Ibid., 173.

³⁶ Ibid., 217.

led to the deterioration of many of the programs that the cooperative held. As one representative of Rochdale stated: “There has been a heavy turnover at Rochdale Village which is not healthy for this community and inimical to its stability. The problem of schools, security, increase in the cost of living and other factors have contributed to this turnover...we nevertheless believe that the survival of Rochdale Village as an integrated community should be preserved.”³⁷

The 1960’s was an important decade in the history of African American civil rights, and through many struggles African Americans gained the equality they deserved. This era saw many changes in the way people lived and worked together. It was a time for bold moves and for change. The year 1963 saw one of the grandest endeavors in the civil rights era, the development of the largest integrated housing cooperative in New York City and in the country. Today Rochdale Village stands as the largest predominately African American housing cooperative in the United States. The Rochdale Village cooperative faced many challenges throughout its development, but still remains as one of the largest housing developments in New York City. Abraham Kazan, the man behind Rochdale Village, dreamed of a place where people from all areas of life could live together peacefully in a development that would be completely self-sufficient. For almost ten years, Kazan’s dream came true. However, as time went on Rochdale Village lost some of the funding it needed to remain like Kazan dreamed. The changes in Rochdale Village and in South Jamaica, Queens led many families to move out of the cooperative to seek better opportunities for themselves. Despite the mass exodus of families in the 1970’s, Rochdale Village celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2013 and remains one of the largest housing developments in New York City and perhaps in the entire country.

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³⁷ Ibid., 217.

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The Life of R.D. Laing and an Analysis of Laing's Theory of Schizophrenia

Laurie L. Fogelstrom (Psychology)¹

To present day, the mysteries of schizophrenia continue to plague the mental health movement. Many hypothesize it to be organic in nature either caused by an individual's genetics or abnormal brain chemistry and structure, provoked further by environmental factors. Furthermore, after individuals are diagnosed with this brain condition, the prognosis remains rather poor, with the psychiatric stigma that they will never heal and will have to live with this disease for life. Anti-psychotic medications and mental health institutions constitute as means of controlling the course of the disorder, despite the fact that there is no concrete evidence of whether this phenomenon is truly a disease of the brain.

R.D. Laing was a prominent figure in the anti-psychiatry movement, which attacked the power held by psychiatric institutions, the authoritarian structure of the doctor and patient relationship, and electroshock therapy (Fernández, 2001). R.D. Laing rejects schizophrenia as an organic disease and considers it a social process that can be understood as a response to family transactions of the schizophrenic patient to their family. Furthermore, Laing puts forth that madness is a form of communication in response to the contradictory messages and demands that occur within the family. Although criticized by many, R.D. Laing remains a figure in history whose background as a psychiatrist and whose theory of schizophrenia brought light to humanizing the schizophrenic individual.

Biography of R.D. Laing

Ronald David Laing was born on 7 October 1927 in Glasgow as an only child. As noted by Beveridge (1998), Laing had a troubled relationship with his mother, who apparently lacked affection for him. Years later, Laing recalled that his mother was scandalized at seeing the word "fuck" in one of his books and began the practice of sticking pins into a model of her son, called a "Ronald doll" (Burston, 1996). According

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Miles Groth for PS248: *Existential Psychology*.

to Burston (1996), Laing's medical friends actually considered his mother to in fact be "mad" or posited she had a psychotic illness.

Laing's relationship with his father was more positive, on the other hand. His father, David Laing, was an electrical engineer with the Glasgow Corporation, and he and Ronald shared a passion for music (Beveridge, 1998). Yet when Laing entered medical school, his father suffered a depressive breakdown, brought on by religious doubts (1998). Laing commented that his father was his first patient, as Laing provided him with psychological support during this time.

Furthermore, Laing was a bright individual with a passion for philosophy, literature, and music despite his enrollment in medical school at Glasgow University. He graduated in 1951 at the age of 24 and began work at the Glasgow and West of Scotland neurosurgical unit at Killearn. Here, Laing met Joe Schorstein, a leading neurosurgeon, whom Laing (1985) was later to describe as "my spiritual father." Schorstein helped to further Laing's knowledge of European philosophy and knowledge of continental thinkers as they both attended a philosophical discussion group which met regularly in Glasgow (1998). According to Beveridge, Laing's time in Glasgow was crucial to his later intellectual development. Laing was exposed to the thriving philosophical tradition in Glasgow during the time, which concerned itself with European existentialist thought, and with the related Scottish school known as the "personalists" (Beveridge, 1998). In Laing's first book, *The Divided Self* (1959), he mentions leading Scottish personalist philosopher John MacMurray, who argued that the techniques of natural science were inappropriate to the study of people.

Next Laing found himself serving in a British army psychiatric unit in England, since army service at the time was mandatory. He served here until 1953 and recalls that the staff were under strict instructions not to talk to the psychotic patients. Laing (1960) recalls:

You must not let a schizophrenic talk to you. It aggravates the psychotic process. It is like promoting a hemorrhage in a hemophiliac or giving a laxative to someone with diarrhea. It inflames the brain and fans the psychosis.

According to Beveridge (1998), British psychiatry at this time was characterized by a strongly semanticist approach to mental illness, and interpersonal connections with the patients were highly disregarded, which were particularly hindered by the widespread usage of insulin coma therapy, electroconvulsive therapy, and lobotomies which all attempted to fix the patient.

However, when Laing was placed in his first civilian posting at Gartnavel Royal Hospital, whose superintendent was the humanist Angus MacNiven, the staff was open to alternative social models of therapy versus the leading physical treatments at the time. At Gartnavel, Laing along with his colleagues, McGhie and Cameron, conducted what has come to be known as the “Rumpus Room” experiment (Cameron et al., 1955). The back wards of Gartnavel were overcrowded and understaffed, and Laing and his colleagues questioned the extent to which the schizophrenia was a product of the environment of the patients as opposed to a result of a physical condition.

According to Beveridge (1998), Laing and his colleagues persuaded Dr. MacNiven to let the patients have a large, comfortably-furnished room, and to allow 12 of the most intractable patients to stay in that room for an extended period. Along with that, the nurse-to-patient ratio was increased and the atmosphere gradually became more relaxed. After 18 months in this new environment, all 12 patients were so improved that they were discharged (Cameron et al., 1955). However, after one year, all of the patients were back at Gartnavel. Consequently, some of Laing’s colleagues argued that this illustrated that schizophrenia was a lifelong condition which was only partially relieved by environmental manipulation. This led Laing to ponder that if there was something wrong with the social environment outside of the hospital.

Laing’s clinical experiences at Gartnavel formed the foundation of *The Divided Self* (1960), in which Laing attempted to “...make madness, and the process of going mad comprehensible” (Beveridge, 1998). Laing drew his influence from the work of existential philosophers such as Kierkegaard, Sartre, and Buber, and came to conclude that the medical model, with its notion that the patient was a malfunctioning biological mechanism served to dehumanize the patient. To further support his conclusion, Laing quotes an extract from a German professor, Kraepelin, in which Kraepelin presents a patient suffering from schizophrenia to a medical class. Kraepelin interacted with a patient who demonstrated the signs and symptoms of schizophrenia through incomprehensible speech and behavior.

However, instead of claiming that the patient’s interactions were unintelligible, Laing attempted to comprehend the patient’s behavior. He suggests that the patient was objecting to being exhibited in a lecture hall by Kraepelin, and that his responses could be understood if this was taken into account (Beveridge, 1998). As Laing writes:

Now it seems clear that this patient’s behavior can be seen in at least two ways... One may see his behavior as ‘signs’ of a ‘disease’; one may see his behavior as expressive of his existence (1960).

Laing implies that the patient's behavior could be seen as a result of a physical condition or as the result of being subjected to a dehumanizing display before an audience.

Pursuing this in his 1964 book, *Sanity, Madness and the Family* (Laing & Esterson, 1964), Laing sought to understand the speech and behavior of patients suffering from schizophrenia in the context of disturbed family communications. However, academic psychiatrists viewed Laing's book with disdain, and complained that there was no control group, and that the author and his colleague had relied on their subjective impressions of the families they interviewed, rather than using standardized rating procedures (Beveridge, 1998).

Laing officially estranged himself from mainstream psychiatry, particularly with the publishing of the *Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise* (Laing, 1967), in which Laing famously wrote:

From the moment of birth, when the stone-age baby confronts the twentieth-century mother, the baby is subjected to these forces of violence, called love, as its mother and father have been, and their parents and their parents before them. These forces are mainly concerned with destroying most of its potentialities. The enterprise is on the whole successful. By the time the new human being is fifteen or so, we are left with a being like ourselves. A half-crazed creature, more or less adjusted to a mad world. This is normality in our present world (1967).

At this stage in Laing's life, his views were popular among the post-war student generation, especially in America where *The Politics of Experience* was a campus bestseller (Beveridge, 1998). In his talks and lectures, Laing grouped the psychotic patient with the criminal and the political protestor in a trinity of oppressed heralds carrying a universal message about the human condition (Clare, 1990). Laing also discussed in *The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise*, that madness is a voyage of self-discovery, which could lead to spiritual enlightenment. However, despite some of his popularity, Laing's views of schizophrenia and mental illness in general were not taken well by other psychiatrists and his reputation suffered.

Despite his critics, Laing set up Kingsley Hall in London as a refuge from drugs and hospitalization (Beveridge, 1998). According to Beveridge, it was underpinned by theories that madness was a potentially self-healing voyage, and that if sufferers were provided with a supportive environment, free from medical intervention and force, they would emerge recovered. However, Kingsley Hall eventually deteriorated into chaos by the end of the 1960s, and according to Beveridge (1998), even Laing admitted that it had not been a great success. The fall of Kingsley Hall reflected to many of Laing's critics the

limits of non-interventionist approaches to mental illness. Nevertheless, it did inspire future attempts to treat the mentally ill outside the institutional setting.

The end of the 1960s resulted in the decline of the fame and interest surrounding R. D. Laing. From then until his death in 1989, the frequency of his writings diminished, and his public appearances were filled with his drunken and outrageous behavior (Beveridge, 1998). In 1985, Laing was interviewed by Anthony Clare (1992) for the program *In the Psychiatrist's Chair*, where he arrived at the studio drunk. As he sobered up, he spoke about his childhood, and his fears that he was suffering from mid-life melancholia, similar to his father and his grandfather before him. Laing however died in 1989 of a heart attack while playing tennis. Characteristically, his last words were that he did not want a doctor to be called (Beveridge, 1998).

Laing's philosophies no longer take prominence in present psychiatry. Regardless, Laing has made some contributions in the field of psychiatry. Anthony Clare (1990) has stated that Laing's major contribution was to identify the dehumanizing consequences of treating people as malfunctioning machines, and he discusses that Laing's message has important implications not just for psychiatry, but for the whole of medicine. As Beveridge (1998) states, in the 1990s to even present times, there is a growing concern in medicine that doctors are increasingly poor at relating to their patients. Although Laing was criticized for his view of the mental health industry and psychiatry, his views did attempt "to put the person back in the patient" (Mullan, 1997), something with which psychiatry continues to struggle with today.

Laing's Theory of Schizophrenia

Laing's view on the etiology of schizophrenia became a controversial theory, especially since schizophrenia is still considered a physiological condition. However, his approach attempts not only to humanize the schizophrenic patient, but also attempts to claim that they are not totally lost, as society believes. Laing (1967) specifically addresses in the *Schizophrenic Experience* what he believes to be the foundation of the phenomenon of "schizophrenia," which focuses not on the physiology of the patient but on his or her existence.

The term *schizophrenia* was first coined by Swiss psychiatrist, Eugen Bleuler. Bleuler originally claimed that schizophrenia was primarily an organic disease, not only having a physical dimension, but a mental component as well. Bleuler's psychogenic view of schizophrenia treats the mind as if it were the brain, leading to the concept that

the mind can become mentally ill, similar to the body's potential for disease. As Laing (1967) states:

...based on the attempts of 19th-century psychiatrists to bring the frame of clinical medicine to bear on their observations.... the subject matter of psychiatry was thought of as mental illness; one thought of mental physiology and mental pathology, one looked for signs and symptoms, made one's diagnosis, assessed prognosis and prescribed treatment. According to one's philosophical bias, one looked for etiology of these mental illnesses in the mind, in the body, in the environment, or in inherited propensities (1967, pp. 102-103).

As Laing points out, the medical model for determining physiological diseases was also applied to physician's observations of behavior that was seen as unfavorable. This behavior, like a physiological disease, was traced back to its source. Usually a physiological disease is traced back to a physical part of the body - looking at specific genes, cells, or organs. However, with one's behavior, the source of abnormal behavior became the mind. Thus the idea that a person can become mentally ill provides an explanation for behavior that society considers irrational and unpredictable.

Furthermore, as Laing (1967) refers to the term *schizophrenia*, he claims to be referring to it as conditions that are neither mental nor physical, but rather a label that certain individuals pin upon other people under certain social circumstances. As Laing states, the label of "schizophrenia" signifies a behavior that is disapproved of under social norms. The reasoning behind this behavior, as psychiatrists claim, is the result of a malfunctioned or ill mind. Instead Laing states, "it is wrong to impute hypothetical disease of unknown etiology and undiscovered pathology to someone unless *he* can prove otherwise" (p. 104). In his discussion, Laing claims that it is incorrect to state that schizophrenia is an organic disease, as its etiology is undiscovered. Unless researchers and physicians can physically pinpoint its origins to a location within the body, it is erroneous to diagnose someone with a disease or illness called "schizophrenia." As mentioned by Laing:

...most but not all psychiatrists still think that people they call schizophrenic suffer from an inherited predisposition to act in predominately incomprehensible ways, that some as yet undetermined genetic factor (possibly a genetic morphism) transacts with a more or less ordinary environment to induce biochemical-endocrinological changes which in turn generate what we observe as the behavioral signs of a subtle underlying organic process (1967, p. 104).

Most psychiatrists and individuals today still think that schizophrenia is the effect of a physiological cause. On the contrary, the only evidence truly derived in making that claim is through observing the behavior of the schizophrenic. Laing regards

the schizophrenic as “someone who has queer experience and/or is acting in a queer way, from the point of view usually of his relatives and of ourselves” (p. 105). Therefore, since this diagnosis is not made on the basis of scientific process of physiological examination, Laing further states, “To regard this as a fact is unequivocally false. To regard it as an hypothesis is legitimate. It is unnecessary either to make the assumption or to pass judgment” (p. 105). In psychiatry, schizophrenia is denoted and treated as a fact from which the patient is predicted to never recover. The judgment of the psychiatrist is thus also treated as a fact, or as Laing describes, is taken “for our common-sense view of normality” (p. 108). Therefore in psychiatry, there is an assumption that the psychiatrist is emblematic of normality, and that the patient signifies the abnormal.

Laing focuses on the experience of individuals which psychiatrists pay very little attention to in actuality. According to Laing (1967), psychoanalysis also appears to stress that the experiences of the schizophrenic are unreal or invalid. Even Kaplan, an American psychologist that Laing quotes, states that the process of psychotherapy consists largely of the patient abandoning his or her false subjective perspectives for the therapists’ objective ones. For “the essence of this conception is that the psychiatrist understands what is going on, and the patient does not” (Kaplan, 1964, p. vii). Nevertheless, Laing believes that schizophrenics have more to teach psychiatrists about the inner workings of the mind than psychiatrists can their patients.

Laing (1967) draws more influence from American sociologist, Erving Goffman, who took part in a study that documented how it comes about that a person, in being put in the role of patient, eventually becomes defined as a non-responsible object and even comes to regard himself in this light. As Goffman (1961) states, “...behavior that might seem unintelligible, at best explained as some intrapsychic regression or organic deterioration, can just describe such behavior ‘in’ mental hospital patients” (p. 306). Therefore, although behavior that is declared abnormal may be explained by physical malfunctions, Goffman goes on to say that unintelligible behavior may just be the result of the system in which it takes place. Consequently, if individuals are labeled “schizophrenic” and thrown into a setting for “insane” people, Goffman believes that they will act crazy because that is what is expected of them.

However, the people that get diagnosed with schizophrenia reside outside of hospitals, (Laing, 1967). Psychotherapists have looked at interpersonal and environmental causes of schizophrenia, and have come to the assumption that if their patients were *disturbed*, their families were often very *disturbing*. Laing critiques this method because the families were not studied directly but rather the patient was only

examined as an individual. As Laing states, “the social system, not single individuals extrapolated from it, must be the object of study” (p. 115).

Furthermore, Laing discusses the double-bind hypothesis proposed and created by Gregory Bateson et al. (1956). Studies of families of schizophrenics conducted at Palo Alto, California, Yale University, the Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute, and National Institute of Mental Health for instance, have all shown that the person diagnosed as schizophrenic is part of a wider network of disturbed and disturbing patterns of communication (Laing, 1967). According to Laing, “. . .no schizophrenic has been studied whose disturbed pattern of communication has not been shown to be a reflection of, and reaction to, the disturbed and disturbing pattern characterizing his or her family of origin” (p. 114).

Laing also took note of this in his own research that schizophrenia seemed to be a depiction of a disturbed family background in his 1964 book *Sanity, Madness, and the Family, Volume I, Families of Schizophrenics*. In over 100 cases, Laing and colleagues studied the circumstances around the social event where one person comes to be regarded as schizophrenic. It appeared to them that the experience and behavior that leads to being labeled schizophrenic by society is in actuality a special strategy that a person invents in order to live in what he or she considers an unlivable situation (Laing, 1967).

As Laing (1959) discusses in his first book, *The Divided Self*, psychosis results from the intensification of the divisions of the self. Each division of the self reflects different fragments of modern society. Therefore, as Laing (1967) puts it, schizophrenia is the reaction of the individual in a life situation in which they have come to feel he or she is in an indefensible position:

He cannot make a move, or make no move, without being beset by contradictory and paradoxical pressures and demands, pushes and pulls, both internally from himself, and externally from those around him. He is, as it were, in a position of checkmate (p. 115).

Therefore, Laing proposes that something is definitely wrong somewhere, but not simply “in” the diagnosed patient, but rather the society the individual dwells in. Behaviors classified as schizophrenic are therefore a reaction to the off course society an individual finds his or her self in. Laing also uses the example of a formation of planes to further conceptualize the society that the schizophrenic individual is in:

From an ideal vantage point on the ground, a formation of planes may be observed in the air. One plane may be out of formation. But the whole formation may be off course. The plane that is “out of formation” may be abnormal, bad, or ‘mad,’ from the point view of the formation. But the formation itself may be bad or may from

the point of view of the ideal observer. The plane that is out formation may also be more or less off course than the formation itself is (pp. 118-119).

The implication Laing is making is that it is not the schizophrenic that is off course, but rather the society, which is represented as the whole formation of planes that is “out of formation.” As Laing states, it is fundamental not to assume that because a group is “in formation,” they are necessarily “on course,” nor is it necessarily the case that the person who is “out of formation” is more “on course” than the formation. Rather, as Laing implies, just because an individual may appear “out of formation” from the society in which he or she resides does not mean he or she should be ostracized. For according to Laing, “the person who is ‘out of formation’ is often full of hatred toward the formation and of fears about being the odd man out” (p. 119). Therefore, if this formation is in fact off course, the individual who is trying to get “on course” must in fact leave the formation. In other words, since the individual is leaving the formation or society in order to get more on track, it appears that he or she is out of touch with reality or the formation. This in fact is a contradiction, as he or she is simply attempting to get more in touch with what is true reality.

Therefore, “schizophrenia” to Laing, is a label applied to some people by others. This establishes it as a social fact; not a pathological, *psycho*-pathological, or physiological condition of unknown etiology. As Laing (1967) states, “it is easy to forget that the process is a hypothesis, to assume that it is a fact, then to pass the judgment that it’s biologically maladaptive and, as such, pathological” (p. 120). Furthermore, the label “schizophrenia” is also a political event which imposes both stigmas and consequences on the labeled individual.

It is a social prescription that rationalizes a set of social actions whereby the labeled person is annexed by others, who are legally sanctioned, medically empowered and morally obliged, to become responsible for the person labeled. The person labeled is inaugurated not only into a role, but into a career or patient... The “committed” person labeled as patient, and specifically as “schizophrenic,” is degraded from full existential and legal status as a human agent and responsible person to someone no longer in possession of his own definition of himself, unable to retain his own possessions, precluded from the exercise of his discretion as to whom he meets, what he does. His time is no longer his own and the space he occupies is no longer of his choosing. After being subjected to a degradation ceremonial known as psychiatric examination, he is bereft of his civil liberties in being imprisoned in a total institution known as a “mental” hospital. More completely, more radical than anywhere else in our society, he is invalidated as a human being. In the mental hospital he must remain, until the label is rescinded or qualified by such terms as

“remitted” or “readjusted.” Once a “schizophrenic,” there is a tendency to be regarded as always a “schizophrenic” (1967, pp. 121-122).

As Laing states, the diagnosis of schizophrenia and the effects it has on the individual is dehumanizing. The individual is either committed to a hospital where they are not free and their freedom is regulated. In modern times, the ever prevalent usage of anti-psychotic medicines suppresses behaviors seen in an unfavorable light and often results in weight gain and drowsiness. However, it is specifically important to note, as Laing emphasizes, that the label of “schizophrenia” dehumanizes the person enough. It implicates that the person is abnormal, unworthy of human freedom, possibly violent because of unpredictable behavior, and will forever stay schizophrenic for the rest of his or her life.

As Laing (1967) goes on to question, “Why does this happen? What functions does this procedure serve for the maintenance of the civic order?” (p. 122). Labeling and locking away individuals diagnosed as schizophrenic appear to be methods of control, as Laing describes, and an expression of power over one another. The schizophrenic often exhibits behavior as the result of unusual experiences that appear to be unusual to the observer. These unusual experiences expressed by unusual behavior appear to be part of a potentially orderly, natural sequence of experience (Laing, 1967). However, since the observer of the schizophrenic behavior cannot relate to it in any manner, he or she views it in a distorted form and as Laing puts, our therapeutic efforts tend to distort even further.

Perhaps the inability of society to understand the experience of the schizophrenic is its fear of the “inner” world or what is called “psycho-phobia” (Laing, 1967). Laing states that we do not realize the existence of the inner world and are generally taught to stay in the “outer world.” Entering the inner world from this world should be as natural, as Laing describes, as death and being born. However, given society’s fear and ignorance of the inner world, if an individual does enter it as the physical “reality” of the outer world disappears, this individual is lost and terrified, and will encounter the disgust of others. Laing writes “we are socially conditioned to regard total immersion in outer space and time as normal and healthy. Immersion in inner space and time tends to be regarded as antisocial withdrawal, a deviation, invalid, pathological...” (p. 125). Individuals are now so out of touch with this inner realm that many people do not attempt to access it and in fact argue that it has ceased to exist. Therefore, the experience of the schizophrenic does not exist, but it is attributed to a dysfunctional collection of genes or irregular biochemistry.

Conclusion

The disorder of schizophrenia seems to be in society rather than physiological. Perhaps when some factual evidence is obtained on its etiology, psychiatrists will be capable of discussing adequate treatments and methods to aid the schizophrenic with his or her condition. Schizophrenia is still a hypothesis; one that derives from unknown etiology and manifests itself as behavior that cannot fully be interpreted by the observer (Laing, 1967). As Laing (1967) suggests at the end of “the Schizophrenic Experience:”

If the human race survives, future men will, I suspect, look back on our enlightened epoch as a veritable Age of Darkness. They will presumably be able to savor the irony of this situation with more amusement than we can extract from it. They will laugh at us. They will see that what we call “schizophrenia” was one of the forms in which, often through quite ordinary people, the light began to break through the cracks in our all-too-closed minds (p. 129).

Perhaps the institutionalization of and disdain for schizophrenics will become just another chapter in human history. Just as witchcraft once was a way for society to abuse power and control others, the mental disorder of schizophrenia may be regarded as another flaw in our judgment of humans. For now, the schizophrenic is still seen as a hopeless and bizarre creature because he or she cannot be coerced. As Laing (1967) puts it, “perhaps we can still retain the now old name, and read into its etymological meaning: *Schizo* - ‘broken’; *phrenos* - ‘soul’ or ‘heart.’ The schizophrenic in this sense is one who is brokenhearted, and even broken hearts have been known to mend, if we have the heart to let them” (pp. 129-130).

Laing’s humanistic approach to the theory of schizophrenia still differentiates itself from the opinion of society. It will perhaps take several years for psychiatrists to acknowledge the existence and experience of the schizophrenic as something that is not a physiological disease, but a reaction to alienation and disrupted family situations. Nevertheless, Laing validates the schizophrenic as a human being, not deserving of institutionalization and disregard, but as one who will give the human race more information about itself than it can to the schizophrenic. Although R.D. Laing is an undervalued figure in the history of psychiatry, his insightful and existential approach to the concept of schizophrenia captures the essence of humanity almost extinguished by psychiatry.

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Accepting a Healthy Dose of Falstaff: The Element of Irreducible Rascality and Sir John Falstaff's Role in *Henry IV, Part I*

Krag Kerr¹

Whether Queen Elizabeth actually had an affinity for the character of Sir John Falstaff and requested that he return so that she might see him in love, or if this is a legend created long after the fact, there is something about Sir Falstaff which draws the reader or theatergoer. He is adored for his wittiness and infectious personality, and despite Shakespeare using Falstaff as a subtle cautionary message against too much chaos or disorder, the reader does not wish for him to be fully punished. To have him completely vilified and given a *serious* comeuppance is not appealing. This is because the reader sees himself/herself, to a degree, and likely varying degrees, in Falstaff. He represents, as it is called in Jungian psychology, the Shadow, or element or irreducible rascality: that hidden part of a person which is supremely selfish and wants the best for himself/herself. Just as the psyche must accept the Shadow and can expect trouble in trying to remove or bury it, Falstaff's role as the rascal and the harbinger of chaos makes him absolutely imperative in *Henry IV, Part I*.

In the final lines of an essay entitled "The Birth and Death of Falstaff Reconsidered," the scholar concludes:

It is...Carl Jung's concept of the collective unconscious which offers a possible explanation...archetypal images of king-fathers and sacrificial rites are our inescapable heritage no less than they were Shakespeare's. We should be neither surprised nor alarmed that Shakespeare, in his greatest moments, penetrates this mysterious, rich, and largely unexplored region of the human psyche. (Williams 365)

Sir John Falstaff is an archetype of his own. He is fat, grotesque, crapulous, and aging, despite his youthful behavior. Beyond that are his lies, his profanity, and his sexual perversion. Therefore, a Falstaffian character encompasses that which the reader does not want to be, hopes that he/she is not, and likely believes that no one should be. Yet he is not some worthless drunk in the gutter, but a knight! Were Falstaff simply a repulsive low-life, he could have been passed off as business as usual, in a sense. But instead, with

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his title and close companionship of the Prince, he stands where honor and other virtues are expected; just as any person is of the disposition that there is an expected morality to which they must personally adhere, and feels guilt when aware of Falstaffian intentions or desires lurking below the conscious.

Of all of Sir Falstaff's "reproachable" traits and behaviors, the base characteristic from which all the rest stem, and therefore the most important to understanding him, is his selfishness. He is truly in it for himself, and though he is not always skilled at gaining an unfair advantage on the world, his introduction demonstrates a certain skill at pursuing the most of a situation. He says, in conversation with Prince Henry, "Marry, then, sweet wag, when thou art king, let not us that are squires of the night's body be call'd thieves of the day's beauty. Let us be...minions of the moon, and let men say we be men of good government, being govern'd as the sea is, by our noble and chaste mistress the moon, under whose countenance we steal" (Shakespeare I.ii 23 – 29). By making the Prince promise to not turn on his current friends, Falstaff ensures some protection over the future of his delinquent activity as well as the delinquency of the crowd he surrounds himself with. The selfish aspect of this (preferring his own freedom to raise havoc over the peace and well-being of England) is subtle enough to not give a bad first impression, as no one is being personally wronged or hoodwinked.

Scholars have paid much attention to the power dynamic in this scene. Samuel B. Hemingway, a professor at Yale during the first half of the twentieth century, in his essay, "On Behalf of that Falstaff," writes:

The first impression we get of Falstaff comes from the Prince Hal's raillery in I. ii, and the first epithet applied to him is "fat-witted." To the first-night audience he is, and perhaps remains, "fat-witted" in the sense that he seems always to be the victim of the more clever Hal and Poins. But...after reading the nine-and-a-half acts that follow, do we not radically modify this first impression? Do we not become more aware of the lack of perception on the part of the Prince than of any stupidity on the part of Falstaff? (349)

The superficial ill-treatment of Falstaff mirrors the suppression of the Shadow, with the apparent "leaders" in the situation, especially Poins, behaving as the conscious mind. The reader gets the sense that what they say is considered with care before being spoken. However, there is an unspoken and unacknowledged leg-up that the Shadow has due to residing in the unconscious, just in the same way that Hemingway notes that the display of ignorance, retrospectively, belongs far more to Hal than to the friend at whom he pokes fun.

Falstaff was almost certainly not thinking about introducing an ideology while requesting that the someday-king absolve him of crime, but he did nonetheless. By making himself, as well as his lowly friends, “minions of the moon” who are governed by it and under its rule just as the sea’s tides are, they seem, firstly, like animals. A pack of wolves is the obvious association due to the moon imagery, but regardless of whatever night-animal they may be, there comes the second logical step that they are governed by nature itself. From an Elizabethan perspective, this creates an interesting parallel. For while the king may be appointed by God to lead the people, the throne can be usurped, and thus fall out of God’s hands, as the Prince’s father knows well. To be ruled by nature in this scenario is a far closer method to being under the direct command of God.

Again, Falstaff is likely glorifying his delinquency to the Prince facetiously after the serious request of get-out-of-jail-free cards as friends of the crown; but taken now into a modern context, Falstaff’s allegiance to the impulsive and natural over the kingdom of man and its policies and schemes likens him even further to the Shadow of the psyche. To be “of the night” also lends itself to the notion of suppressed or hidden desires. These murky depths of the unconscious are brought forth as well in this introduction by building a relationship between the reader and Falstaff. He does not come across as a “thinker,” which leaves the impression that he is benevolent, or at least benign. But he is also without a doubt well-spoken and can evoke beautiful images and comparisons in league with Shakespeare’s most eloquent characters. Sir Falstaff’s gift with words as well as his humorous wit makes his offensive belligerence warm, easygoing, and inviting to the reader. Even knowing the character to be “bad” in a social context, the reader does not feel distrustful or suspicious, but that there is something familiar there.

Hal and Falstaff are not but foils to one another. They are far closer than their dialogue in the first act suggests. In the fourth scene of the second act, Falstaff asks Hal if the position of the crown does not frighten him at all; if he is cold-blooded to the idea of being killed so that another might take the throne. The Prince responds, “Not a whit, i’ faith, I lack some of thy instinct,” acknowledging a positive attribute of Sir Falstaff’s nature (Shakespeare II.iv 371 – 372). With impulse comes instinct, contextually meaning an ability to act without hesitation as well as to improvise a means to manipulate a social situation. Falstaff replies that the king will chastise Hal should he go to the king without a prepared performance, and implores him: “if thou love me, practice an answer” (Shakespeare II.iv 374 – 375). Hal does. He instructs Falstaff to play the part of his father, and the knight hilariously puts on a sarcastic portrayal of the king. Playing the

king, he praises Hal for often having a virtuous, portly man in his company. The two then switch roles and treat it more seriously, though Falstaff soon turns that too into a game.

First, there is the implication that Hal has a love of some kind for Falstaff. How different than the relationship to the drinking buddy whom the Prince could mock for entertainment! Even should a person wish to argue that Falstaff set the condition himself and that Hal merely agreed to practice a speech to his father to save his own skin, the Prince himself proposed that they act out the roles of father and son. Of course, the Prince and his friend might as well have stepped off the stage into Dr. Freud's office the moment this was agreed upon, but keeping with Jung, Hal is admitting through various means in the previously detailed interaction that there is a place in *him* for Sir John Falstaff. The Prince is aware, consciously or unconsciously, that to try to rid himself of Falstaff at this point in his life would be counter-productive somehow. Functioning again as the conscious, Hal demonstrates what Carl Jung would deem a sign of great psychological health by accepting the Shadow and becoming best of friends with the essential beast.

Later, at the end of the first scene of the fifth act, Falstaff delivers his famous "catechism," as he calls it, on the concept of honor. Here, more than ever, Falstaff demonstrates the overwhelming importance of his role. Honor is a weighty issue amongst the characters of *Henry IV, Part I*, as well as all of the history plays regarding the passage of the crown. There is, amongst the series of plays, much anxiety as to whether the next person in line for the throne is honorable, if the king himself is honorable as king, and naturally any king wants to be surrounded by honorable noblemen to avoid constant paranoia of usurpers. Sir John Falstaff provides the *only* counterpoint, by expressing that honor cannot mend an arm or a leg because it is not real in the same way that either of those things are. "What is honor? A word. What is in that word honor? What is that honor? Air" (Shakespeare V.i 133 – 135). The Shadow, naturally, has no use for such abstract ideas and concepts as honor. Obviously, the concept of honor is still useful as a trait for which to be attentive for the reasons mentioned above, but this must be balanced with Sir Falstaff's point of view. It is a tragic mistake to forget entirely that any talk of gaining honor, losing honor, maintaining honor, and so forth is a game of ideas which at times grows absurd. No other character in this series grasps this concept on a fundamental level, rendering them all troubled, insane, neurotic, or some shade betwixt those three distinctions at some point or another.

Beautifully, both Falstaff's identity as the Shadow as well as Hal's acceptance of him are exemplified simultaneously during their final interaction of the play. Directly

before this is the climax of the play, with the Prince killing Hotspur as Falstaff briefly fights with Douglas before pretending to die. Douglas is fooled and leaves. Once alone, Falstaff rises and takes Hotspur's body. Throwing the body on the ground before its true assailant, Falstaff proclaims proudly: "If your father will do me any honor, so; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself. I look to be either earl or duke, I can assure you" (Shakespeare V.iv 140 – 143). Hal replies that he had killed Percy himself and that Falstaff had been dead. Falstaff replies in the most Falstaffian way:

Didst thou? Lord, Lord, how this world is given to lying! I grant you I was down and out of breath, and so was he, but we rose both at an instant and fought a long hour by Shrewsbury clock. If I may be believ'd so; if not, let them that should reward valor bear the sin upon their own heads. I'll take it upon my death, I gave him this wound in the thigh. If the man were alive and would deny it, 'zounds, I would make him eat a piece of my sword. (Shakespeare V.iv 146 – 153)

Every bit of this fabrication, as well as the scene that took place before it, is perfect in characterizing Sir John Falstaff. Were a person unaware of the character completely, this scene would likely summarize him best. He shows cowardice, lies about a reverent matter so that he might achieve a higher rank, and when his lie is instantly made apparent and obvious, he claims first that the world is lying, and then introduces another fabricated narrative, which he punctuates by hypothetically threatening the man he claims to have killed. Obviously, this is once again the selfish nature of the Shadow at work. The last act in this series of dishonest behavior, covering up one lie with another, more ornate one, tends to disgust people the most in real life. But still, Sir Falstaff remains comedic and endearing.

Just as soon as Falstaff brings his ugliest of traits to the front and center to be viewed in plain sight, the Prince illustrates perfect acceptance. "Come bring your luggage nobly on your back. For my part, if a lie may do thee grace, I'll gild it with the happiest terms I have" (Shakespeare V.iv 156 – 158). Thus, the Prince has decided to honor his fantastic lie as though it were true. Tacitly, this also means the Prince must now lie to vouch for his old friend. This suggests that Hal does not take up qualms against Falstaff's rascality because he recognizes that somewhere within himself, he is also a rascal. So it is by the compliment of Falstaff's rascality that Hal's characterization is complete and full at the conclusion of *Henry IV, Part I*.

After Hal departs with John of Lancaster to scan the field for living and dead, Falstaff declares his final piece of dialogue: "I'll follow, as they say, for reward. He that rewards me, God reward him! If I do grow great, I'll grow less, for I'll purge and leave sack, and live cleanly as a nobleman should do" (Shakespeare V.iv 162 – 165). This

ironic “turning over a new leaf” is obviously not genuine. The reader is perfectly aware of Falstaff at this point for what he truly is, and the notion that he will so quickly give up drinking and sin to lead a clean life simply does not add up. Further, the idea of a reformed Falstaff has no appeal because it removes everything that had characterized him.

Were it not for Sir John Falstaff, and on a larger scale, what he symbolizes and personifies, the play would be nothing close to what it is, and the remaining characters would suffer. The play would be one of characters lost totally to the illusory world of abstract concepts such as honor without so much as a voice to offer that there may be another way of viewing reality. In general, to lose the Shadow as an entity to be dealt with would result in its suppression, and to that end would lead the characters into a probably violent disconnect from what they are actually experiencing in life. This is literally true of Hal, who without his mischievous friend, would not explore or accept the Shadow, and would have spent his time with his father’s crowd. This would have given him only pretense and ultimately would alienate him from himself. The reader would be robbed as well, for Sir John Falstaff’s appeal through his ability to entertain, coupled with the atrocious behavior he exudes, is an invitation to the reader to listen to, reason with, and above all, embrace and accept their inner Falstaff.

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Edward Said: The Critic as Exile

Aisha Raheel (History)¹

Edward Said was one of the most influential thinkers of the twentieth century. As a professor at Columbia University, he occupied a position of prominence within the American establishment. Yet he is best known for criticizing the American abuse of power abroad and promoting unpopular causes, such as justice for the Palestinians. His best-known book *Orientalism*, published in 1978, as well as his political views developed at Columbia University would earn him many enemies. However, Said was able to play the role of intellectual critic because he chose to view himself as an exile. Embracing exile allowed Said to be critical of all forms of power.

Edward Said was born in Jerusalem in 1935 to Palestinian Christian parents². He spent most of his childhood in Cairo where his father ran a successful stationery business.³ The Cairo of Said's childhood was a cosmopolitan city still under British colonial influence. Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Arabs from the Levant (Palestine and Syria), along with the Egyptians lived side by side in the city. However, there was no pressure to assimilate and become Egyptian⁴. On the contrary, most non-Egyptians who lived in Egypt at this time, usually Cairo or Alexandria, viewed native Egyptians as less civilized and educated than themselves and therefore had no wish to become Egyptian⁵. As a result, Italians remained Italian, Greeks remained Greek, and Palestinians remained Palestinian. Most people from Egypt's foreign communities would eventually be forced to leave the country precisely because they were not Egyptian. In that case, Italians could return to Italy, Greeks return to Greece, and Jews could emigrate to the newly created state of Israel. However, the Jewish state was created on a piece of land that was formerly called Palestine, where hundreds of thousands of Arab Christians and Muslims were then living and had lived for centuries. The creation of this new country meant that thousands

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith for HI297: *The Historian as Detective: Exploring the City*.

² Edward Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 20

³ IBID., 10.

⁴ Philip Mansel, *Levant Splendor and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (London: John Murray, 2010), 247.

⁵ IBID., 247.

of people were forced to flee and those who had emigrated before the founding of Israel could not come back.

The 1948 creation of the state of Israel took place when Said was twelve. Said did not experience the violence of the dispossession firsthand, nor did his family have to languish in a refugee camp as hundreds of thousands of other Palestinians did, and still do today. Said's family was luckier than most. His father had emigrated to the United States in 1911 to avoid being drafted into the Ottoman army. He had served in the American military during World War I and was able to apply for American citizenship after the war ended.⁶ Said and his siblings inherited their American citizenship from their father. All of them finished their educations in America and were able to make lives for themselves there. Nonetheless, the Said family was also affected by the dispossession of 1948. Said's parents eventually moved to Lebanon. Said's mother was the only member of the family who was unable to get a U.S. passport. She was eventually able to become a Lebanese citizen. However, the Lebanese Civil War made it difficult for Said's mother to travel on a Lebanese passport as the Lebanese people became associated with terrorism.⁷ Thus Said did not experience Palestinian dispossession directly but the fact of dispossession was always in the background. As if this was not complicated enough, Said was educated in the British colonial system. An education in a British school was then the best education that one could get in Egypt. This education helped give Said a solid grounding in Western thought and English literature. This education did not teach Said about the Arabic language or Egyptian history. It is small wonder that Said remarked that the "overriding sensation I had was of always being out of place."⁸ Said emigrated to the United States in 1951. He finished his education at a New England boarding school and undergraduate and graduate degrees from Princeton and Harvard respectively.⁹ Said was appointed a professor of literature at Columbia University in 1963 and remained there until his death in 2003.¹⁰

Said began his professorship at Columbia during a turbulent time in American history. The 1960s were a time of radical political activism and rapid social change in America. This was the decade of the civil rights movement and the protests against the Vietnam War. These protests, along with the student protests on college campuses would

⁶ Edward Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir*. 11.

⁷ *IBID.*, 132.

⁸ *IBID.*, 3.

⁹ *IBID.*, 211.

¹⁰ Tariq Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said* (London: Seagull, 2006), 6.

create an atmosphere that was open to criticism to established authority¹¹. Initially, Said was not interested in politics.¹² In fact his first book, published in 1966, had nothing to do with the Middle East. Titled Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography, it was a work about the British writer Joseph Conrad. The only problem was that he could not quite forget that he was Arab. In an interview with the journalist Tariq Ali, Said explains that he felt deeply uncomfortable with the anti-Arab prejudice that he found in the writings of the literary critics that he admired. He observed that “they were fantastically hostile towards the Arabs, it wasn’t just that they were pro-Israeli, but they said in print the most awful things about the Arabs.”¹³ At that point, there was nothing that Said could do about the prejudices that he encountered except to note them. As it happened, his Arab roots left open the possibility of becoming white. In fact, the hiring committee at Columbia had been under the impression that Said was an Alexandrian Jew.¹⁴ Before the 1965 Immigration Act, most Arab Americans were the descendants of second or third generation Lebanese Christian immigrants. Their physical appearance and Christian faith allowed many of them to gain acceptance for themselves as white people. They too, were largely apolitical.¹⁵ Said did not associate with other Arabs in his early years at Columbia. Instead, he tried to separate his Palestinian identity from his work as an English professor.¹⁶ For his students and colleagues, he was simply a literary critic and professor who taught classes on Virgil, Homer, and Conrad among other Western writers. It was all to change in 1967.¹⁷

The Six-Day War of 1967 politicized both Arab and Jewish Americans. For Jews, the Israeli victory meant that it was now safe to support Israel in public. Hitherto, most Jews had expressed indifference or even hostility towards Israel’s existence when it first came into being in 1948. Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary* magazine spoke for many when he remarked that:

¹¹ Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 150.

¹² Tariq Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said*. 6.

¹³ IBID., 72.

¹⁴ Keith Gessen, “Calamities of Exile,” *Bookforum.com*, accessed April 6, 2014, http://www.bookforum.com/inprint/015_04/2975.

¹⁵ Sarah Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White : Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian-American Diaspora* (CA: University of California Press, 2009).

¹⁶ Tariq Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said*, 72.

¹⁷ IBID., 72.

It is difficult to imagine that anything Israel might accomplish in her struggle with the Arabs could be celebrated as having achieved the status of the symbolic and the exemplary. Israel is simply not that important; Israel exists in the realm of the politics of interest, where questions of relative justice are involved, but never, as in the realm of pure, disinterested politics, world-shaking issues of Historical Justice. Historical Justice has become a term in the cataclysmic language for forces and classes and economic systems, and in that language there is not even a vocabulary in which to talk about Israel.¹⁸

In other words, Israel represented a narrow Jewish parochialism that American Jews wanted to escape. Before 1967, many Jewish intellectuals criticized Israel for its militarism, its racism, and its massacres of the Palestinians in 1948.¹⁹ Most Jews wanted to be Americans because this meant taking part “in the great battles of our time” such as the civil rights movement and the struggle against Communism. But Israel had now demonstrated that it could be an asset to the West in the Cold War. After all, it had defeated Egypt and Syria, the Soviet Union’s allies in the Middle East, in a mere six days. Israel therefore became annexed “to the great battle of our time”²⁰. Not just Jews, but non-Jewish Americans of a variety of backgrounds celebrated the Israeli victory of 1967²¹. Ironically, support for Israel facilitated the full assimilation of American Jews because it was widely believed that Israeli Jews fought and died to protect American interests abroad. Americans, whether they were Jewish or not, came to view Israel not only as a state that shared their interests but also their values.²² All this is to say that criticism of Israel, when it was expressed openly, would often be met with hostility and even violence.

If Jewish Americans were jubilant about Israel’s victory, most Arab Americans found that there was nothing for them to be happy about. Edward Said spoke for many when he declared that “the world as I had understood it and knew it had completely ended at that moment.”²³ This was understandable. The Arab defeat in the war stunned the entire Arab world²⁴. It also stunned Arabs in America and Americans of Arab

¹⁸ Normal G. Finklestein, *Knowing Too Much: Why The American Jewish Romance with Israel Is Coming To An End* (New York; London, OR Books, 2012), 40.

¹⁹ IBID., 38.

²⁰ IBID., 40.

²¹ Sarah M. A. Gaultieri. *Between Arab and Whites: Race and Ethnicity in the Syrian American Diaspora*. (California: University of California Press, 2009), 174-175.

²² Norman G. Finklestein. *Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel is Coming to an End*. 40.

²³ Tariq Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said*, 7.

descent. For Palestinians in particular, the news of the war was especially painful because it meant that there would be no independent Palestine. The worst aspect of watching the war from a distance was the way the war was covered. The 1967 War unleashed a deluge of biased, ignorant, and openly racist views of Arabs into the American media. The war was portrayed as a battle between an Israeli David against an Arab Goliath.^{25,26} The media's depiction of Arabs did not recognize their humanity. The Arabs were portrayed as hysterical mobs of people whose only real significance was that they seemed to stand in the way of Israel's existence.²⁷ The Israelis, on the other hand, were a stoic people who simply wanted to make peace with the Arabs. This situation compelled many Arab Americans to form organizations that would promote the Arab perspective on Middle East affairs, challenge stereotypes of Arabs, and defend the civil rights of Arab Americans.

Edward Said, like many Arab Americans at the time, felt compelled to act. In 1970, he visited Jordan and Lebanon.²⁸ In Jordan, he learned about the PLO and Palestinian politics through his cousin who was a spokesperson for Yasir Arafat's Fatah. By 1970, he was completely immersed in the Palestinian struggle for independence. He also took part in the protests against the Vietnam War in America. In doing so, he tried to connect the Palestinian struggle to the Vietnamese struggle, arguing that both were struggles against colonialism. However, he found that most people did not want to hear this. It was also around this time that Said began to be interested in what Western scholars had written about the Middle East. Said realized that the Arab losses of 1967 were partly due to the Western perception of Arabs as an inferior people. He was determined to "try to understand where that image that they had of us came from."

In the meantime, the politics of the 1960s were radically changing most aspects of American society. The universities were not left unaffected. Said's own college, Columbia University, was faced with one of the largest student revolts in the country. Ironically, Said was not able to be there when it happened. This was not for lack of

²⁴ Alia Malek. *A Country Called Amreeka*. 45.

²⁵ Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*.

²⁶ Hanson W. Baldwin, "Why Israel Prevailed; Her Spirit and Modern Organization Are Contrasted With Arab Feudalism," *The New York Times*, June 8, 1967, <http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F10F12F8385E137A93CAA9178DD85F438685F9>.

²⁷ Edward Said, "The Arab Portrayed," *Odyssey*, June, 1967.

²⁸ Tariq Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said*. 74.

trying. By then, he was a member of the Columbia faculty. At the time of the revolt, Said was at the University of Illinois where he had gotten a fellowship at the newly established Center for Advanced Studies. In the middle of 1968, he had received a telegram asking him to return to Columbia and participate in a faculty meeting concerning how to respond to the revolt. When he did return, Said discovered that he was not able to attend the meeting. It turned out that the meeting was being held at the Law School and that the entrance to the Law School was blocked by the police. He was unable to get through the police barrier simply because he did not have a valid ID.²⁹ The students who took over the campus in 1968 were influenced by the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War protests.³⁰ Unlike past generations of students, they cared about how the university was run. Among other things, they demanded that the university withdraw from the Institute for Defense Analysis because it made Columbia complicit in the Vietnam War. More importantly, the students demanded changes in their curriculum that would include black and women's studies. Before the 1960s, Columbia, along with most of America's colleges, taught history and literature from a male and Eurocentric perspective.³¹ The campus protests forced the college to rethink its curriculum. At the same time, the decolonization and civil rights movements had an impact on scholarship done on Asia and Africa. Scholars began to examine history from the point of view of the colonized and oppressed.³²

By the time *Orientalism* was published in 1978, it became acceptable to discuss the exploitative and racist aspects of European colonialism. According to Said, Orientalism is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient (and most of the time) the Occident."³³ The world was divided into East and West. The Orientals whether they were Arab, Indian or Chinese were always portrayed as fundamentally different from, and inferior to, the European. The Arab was described as barbaric, violent, irrational, and uncivilized. In the eyes of many Europeans, the Arab was incapable of progress and had no appreciation for

²⁹ Edward Said. *Power, Politics and Culture*.

³⁰ Robert MacCaughy. *Stand Columbia: A History of Columbia University*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), .

³¹ Ella Shohat, "On the Margins of Middle Eastern Studies: Situating Said's Orientalism," *Review of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 18-20, accessed March 27, 2014, JnR5cGU9MCZzaXRIPWVky1saXZl.

³² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979)

³³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 26.

liberty or civilization.³⁴ In contrast, Europeans were modern, rational, and civilized human beings. Europeans were not only civilized but had a duty to bring this civilization to the Arab. This attitude often pitted the Arabs and Europeans against each other as opposites in ways that affirmed a positive Western sense of self but also degraded the Arab. Said demonstrated that European scholarship and literature concerning Arabs was tainted by these assumptions. Furthermore, scholars not only passed off the inferiority of the Arab as an objective truth but used their scholarship to serve the interests of colonialism. Literature and scholarship did not exist in a vacuum; they were often affected by the historical and political contexts of their time. Often, this meant that scholars did their work in the service of governments, which compromised scholarship because it was used to further political ends.³⁵ With that argument, Said blurred the line that was supposed to separate scholarship from politics because he believed that “society and literary culture can only be studied together.”

Orientalism caused a stir in academia when it was first published. At first, much of the reaction to the book was positive. A new generation of American scholars, influenced by the radicalism of the sixties, were open to a critique of scholarship on the Middle East that questioned the motives of the scholar.³⁶ It became the founding text of postcolonial studies which insists that the colonized speak for themselves. Although Orientalism only spoke about Western power and knowledge in relation to the Middle East, scholars from other backgrounds found it useful in examining the West’s attitudes towards their own societies.³⁷ Not surprisingly, most of Said’s critics came from an older generation of scholars who, only five years earlier, had referred to themselves as Orientalists. (The International Congress of Orientalists renamed itself the International Congress of Human Sciences of Asia and North Africa in 1973.) The most well known of his critics was the academic Bernard Lewis, who was criticized in the last chapter of *Orientalism*. Lewis argued that Said’s characterization of the Orientalists was inaccurate. According to Lewis, these European scholars had not gone to the East in service of colonialism. As a matter of fact, *Orientalism* had developed as a facet of European humanistic scholarship. Western European scholars had a genuine interest in

³⁴Ibid., 172-173.

³⁵Ibid., 27.

³⁶ Edward Said *The Last Interview 2004*, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MslLIHZ-3TA&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

³⁷ Ella Shohat, “On The Margins of Middle Eastern Studies: Situating Said’s Orientalism,” *Review of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 1 (Summer 2009): 18–24.

understanding the Islamic world and devoted their lives to the study of Islamic civilization long before the era of European colonialism.³⁸ Said has also been criticized for his polemical style. For example, he excluded scholars who did work for the establishment of their societies but who resisted the negative stereotyping of Arabs.³⁹ He also did not discuss Russian, German, or Dutch scholarship. In general, Said only discussed those British and French scholars, writers, and travelers whose work confirmed his thesis.⁴⁰ It is worth noting that most did not appear until several years after *Orientalism* was published in 1978. Malcolm Kerr's critical review of *Orientalism* would not appear until 1980 and Bernard Lewis's criticism would not appear in the *London Review of Books* until 1982. However, the scholars who disagreed with Said or opposed his thesis altogether did not understand the true appeal of his work. Said's work was meant to be polemical and meant to eschew balance. It was a response to the anti-Arab prejudices that Said saw in the media. It was the work of a man who lived in New York at a time when there were few other Arabs there. Said was able to put into words the feelings of many Third World academic migrants who found themselves in the West surrounded by white people and their prejudices⁴¹. The Indian historian Partha Chatterjee described *Orientalism* as a book that "talked of things which I had felt all along but had never found the language to formulate with clarity."⁴² It gave Muslims and Arabs who lived in the West a language in which to talk about what it meant to live embattled in a sea of prejudices that came as objective factual knowledge.⁴³

Beyond the academy, Said became a fixture in the American media. In that capacity, he became a spokesperson on behalf of the Palestinian people, and he was the perfect candidate to do so.⁴⁴ He had joined the Palestine National Council in 1977 and

³⁸ Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *The New York Review of Books*, June 24, 1982, 3-4 <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1982/jun/24/the-question-of-orientalism/>.

³⁹ Malcolm Kerr, "Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 12, no. 4 (1988): 544.

⁴⁰ Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *The New York Review of Books*, June 24, 1982, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1982/jun/24/the-question-of-orientalism/>.

⁴¹ Leila Ahmed, *A borderer passage: from Cairo to America- a woman's journey* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

⁴² Stephen Howe, "Edward Said: The Traveller and the exile," *Open Democracy* October 2, 2003

⁴³ Ahmed, *Border*, 240.

⁴⁴ Rashid I. Khalidi, "Edward W. Said and the American public sphere: speaking truth to

was familiar with the politics of the region.⁴⁵ He used his influence and prominence as a university professor to lend weight and authority to what he said.⁴⁶ Most importantly, he was an articulate and urban man who dressed in suits and spoke an English that sounded completely American.⁴⁷ He could speak and behave as though he was an insider to American society while defending a position that would simply serve to make him an outsider.⁴⁸ Before the Oslo Peace Accords, Said defended the positions of the PLO.⁴⁹ In his interviews, argued for the rights of the Palestinians as a people and pointed out the wrongs committed by Israel.⁵⁰ This was not easy because the reporters often framed their questions in terms of terrorism and Israel's existence.⁵¹ They would ask why the PLO had not renounced terrorism.⁵² Said's response was that he rejected terrorism in all of its forms. His associations with Yasir Arafat did not help his image with the American public.⁵³ For these associations, he was often called a terrorist or accused of terrorism. His office was firebombed by the Jewish Defense League in 1985. There were not many Arab intellectuals in the United States. Perhaps he was the only one because he could speak about a wide variety of subjects and not just Palestine. But due to his race, Said became known only for Palestine and rarely for anything else in the media.

Edward Said was a difficult man to place. For all of his work on Palestine, he had no intention of returning there to live if a Palestinian state was ever established. He always viewed himself to be in exile, not belonging in any particular place. He praised New York as an "exile city", a place of writers and diverse communities of migrants and

power," *boundary 2*, 25, no. 2 (1998): 161-177

⁴⁵ Ali, *Conversations with Edward Said*, 6.

⁴⁶Rashid I Khalidi, "Edward W. Said and the American Public Sphere: Speaking Truth to Power," *Boundary 2*, no. 2 (1998): 161-165.

⁴⁷ Robert Marquand, "Conversations with Outstanding Americans: Edward Said," *The Christian Science Monitor*. Web, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1997/0527/052797.feafeat.1.html>

⁴⁸ Rashid I Khalidi, "Edward W. Said and the American Public Sphere: Speaking Truth to Power," *Boundary 2*, no. 2 (1998), 165

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 161-165.

⁵⁰ Edward Said and Gauri Viswanathan, *Power Politics and Culture* (Random House, 2002)

⁵¹ Edward Alexander, "Professor of Terror", *Commentary Magazine*, August 1989.

⁵² *Ibid*

⁵³ Robert Marquand, "Conversations with Outstanding Americans: Edward Said," *The Christian Science Monitor*. Web, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1997/0527/052797.feafeat1.html>

exiles that gave him the freedom to write what he wished and to identify himself as he wished.⁵⁴ This had allowed him to work for the Palestinian cause despite its unpopularity with many Americans. However, he was also not like most other Palestinians, even those who emigrated to the United States. Unlike most Palestinians, he was a man whose tastes were shaped by things Western. Although changes of the 1960s made the publication of his seminal work *Orientalism* possible, Said himself opposed changing the literary canon.⁵⁵ Even though Said was active in the Palestinian struggle for independence, he never taught courses on the Middle East nor did he teach Arabic or even postcolonial literature. He preferred teaching classical Western literature. His goals were not to politicize the study of literature, but to look at the study of the Arabic world with a more critical eye. His attitudes towards New York and Palestine were ambiguous because he was not at home with either place yet managed to embrace both places.

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⁵⁴Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 2000), xii.

⁵⁵ Robert Marquand, "Conversations with Outstanding Americans: Edward Said," *The Christian Science Monitor*. Web, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1997/0527/052797.feat.feat.1.html>.

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What is Madness: Analyzing *Equus*

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The play *Equus* by Peter Shaffer portrays the relationship between a psychiatrist, Dr. Martin Dysart, and his patient, Alan Strang, while exploring the central theme of madness. However, what is perceived to be “madness” by those who are considered to be “normal” is actually passion, and, in turn, it is the idea of “normalcy” that is exposed as “madness.” The inter-connected, underlying themes of sexuality, religion, and passion, illustrated through the use of symbolism, work to expose the true source of madness.

The underlying theme of sexuality surfaces when Alan is finally able to lift his repressed memories. On a basic level, this theme of sexuality works in a deeply Freudian sense to tie back to the central theme of madness. Alan’s first experience with a horse, at age six on the beach, was a source of connection with a masculine identity and sexual excitement that presumptively caused arousal. Mr. Strang, Alan’s father, is seen as a rather weak figure of masculinity in the play. When Alan is riding the horse he begins to identify with the rider, a very hyper-masculine figure. Alan is on the brink of this identification with masculinity, which he is not getting from his father, but is interrupted when his father pulls him off of the horse and away from the rider. This, coupled with the frantic reaction of his parents to the horse ride induces a negative connotation, and Alan learns to associate this experience with negativity, linking masculinity to a bad experience. This day at the beach becomes a traumatic experience for Alan. Later on, this trauma evolves into a paraphilia: bestiality.

The only sexual experience Alan has ever had was with a horse. In ritualistically riding the horses every three weeks at midnight, Alan attempts to recreate this experience. Alan’s inadequate masculinity resurfaces when he attempts to have intercourse with Jill later in the play. Alan cannot perform, cannot be a man, cannot, in a sense, “become a man” or accept the right of passage through intercourse because he never fully identified with a masculine figure. When Alan is in the barn with Jill his failure to perform and failure to be masculine lifts the repression of the memory and emotions from this traumatic experience. Blinding the horses can be seen as Alan’s

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release from sexual repression and a freedom of sexuality. The pick Alan uses to blind the horses represents a phallic symbol, which he thrusts into the eye sockets, which represents penetration of female genitalia. This metaphor for copulation insinuates that, in piercing the eye of the horse, Alan is symbolically piercing the “I,” establishing his masculine identity.

The theme of sexuality works on another level and is connected with the theme of religion. While at the same time ripping him away from masculinity, Mr. Strang performs an antireligious act and rips Alan away from the prospective concomitance with a God, and the introduction to a religious, existential experience. The horse ride gives Alan the opportunity to identify with a masculine figure, the horse, which, for Alan, represents the apotheosis of power, free will, and an almighty God. Riding the horse and then, in turn, merging with the horse is symbolic of Alan’s covenant with God. The sacred aspect consecrates sexuality. In riding the horses at the stable, and worshiping his makeshift, Christ-like God, Equus, Alan develops a sexualized religious ritual. The physical body of the horse can be seen as fulfilling the role of bishop, mediating between God and mortal. Alan rides the horse bareback and completely naked, leaving himself explicitly vulnerable, mentally and physically, to be sanctified in the eyes of Equus. The orgasm Alan experiences at the close of the ritual represents the ultimate connection with the sacred, spiritual, God figure, Equus.

While the sexualized religious ritual acts as a bond between sexuality and religion, Alan’s sexual experience with Jill acts as a break between the two. Alan’s experience with Jill is actually a sacrilegious one: a sin, which breaks Alan’s ties to Equus. This almost-sex scene takes place in the barn, the “Holy of Holies.” Alan is giving himself to someone else, worshiping someone else, and, like Adam and Eve who commit the ancestral sin in the Garden of Eden and spawn the fall of man, is disobeying his God and committing primal sin. Further, to consummate with Jill would be an act of worship, a pursuit of a spiritual connection with another figure, Alan would be turning away from his God to worship other idols.

The theme of religion also stands on its own and plays an important role independent from sexuality. One way this religious theme is illustrated is through symbolism using the horses from the bible. From a young age, Alan’s mother exposes him to the Christian faith, while, at the same time, Alan’s father completely rejects religion altogether. The horse and rider in the bible stories Mrs. Strang used to tell Alan, which were mistaken to be one and thought to be a God, ride and fight to vanquish the enemies. These enemies symbolize normal people, the normal world, and the very idea of

normalcy. Alan and his horses ride off to conquer the establishment of the “normal” world.

Similarly, Equus and the picture of the horse in Alan’s bedroom work as symbols of Christ. When Mr. Strang took down the picture of Jesus going to his crucifixion in Alan’s bedroom he replaced it with a picture of a horse. The picture of the horse replaces the picture of Jesus, and, in turn, the horse becomes Equus and replaces Jesus Christ. Equus becomes a religious figure with Christ-like qualities. The picture of Jesus portrays the chained Christ going to his crucifixion, with thorns on his head, a spear in his side, bearing the cross. Alan transfers these attributes to Equus: the chains and thorns become the bit in the horse’s mouth, and symbolize the suffering of the Christ; the horse carries the rider, like Christ bears the cross. Equus, like Jesus, takes on the sins of the world.

Further, Alan’s riding ritual symbolizes that of a religious ritual, like that performed at the altar of a church. Alan first puts the bit in his own mouth before putting it into the horse’s mouth, symbolizing the transfer of Alan’s sins, and the sins of man to Equus. The sugar cube Alan feeds the horse is a symbol of Equus internalizing Alan’s sins, while the sugar cube Alan eats himself symbolizes the Eucharist when receiving communion, representing Alan internalizing Christ/Equus. Alan and the horse are both naked, symbolizing Alan standing naked before his God, preparing for judgment. Mounting and riding the horse is symbolic of Alan’s connection with God, horse and man become one person, and Alan becomes one with God. “Amen.”

Alan’s blinding the horses can also be read in a religious context. In this scene, all of the horses in the barn symbolize Equus. By blinding the horses, Alan is committing sin and being freed from sin at the same time. He is blinding the eyes of his God, and by doing so, turning away from his God, committing a sin. However, Alan is simultaneously forgiven for this sin by Equus, in being blinded and suffering for Alan, the way Jesus Christ suffered on the cross for the sins of man. Equus takes away and internalizes Alan’s sin. Alan is symbolically forgiven for turning away from and disobeying his God by the passion of Equus/Christ.

The relationship between Dr. Dysart and Alan Strang works to unmask the theme of passion, and its importance in the play. Through the actions of Alan Strang, and the inner monologues of Dr. Dysart, the theme of passion is revealed in suffering. Suffering is passion. Alan demonstrates that authenticity, uniqueness, and a deviation from the accepted norm are forms of suffering which develop passion. Passion is suffering and truly experiencing being, truly living. Alan Strang embodies this theme of

passion, and Dr. Dysart recognizes this in Alan, because he himself is passionless. Dr. Dysart's purpose is to rid his patients of their passion, and create ghosts of individuals. "Passion, you see, can be destroyed by a doctor. It cannot be created" (Shaffer 2005, p. 109).

It is only when Alan and Dysart metaphorically switch roles that Dysart finally suffers and finds passion. His self-identity is related to his suffering. Dysart takes on the sins, suffering, and pain of others and finds his passion in his own suffering. Dysart, himself, symbolizes the new Christ figure, the new Equus. He bears the bit, the chain, and the cross; he has to carry the sins, the rider, and the pain. Like Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor, he bears the suffering of others to free them of pain, to give them "normalcy." Dysart realizes, "There is now, in my mouth, this sharp chain. And it never comes out" (Shaffer 2005, p. 110). Dysart's secret is that normalcy, to be passionless, is the true meaning of madness.

Shaffer's *Equus* exposes madness as normalcy, the suppression of passion, and the conformity to the constructs of the "normal" world made by "normal" people. What is perceived as "madness" by those who are considered "normal" is instead passion. In the play, religion is associated with sexuality and becomes sexual. Similarly, the sacred is used to explain sexuality. The theme of passion in the play is exposed through the themes of religion and sexuality. "Normal," the true madness, can be created, passion cannot.

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Urban Stratification

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Urban sprawl dates back to the establishment of public housing in 1937, but even more specifically to the development of urban areas. These urban areas began to decay due to crime and overpopulation back in the 1940's. The middle class began fleeing from cities and moving into areas such as Levittown. Suburbs became increasingly desirable as the world developed into a more mobilized society after World War II. The ability to travel to and from cities became more accessible due to increases in government aid, infrastructure, and technology.² As roads improved and travel became easier, population was able to spread out over a large distance. The impact of this led to suburbs, enclaves, exurbs, and gated communities. The GI Bill, which made it easier for soldiers returning from war to own property, further contributed to this stratification.

Suburbs became wealthy and developed their own rules and regulations. Rules that were used to separate the upper and middle class from the lower class were also used to isolate the different races and ethnicities. High taxes and building requirements were the methods through which segregation was promoted in these communities. These enclaves, gated communities, and suburbs transformed into what are now known as Polynucleated Metropolis and Exurbanization.³

The population was ever growing, “with 13 infants being born per 1000 the population” and continued to grow exponentially.⁴ In order to contain urban sprawl the government developed three approaches; New Regionalism, Smart Growth, and New Urbanism.

New Regionalism was a way that cities could merge and share resources. The Twin Cities, Minneapolis and Saint Paul, are examples of this approach. They formed a

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Abraham Unger for GOV205: *Urban Politics*.

² Judd, D., & Swanstrom, T. (2015). *City Politics* (8th Edition). Pearson.

³ Polynucleated Metropolis – several concentrated urban areas. Exurbanization- or exurbs, communities that go beyond suburbs.

⁴ I. Martin J. A., Hamilton B. E., Ventura S. J., Osterman, M. J., Wilson, E. C., Mathews, T. J., et al. (2011). Births: Final data for 2010. *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 61, 1–72. Retrieved January 21, 2013, from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr61/nvsr61_01.pdf#table01 (PDF – 1.66 MB)

regional government to achieve this goal. New Regionalism is based on municipal local government rather than state government. Few cities have these means to balance each other, which is why regionalism is not often seen. The New Jersey and New York Port Authority is a similar technique but isn't used for urban sprawl, rather it is used to improve quality of life amongst both states.

New Urbanism, another technique, requires specific zoning, which is illegal in certain areas. This focuses mainly on accessibility and unique building design. The idea of New Urbanism can be seen in the newly gentrified area of Rockville, Maryland. Like the suburbs, lower classes are excluded. Yet it consists of great qualities, such as the following: "mix land use, mixed housing, attractive communities (consisting of traditional styled homes), green transportation, sustainability, connectivity, and walkability."⁵ These qualities are used to improve the quality of life within communities. Mixed land use and mixed housing are both used to contain the population, while the attractive communities, green transportation, sustainability, connectivity, and walkability weave them into a tight knit community.

Smart Growth has seen much success in Portland, Oregon. Smart Growth takes a unique approach through its specific zoning technique used to preserve the environment and green areas. Cost effective development and community collaboration are necessary. Smart growth also utilizes the unique approach to "Preserve open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas, provide a variety of transportation choices, make development decisions predictable, fair, and cost effective, and encourage community and stakeholder collaboration in development decision."

Smart growth and New Urbanism share specific qualities, including green transportation, sustainability, quality of life, and quality architecture and urban design. All of these techniques take advantage of mixed land use and unique zoning.

However, a new, more effective method to contain urban sprawl would be to combine Smart Growth and New Urbanism. To demonstrate this idea take for example the famous Arnold Palmer drink that consisted of "X" amount of ice tea and "X" amount of lemonade. Once combined, a groundbreaking concoction is made which is no longer just tea or lemonade, but an Arnold Palmer. Likewise, New Urbanism and Smart Growth together in different ratios can merge into a beneficial "Urban Stratification".

⁵ "Urbanism Principles." Urbanism Principles. NewUrbanism.org, n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2014. <<http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/principles.html>>.

Urban Stratification would primarily focus on specific attributes, or layers such as land preservation, cost effective development, and community collaboration, etc. It would take advantage of compact building design by creating a range of housing opportunities and choices with the addition of attracting businesses to the community. These would all strive to be beneficial to the environment with advances in green technology, and the use of public transportation. Urban Stratification should prove to be cost-effective when implemented with mixed-use developments the way Paul Katz imagined.⁶ Increased property values would be one way to assess the program as historic districts housing have shown that there is a direct correlation between quality of life and property value.⁷

The government has tried the three aforementioned approaches to containing urban sprawl. There are only a handful of cities thriving off of their success. Urban Stratification is made to filled that gap, and allow for cities to flourish and survive. It is economically and environmentally attractive making it a very good alternative to current policy.

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⁶ “Katz was also committed to the idea that vertical and dense development can create sustainable, modern, and efficient communities that reflect the values and lifestyle choices of today’s urban dwellers. He also saw building height and density as solutions in helping Asian cities contend with the rapid influx of rural migrants to urban cores” Pyati, Archana. "KPF President and Renowned Architect Paul Katz Has Passed." *Urban Land Magazine* 8 Dec. 2014: n. pag. Print.

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