

WAGNER COLLEGE



FORUM FOR UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH

SPRING 2017

Volume 15, Number 2

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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

This issue sports a new cover courtesy of Wagner College's Office of Communications & Marketing. Credit for the design goes to Natalie Nguyen. Special thanks to her and to Laura Barlament who proposed and oversaw the change. They did a superb job and were a pleasure to work with.

Gregory J. Falabella, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief

Editorial Board

Dr. Miles Groth, Psychology
Prof. Andy Needle, Art
Dr. Annemarie Dowling-Castronovo, Nursing
Dr. Donald E. Stearns, Biological Sciences
Dr. Lori Weintrob, History

Section I: The Natural Sciences

Full Length Papers

- 3 The Effect of *Listeria monocytogenes* on Amyloid Plaque Buildup and Neurofibrillary Tangle Formation in the Brains of Adult Zebrafish (*Danio rerio*)
Monica Fallon Cipriani

Section II: The Social Sciences

Full Length Papers

- 29 Access Rewired: Telecommunication Liberalization in Developing Nations
Leslie Lopez
- 49 The Financial and Social Impact of Organizational Cultural Awareness for Cosmetic Brands in France and the United States
Julia Loria

Section III: Critical Essays

Full Length Papers

- 85 Mina and Her Men: Examining Gender in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*
Madison LaSorda
- 91 Seneca Village: A Forgotten History
Hadeel Mishal
- 103 Is She or Isn't She? An Analysis of Images of Virginity in Film
Natalie Persia
- 111 Antithetical Attestation: Layers of Gray in *Hamlet*
Madison J. Ruff
- 117 Oral Microbiome Diversity: The Future of Preventative Health Care, an Anthropological Perspective
Noah Wolthausen

- 129 Breaking the Way America Walks: The Unlikely Duo of Aerosmith and Run-DMC
and Its Implications on Society and the Music Industry
Winona Scheff
- 137 Politics in the Global Era
Michael Pardo
- 154 LGBT Museums and Redefining Alice Austen
Kimberly Landstrom
- 177 “I think the world’s asleep”: Fairytale Expectations in *King Lear*
Bridgett Bonar

Section I: The Natural Sciences

The Effect of *Listeria monocytogenes* on Amyloid Plaque Buildup and Neurofibrillary Tangle Formation in the Brains of Adult Zebrafish (*Danio rerio*)

Monica Fallon Cipriani (Microbiology)¹

In this experiment, adult zebrafish were infected with *L. monocytogenes* to test its role in neurodegeneration of brain tissue and buildup of both amyloid beta plaques and neurofibrillary tangles. Following infection the zebrafish were taken, anesthetized, and brains were extracted at 24h, 96h, and 7 days. The Gallyas silver staining technique was used to detect both neuropathological abnormalities after each brain was sectioned using ultramicrotomy. Upon observation, an abundance of neurofibrillary tangles were seen in the brain sections of each zebrafish, however, no amyloid plaques were seen in any of the brain sections taken.

I. Introduction

Listeria monocytogenes

Listeria monocytogenes is an intracellular gram-positive, non-spore forming, facultative aerobic bacterium. *L. monocytogenes* is the leading cause for listeriosis which is a common food borne illness that results when consuming contaminated products. In most cases listeriosis is self-limiting and causes no harm for the average healthy person. However, in immunocompromised, pregnant, or elderly hosts, listeriosis may cause detrimental or even fatal complications. *L. monocytogenes* has the capacity to cross the intestinal barrier and disseminate to the mesenteric lymph nodes, spleen, and liver. In immunocompromised individuals, it can replicate in the spleen and liver leading to prolonged and sustained bacteremia, crossing of the blood brain barrier and the placental barrier, and dissemination to the brain and placenta, causing meningitis, encephalitis, abortion in pregnant women, and neonatal infections (Hamon et al. 2006, Bonazzi et al. 2009).

The main route of infection is through ingestion, then crossing mammalian gut epithelium and spreading to other organs through the blood and lymphatic system. The intracellular nature of the bacterium allows for placental barrier crossing in pregnant

¹ Research conducted under the direction of Dr. Christopher Corbo in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

women as well as crossing of the blood brain barrier (BBB) in immunocompromised hosts. The ability of the bacteria to do so leaves the possibility of miscarriage, stillbirth or birth defects of a fetus (Mylonakis et al., 2002), as well as damage to the central nervous system (CNS), where it can lead to fatal meningoencephalitis (Schuchat et al., 1997).

Listeria monocytogenes is a model organism for the study of intracellular bacterial pathogenesis. The organism possesses intracellular characteristics that lead to broad dissemination of infection. Broad dissemination of an infection is especially related to an organism's ability to cross the blood brain barrier and enter the CNS. In a study of neuropathological abnormalities, *L. monocytogenes*' invasive and intracellular nature makes the organism a desired candidate to observe.

Intracellular Infection

Listeria has two main virulence factors: listeriolysin, specifically listeriolysin O (LLO) and actA. Virulence factors are properties or characteristics of a microorganism that serve as the contributing factors to the pathogenicity of the microorganism. The LLO toxin formed by *Listeria monocytogenes* is a member of the cholesterol-dependent cytolysin family (CDC). CDCs are known to be secreted as soluble monomers that bind and oligomerize to form a pre pore at the surface of cholesterol-rich membranes. Conversion into a pore involves the unwinding of two α -helices into β -hairpins that span the membrane bilayer to form a β -barrel that lines the 25 nm aqueous channel (Tweten, 2005). Listeriolysin, specifically listeriolysin O, is the hemolysin of the *Listeria* bacterium responsible for the lyses of phagosomes allowing for bacterial escape from macrophages and, in turn, resulting in the destruction of phagocytic cells. Similar to other hemolysins, LLO protects the bacterium itself from destruction during the cellular escape process and allows for the bacterial replication in the cytosol in which the bacteria thrives best (Schnupf et al., 2007). The actA protein mediates motility of the bacterium inside an infected cell. It does so through actin filaments propelling the bacterium through the cytosol of the cell using cytoskeletal proteins.

Although *Listeria* has several virulence factors, among all known, secretion of the hemolysin seems to be crucial for growth of *L. monocytogenes* in host tissues (Berche et al., 1988). Without LLO, the bacterium would not be able to cause or spread infection because transfer of the Listeriolysin O gene into organisms that lack the LLO protein results in phagosome escape by these organisms (Dramsai et al., 2002). Meaning, LLO is a virulence factor serving as a critical role in the pathogenicity of *Listeria* infection. Actin filaments coat the *Listeria* cells and reorganize to form polar tails, a confirmation that seems to be correlated with intracellular movement and intercellular spread (Tilney

et al., 1989). The blood brain barrier, in particular, is mostly composed of non-fenestrated endothelial cells interconnected by tight junctions in contact with astrocyte processes (De Chiara et al., 2012). Virulence factors associated with *Listeria monocytogenes* allows for dissemination of the bacteria throughout the human body, including crossing of the blood brain barrier, or BBB, inducing damage to the central nervous system.

Apart from phagocytic internalization, bacterial internalization into a host can also be mediated through specific surface proteins known as Internalin A (InIA) and Internalin B (InIB) (Schubert et al., 2002). These internalins are responsible for the entry into nonphagocytic cells facilitating entry using surface expressing proteins such as cadherins and the hepatocyte growth factor receptor Met.

Historically, cadherins have been perceived to link cells and to stabilize these links through interactions with the cytoskeleton. The consequences of such adhesions can have dramatic effects on tissue stability and morphogenetic processes such as cell rearrangement, cell migration, tissue formation and the establishment and maintenance of neural networks (Suzuki et al., 1997). Cadherins can also participate in signaling events between and within cells that affect differentiation, proliferation and migration (Knudsen et al., 1998). InIA targets the eukaryotic host surface receptor E-cadherin whose main function is to ensure adhesion of neighboring epithelial cells. E-cadherin is a vital calcium-dependent eukaryotic cell-cell adhesion receptor linked to the actin cytoskeleton that is critical in cell signaling, differentiation, and even diseases like cancer (Steinberg et al., 1999). However, E-cadherins are not found on many cells, thus InIB has been more common in cell invasion and bacterial infection through Met. Met acts as a receptor for *Listeria* internalin (InIB), mediating entry of the pathogen into cells. It is a receptor tyrosine kinase that transduces signals from the extracellular matrix into the cytoplasm by binding to hepatocyte growth factor/ligand (Bonazzi et al. 2009). Met regulates many physiological processes including proliferation, scattering, morphogenesis and survival. Ligand binding at the cell surface induces autophosphorylation of MET on its intracellular domain that provides docking sites for downstream signaling molecules (Hamon et al. 2006, Bonazzi et al. 2009).

It is known that infection, especially those of intracellular invasion, cause disruptions of cell functions and can lead to cellular death. *Listeria* has a particular capability of invading host cells through its actin filament motility spreading infection throughout the CNS, essentially disrupting neuronal functions in the brain. A study on the entry of *Listeria* into neurons and the cell-to-cell spread indicated that entry of *L.*

monocytogenes into cultured neurons occurred by cell-to-cell spread from infected phagocytes J774 macrophages or microglial cells (Drams et al., 1998).

Zebrafish as Research Model

Zebrafish are popular model laboratory animals due to their small size and ease of care. They were first used for the study of vertebrate development because of their short development time and characteristic of transparent chorion. Later, zebrafish proved to be beneficial for the study of vertebrate genetics because of the orthology and high synteny with mammals that correspond to those of both mice and humans (Sullivan, and Kim. 2008).

Zebrafish models of human diseases are beneficial because they too have a functional adaptive immune system along with a similar innate immune system when compared to other mammals. Macrophages, neutrophils, and dendritic cells are vital to innate immunity in higher vertebrates and assumably play a similar role in zebrafish. While macrophages and neutrophils have been characterized to a limited extent, dendritic cells have yet to be identified (de Jong et al., 2005). Zebrafish offer distinct immunological advantages because their genes for immunoglobulin and T-cell receptors are similar to those found in humans. Zebrafish lymphoid tissue can also be examined easily and potentially manipulated (Yoder et al., 2002). Zebrafish upkeep is also faster, easier, and more cost effective to model mutations.

Zebrafish are valuable in studying *Listeria monocytogenes* being recent studies have indicated that zebrafish have an innate resistance to *L. monocytogenes* that is higher than other animals (Yoder et al., 2002). Zebrafish have been observed to have a resistance with a lethal dose of bacteria twice that of mice; however the fish used in these studies were kept at 22°C which would hinder virulence genes in *Listeria* are accustomed to a temperature of 37°C (Levrud et. al. 2009). When fish kept at this temperature are infected, *Listeria* shows a high rate of virulence. The mechanisms of *Listeria* infection are similar to those found in mammals involving escape from phagosomes and movement around the cytosol through actin polymerization (Levrud et. al. 2009).

Microglia

As previously mentioned, *Listeria* mediates intracellularly and inter-cellularly. Intra/intercellular mediation occurs through the bacterium undergoing a process known as parasite-directed endocytosis. Parasite-directed endocytosis occurs in phagocytes such as macrophages, neutrophils, and the brain residing macrophages known as microglia (McGee et al., 1988). It is essential to understand microglia due to their lead role in brain infections, being they partake in both brain defense and brain repair. Microglia, specifically, are the focal phagocytic cells of *Listeria* in the central nervous system

(Kreutzberg, 1996). They are the resident macrophages of the brain and form through the differentiation of stem cells to monocytes. These monocytes then travel to the brain and are able to survive longer compared to other macrophages.

The BBB is composed mainly of non-fenestrated endothelial cells interconnected by tight junctions in contact with astrocyte processes. The BBB not only limits the movement of cells and molecules to the brain parenchyma and neurons but also these cells provide a physical and cellular barrier to the perivascular space by producing a basement membrane consisting of laminin (De Chiara et al., 2012). The long lasting survival of microglia is due in particular to the limitations the BBB possesses on new cells coming in and out of the brain. When infection is present in the brain, there is an increase in microglial replication. Following infection, the large amount of cellular damage and apoptosis of cells decreases the amount of microglia back to the baseline leaving vulnerability of future infection and trauma (Kreutzberg, 1996).

An interesting observation that is sometimes overlooked in neuritic plaques is the invariable presence of activated microglia. Their presence may be a reactive phenomena, however, it comprises the basis for the hypothesis that AD is a disease of excessive inflammation within the brain (Miyakawa et al., 1982). Inflammation enhances invasion of the CNS as inflammatory molecules released during the systemic infection activate infected leukocytes. The activated infected leukocytes attach to and invade the postcapillary venule wall surrounding endothelial and parenchymal basement membranes, in turn crossing the BBB (De Chiara et al., 2012). Leukocytes are then further activated by interactions between chemokine receptors expressed on their membranes and chemokines circulating in the brain.

Neuronal Brain Invasion

Among many neuroinvasive bacteria, *Listeria monocytogenes* is quite distinctive in that in vitro and in vivo data suggest it has the potential to invade the CNS by at least three different mechanisms (Drevets et al., 2004a). The first mechanism includes parasitized leukocytes through the process of parasite-directed endocytosis mediating infected phagocytes across the BBB. The second mechanism is in relation to axons of cranial nerves preceding in retrograde migration. The final mechanism is direct invasion of extracellular blood-borne pathogens. For example, direct injection into the optic tennum allows for pathogenic bacteria to travel to the brain directly. Patients with neurodegenerative and neurobehavioral diseases may have chronic, neuropathic infections that have potential to be important in disease inception, disease progression, or increasing the types or severities of signs and symptoms (Nicolson, 2008).

Neurodegenerative diseases such as Alzheimer's disease (AD), Parkinson's disease (PD), Huntington's disease (HD) and amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), are characterized by progressive degeneration and loss of specific subsets of neurons, primarily the pyramidal neurons (Hof, et al., 1990). Pyramidal neurons are found in areas of the brain including the cerebral cortex, the hippocampus, and the amygdala. Progressive degeneration of these neurons lead to a decline in brain functions such as cognition and locomotor control. Neurodegenerative disorders share common features such as protein aggregation and the formation of inclusion bodies or aggregate deposits normally consisting of insoluble fibrillar aggregates that contain misfolded protein with β -sheet conformation (De Chiara et al., 2012).

β -sheets, also known as beta pleated sheets, are the secondary structures of proteins. A β -pleated sheet is a secondary level of protein structure formed when one or more strands of a polypeptide align parallel (or antiparallel) to one another and hydrogen bonds between carbonyl oxygen and amino hydrogen atoms in the peptide backbone form between the strands. These secondary protein structures are important for tertiary structure formation and lead to the overall function of the protein. β -sheets become an important part of fibril formations when pertaining to A β disaggregation and bundling of proteins (Soto et al., 1996). Peptides containing the sequence 1-40 or 1-42 of A β and shorter derivatives can form amyloid-like fibrils in the absence of other proteins (Soto et al., 1994). Several reports on the matter have indicated that when A β aggregates into amyloid fibrils it can lead to neuronal death (Pike et al., 1993). This indicates that the potential to form amyloid resides mainly in the structure of A β . The results of a recent study indicate that a short peptide partially homologous to the central hydrophobic region of A β (at residues 17-21), but containing amino acids which prevent the adoption of a β -sheet structure binds A β (Soto et al., 1996).

Protein aggregation, in particular ubiquitin aggregation, is a hallmark of neurodegenerative diseases such as Alzheimer's, Parkinson's and Huntington's diseases. The adapter protein p62 is a common component of these aggregates (Zatloukal et al., 2002). A recent study has shown that the major virulence toxin of *Listeria*, LLO, forms small perinuclear aggregates that accumulates in large autophagosome-like structures and sequesters to large protein aggregates. The characterization of protein aggregates found in this study indicated that they not only contained the active form of LLO but also polyubiquitinated proteins and p62, which are both common components of protein aggregates found in neurological diseases (Viala et al., 2007). For this reason, a protein of bacterial origin could potentially follow the same path as a toxic protein associated with neurodegenerative disease.

Intraneuronal Cytoskeleton Abnormalities

Cytoskeletal abnormalities are made up of mostly paired helical filaments (PHF) found throughout the cerebral cortex of the brain. For example, Alzheimer's disease was first identified as a unique neurological disorder in 1907 by Alois Alzheimer. He observed the two prominent cerebral hallmarks of the disease to be paired helical fragments known as neurofibrillary tangles and amyloid plaques (Castellani et al., 2010). The major protein subunit of PHF is microtubule-associated protein tau present in abnormally phosphorylated forms (Grundke-Iqbal et al., 1986). In many, if not all, cases these cytoskeletal abnormalities correlate with the presence of dementia and cell death. Recent studies have also shown these abnormalities are not solely genetic predispositions. However, certain invasive infections may also result in helical conformation of proteins.

Cell cycle deregulation in neurons plays a large role in abnormal neuropathological discoveries, especially those consisting of neurofibrillary tangles, or NFT, and A β . The cell cycle consists of four main phases: G1, S, G2, and M. Most cells undergo these cycles up to 40–60 times in their life for division and replication (Moh et al., 2011). However, neurons remain in a nondividing and nonreplicating phase, G0, once they have matured. Matured neurons are able to initiate entrance into the cell cycle but can not complete cell division, eventually entering into an apoptotic-type neurodegeneration (Raina et al., 2001). Neurological diseases such as Alzheimer's disease (AD) involves dysfunction in neuronal cell cycle reentry, leading to the development of the two-hit hypothesis of AD (Moh et al., 2011).

Amyloid Beta and Senile Plaques

Data suggests that Amyloid peptides, result from the amyloidogenic proteolytic cleavage of Amyloid Precursor Protein (APP). APP is a large protein found on the surface of neurons and is believed to play a role in synapse formation and synaptic plasticity (Turner, et al., 2003). Normally the enzyme alpha- secretase snips APP and releases a fragment. A second enzyme, gamma-secretase snips the APP again and releases additional fragments of amyloid that are thought to benefit neurons. In neurodegenerative diseases, specifically Alzheimer's disease, the first cut of APP is often cleaved by another enzyme known as Beta-secretase (Alzheimer's Universal, 2010). The cleavage of APP through Beta-secretase along with the second cut through gamma-secretase results in the release of short fragments of APP known as beta-amyloid. These fragments come together to form toxic senile plaques disrupting the function of neurons. As more fragments are added, oligomers increase in size and become insoluble eventually forming beta-amyloid (A β) plaques (Alzheimer's Universal, 2010).

Cleavage occurs through APP secretase enzymes β - and γ - and suggests that $A\beta$ accumulation is a result of the imbalance of $A\beta$ production and $A\beta$ clearance (De Chiara et al., 2012). The $A\beta$ peptide seen as the main component of senile plaques is an extracellular amyloid deposit made of a 39 to 43 amino acid peptides part of which forms from the hydrophobic transmembrane domain in the COOH (C) terminal of APP (Boutajangout et al., 2003). In other words, senile plaque formation is a product of $A\beta$ undergoing a cleavage process producing $A\beta$ peptide fragments that cannot be disposed properly. These $A\beta$ fragments are usually small fragments of amyloid known as $A\beta_{1-40}$ and $A\beta_{1-42}$.

Senile plaques are known to have $A\beta$ filaments radiating as bundles from the center composed of 6-10 nm long fibrils. Accumulation of senile plaques in association with $A\beta$ results in severe cell loss or cell death. It is still unclear how $A\beta$ causes neuronal loss and tangle formation. However, the peptide is known to disrupt calcium homeostasis and increase intraneuronal calcium concentration (Hardy, et al., 1992). It is important to note, $A\beta$ deposits in the form of senile plaques are not limited to AD and are also found in several other conditions such as Down syndrome, dementia pugilistica, diffuse Lewy body disease, acute traumatic brain injury, as well as in normal aging of humans and other higher mammals such as the beagle (Selkoe et al., 1987).

Neurofibrillary Tangles

Neurofibrillary tangles are made of bundles of abnormal filaments called paired helical filaments (PHF), found in neurons and in dystrophic neurites associated to β -amyloid deposits (Boutajangout et al., 2003). The dystrophic neurites refer to entangled cell body projections of neurons. The projections can either be the axon body or the dendrites. The term “neurite” usually refers to immature developing neurons and it is the developing neurites that become entrapped and disrupted in NFT or amyloid plaque build up (Flynn, 2013). The paired helical fragments are known to be formed through hyperphosphorylated tau proteins. Hyperphosphorylation of tau protein disrupts the binding of tau protein onto the microtubule, resulting in the formation of neurofibrillary tangles (Grundke-Iqbal et al., 1986). During neurodegeneration, tau is abnormally phosphorylated at proline directed serine/threonine phosphorylation sites (Castellani et al., 2010).

Extra phosphates change the tertiary structure of tau being they carry a very negative charge. The conformational change of the tau no longer allows for tau to bind to microtubules, rather, leaving the tau protein to bind to themselves. When tau binds to itself, it leads to the breaking down and destabilization of microtubules. Destabilization

of tau protein aggregates tau causing helical pairing choking the cell (Grundke-Iqbal et al., 1986).

NFT first develop in the hippocampus of the brain which is essential for memory and learning. They then reach the whole brain following a centrifugal movement causing atrophy (LECMA Vaincre Alzheimer's, 2013). Within neurons with a pyramidal shape to the perikaryon, NFTs are parallel, thickened fibrils that surround the nucleus and extend towards apical dendrites. When NFTs are seen in a more rounded neuron, they appear as interweaving swirls of fibers called a globoid neurofibrillary tangle (Perl, 2010). In comparison to A β , NFT are not restricted to AD. They are also found in association with a variety of other conditions including post-encephalic PD, Parkinsonian dementia complex of Guam, Down syndrome, progressive supranuclear palsy, corticobasal degeneration, dementia pugilistica as well as normal aging (Selkoe et al., 1987).

Gallyas Silver Stain

The Gallyas staining method was first developed in 1971 by Ferenc Gallyas to further investigate neuropathological complications. In Gallyas silver staining techniques a specific mordant is used to generate silver nucleation sites on PHF or β -amyloid. Classically defined, mordants are generally ions such as metal ions or halide ions, but can be any molecule that serves the purpose of holding down a dye (Nguyen, 2016). The nucleation sites are increased in size up to microscopic dimensions by a physical developer containing silver nitrate, and a reducing agent (paraformaldehyde) in the presence of a protecting colloid, in this case, tungstosilicic acid (Iqbal et al., 1993). Gallyas silver stain is less expensive compared to other immunohistochemical techniques and is easy to perform in lower level laboratory settings. Neurofibrillary tangles, plaques neurites, and neuropil threads will be seen as black under microscopic view and any nuclei present will be indicated as red using Gallyas method of staining.

Objectives

The objective of this research study was to test the effect of *Listeria monocytogenes* infection and its role in neurodegeneration of brain tissue and build up of both amyloid beta plaques and neurofibrillary tangles. The Gallyas silver staining technique was used to detect both neuropathological abnormalities.

II. Materials and Methods

Organisms

Adult zebrafish were obtained from Arcadia Pets in Staten Island, New York and maintained in a 10-gallon aquarium at Wagner College. The tank was maintained daily for proper filtration as well as both day and night lighting cycles at 27°C. The zebrafish were also fed daily with flake fish food.

Surgical Procedure

All surgical techniques were carried out using aseptic conditions and treating all tools with 70% ethanol or isopropanol as a sterile disinfectant to minimize bacterial infection and/or contamination. All fish were anesthetized prior to surgery using a 4% tricaine solution in 200 mL of dH₂O.

Each zebrafish was surgically injected through the optic tectum of the eye with 0.1mL of cultured *L. monocytogenes* resuspended in zebrafish buffer. The injections were performed using a tuberculin syringe under a light microscope for a greater injection accuracy. The fish were then placed back into the 10 gallon aquarium until their next surgery performed at the following specific time points: one day, four days, and seven days. At each of these time points, the brains of four fish were extracted to proceed to the next step of the experiment.

The brains of the fish were removed using fine-tipped forceps, a micro scalpel, and a razor blade. Prior to brain extraction, the skullcap was opened and removed. The optic nerves were severed to ensure that separation of the brain from the cranial cavity was properly executed. Following brain extraction, three of four successfully extracted brains were placed in 4% paraformaldehyde until all time points were completed. The one remaining brain was crushed and placed on Oxford media, incubated for 48 hours, and reviewed to ensure proper execution of *Listeria monocytogenes* infection in the brain. The remaining three brains were extracted and fixed in 4% paraformaldehyde. They were then cut into three similarly sized pieces in preparation for silver staining. Smaller sized brain sections allowed for a more clear and defined staining.

Oxford Media:

Oxoid™ *Listeria* Selective Agar (Oxford medium) was used for the detection and isolation of possible *Listeria* infection in the brains of the Zebrafish following injection. One of four fish brains from each time trial was taken, crushed, and inoculated onto the Oxford medium. Plates were then incubated at 35°C for 48 h. Upon observation, black zones shown on the agar indicated the presence of *L. monocytogenes*,

as seen in Figures 1, 2 and 3, and allowed for continuation of further experimental procedures.

Gallyas Silver Stain

The Gallyas silver stain is a neuropathology method used to determine the detection of NFT and A β plaques. All glassware was acid washed prior to any introduction of solution or brain tissue. No metallic objects were to be used in this procedure, only plastic and glass. Chemicals used to make each solution were obtained from Sigma-Aldrich. After fixation, samples are immersed in distilled water, then placed in 5% periodic acid for five minutes. The samples were then washed in distilled water twice for five minutes each and placed in alkaline silver iodide solution for one minute. The silver iodide binds to degenerated neurofibrils under alkaline conditions in this reaction. Alkaline silver iodide solution was made in the laboratory. Table 1 includes all chemicals used to make the alkaline silver iodide solution used in this experiment.

dH ₂ O	50mL
Sodium Hydroxide	4 g
Potassium Iodide	10g
1% Silver Nitrate	3.5 mL
dH ₂ O	Amount to final volume of 100mL

Table 1: Alkaline Silver Iodide Solution

The samples were washed in 0.5% acetic acid for 10 minutes (or 3 x 3 min each). The acetic acid served as a reducing agent in which the iodide atoms were released leaving behind silver particles. (Kuninaka, et al., 2015). The acetic acid solution was also made in the laboratory and Table 2 lists all chemicals included in the making of the solution. The samples were then placed in developer solution for 20-30 minutes. The developer solution contains three parts of Stock Solution II, added to 10 parts of Stock Solution I, which were together added to seven parts of Stock Solution III. Developer solution aids in the visualization of silver particles when proceeding to the observation steps (Kuninaka et al., 2015). Formation of stock solutions I, II, and III are listed in Tables 3, 4, and 5 accordingly.

Acetic Acid	0.005mL or 5uL
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 2: 0.5% Acetic Acid Solution

Sodium Carbonate (anhydrous)	5 g
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 3: Stock Solution I

Ammonium Nitrate	0.2g
Silver Nitrate	0.2g
Tungstosilicic Acid	1g
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 4: Stock Solution II

Ammonium Nitrate	0.2g
Silver Nitrate	0.2g
Tungstosilicic Acid	1g
Formaldehyde (neat)	0.73 mL ~ 730 μ L
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 5: Stock Solution III

The samples were washed in 0.5% acetic acid for a total of three minutes (or 3x at 1 min each) to remove any remaining iodide atoms, then placed in distilled H₂O for five minutes. Next samples were placed in 0.1% gold chloride (refer to Table 6) for five minutes to enhance the silver coloration. After another brief distilled H₂O rinse, the samples were placed in 1% sodium thiosulfate for five minutes, which acted as a stopping solution and rid of reducible salts. The thiosulphate releases any iodide atoms left at this stage. The chemical makeup of sodium thiosulphate is exhibited in Table 7 below. Once placed in the thiosulfate, the samples were rinsed with tap water and counterstained in 0.1% Nuclear Fast Red (see Table 8) solution for two minutes then washed again with tap water.

Gold Chloride	0.5g
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 6: 0.1% Gold Chloride

Sodium Thiosulphate	0.01g
dH ₂ O	100mL

Table 7: 1% Sodium Thiosulphate Solution (“Hypo”)

Aluminum Sulphate	2.5g
dH ₂ O	100mL
Nuclear Fast Red	0.1mL

Table 8: 0.1% Nuclear Fast Red in 2.5% Aluminum Sulphate

Samples were dehydrated through increasing ethanol series (70%, 80%, 95%, and 100%) consecutively for three minutes each, and cleared with two changes of xylene solutions at two minutes each. For preservation, each stained brain sample was placed in an Eppendorf tube of 100% absolute alcohol until tissue embedment in Spurr Resin.

Tissue Embedding

The resin used was a four-component composite resin known as Spurr resin. This resin results in a plastic type embedment rather than a wax type embedment. The Spurr resin was mixed with alcohol to make the spurr viscous to allow the resin to enter the tissues.

Resin embedment was performed as follows: For two hours, samples were placed in a 25 to 75 percent Spurr Resin-Alcohol solution. After two hours, the samples were placed in a 50 to 50 percent Spurr Resin-Alcohol solution overnight. Samples were taken after 24 hours and placed in a 100 percent Spurr Resin embedment solution for a full weekend period of approximately 48 h.

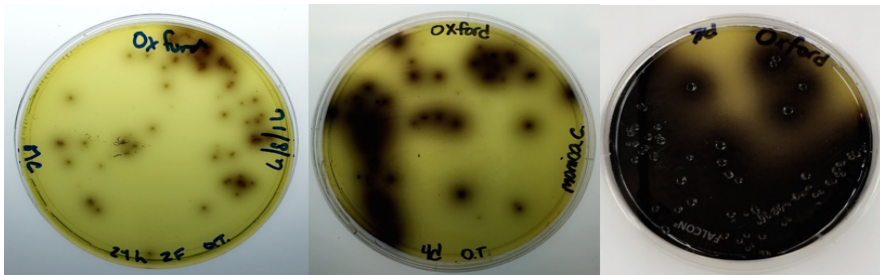
Tissue Sectioning

Thin sections were made at a 0.5 μm thickness using a Reichert OMU-2 ultramicrotome and sectioned with glass knives. Each section was removed from a “glass boat” filled with distilled H₂O using a fine tip brush and placed on glass slides. Next, each slide was placed on a hot plate to adhere the sections onto the glass and dry out excess water. Samples were analyzed using a BX40 Olympus light microscope equipped with a motic digital camera and its supported software. Following digital imaging, the final images were put together using an adobe photo shop program and observed.

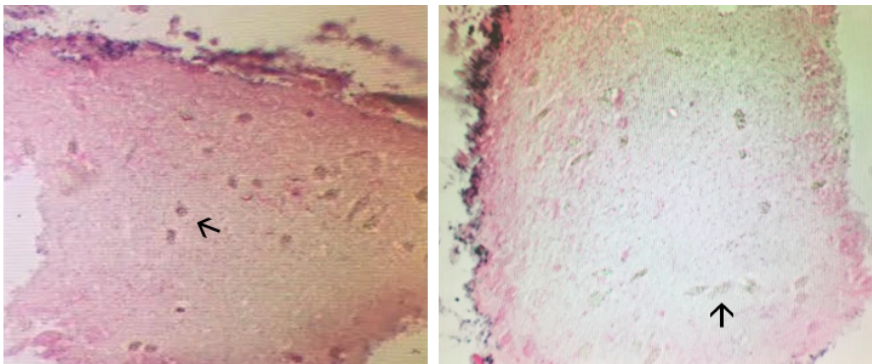
III. Results

Listeria monocytogenes was the bacterium of choice, specifically, for its ability to propel itself into the cells of its hosts. Intracellular involvement increased the chance of cellular damage because penetration of cells leads to intercellular dissemination and cellular damage. The figure at the top of the next page exhibits the presence of the *Listeria monocytogenes* bacteria within the brains of the zebrafish. The presence of infection supported the idea that neurological degeneration most likely would occur due to

disruption of normal neuronal functioning in the brains of the zebrafish. On the far left, the figure shows 24 hour brain of zebrafish injected with *Listeria monocytogenes* and plated on Oxford medium. The middle figure shows the 96 hour brain of zebrafish injected with *Listeria monocytogenes* and plated on Oxford medium. The figure of the far right shows the seven day brain of zebrafish injected with *Listeria monocytogenes* and plated on Oxford medium.

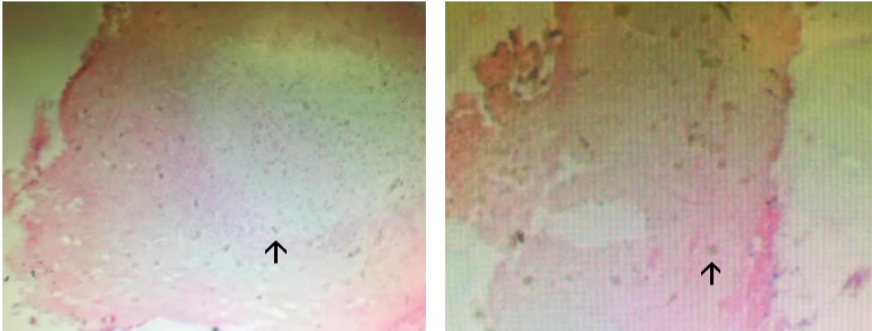


The sections of the day one samples show NFT that are indicated by the arrows present in the brain tissue of zebrafish. No amyloid plaques are seen in any samples taken from the first day. The neurofibrillary tangles shown here are seen throughout the cytoplasm of the tissues and on the peripherals of the cells. The presence of NFT in day one samples shows that the *Listeria* infection of just 24 hours caused enough damage to the neurons of the zebrafish leading to bundles of paired helical fragments and tau hyperphosphorylation.

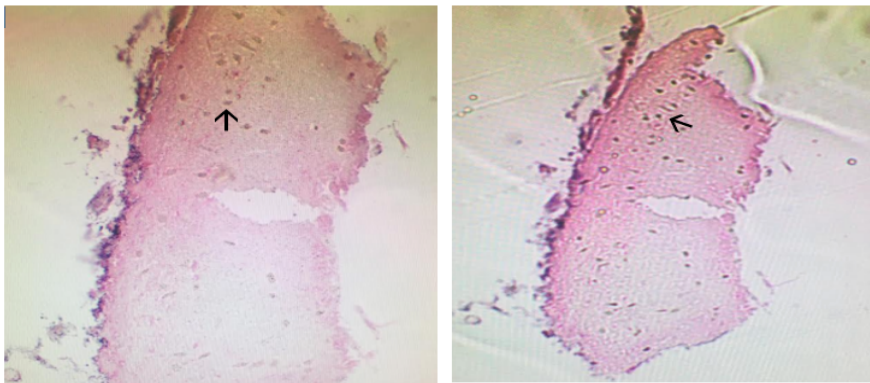


Day four samples also show a presence of NFT seen throughout the cytoplasm of the brain tissues. Similar to the day one samples, A β plaques were not seen in the

sections taken from the four day brain samples of zebrafish. The NFT in day four samples are indicated by the arrows and are shown in a larger abundance compared to those of the day one samples.



The samples taken from day seven showed the greatest amount of NFT in the perikaryal cytoplasm and surrounding the peripherals of the cell. For the most part, observation of the seven day brain tissues supports the correlation between infection and neuropathological abnormalities. Comparing the seven day samples to those of day four as well as those from day one shows that as infection progresses so does cellular damage. The cellular damage intensifies the formation of neurofibrillary tangles seen in the cells of the infected brain cells.



IV. Discussion

Presence of *Listeria monocytogenes* in the Brains of Zebrafish

The pathogenesis of *Listeria monocytogenes* in neurons is possible because of *Listeria monocytogenes*' intracellular invasive properties. Intracellular pathogens, like *Listeria*, can be transported across the blood-brain barrier within phagocytes, enter neurons through direct invasion from the blood, or migrate from nerve-nerve or neuron-neuron thorough actin filament mobilization. In this study, zebrafish were injected with *Listeria monocytogenes* through the optic tectum to induce a CNS response. Zebrafish are valuable in studying *Listeria monocytogenes* because recent studies indicated that zebrafish have an innate resistance to *L. monocytogenes* higher than that of other animals. The reasoning behind direct injection was to elicit a brain infection and spark neurological degeneration of the zebrafish brain tissues. Virulence genes of *Listeria* are accustomed to a temperature of 37°C. When fish kept at this temperature are infected, *Listeria* shows a high rate of virulence. In this study, all fish infected with *Listeria* were kept at approximately the same temperature to hopefully obtain the same response and rate of virulence.

Immune Response and Further Infection

Listeria monocytogenes has been especially studied as a model pathogen for both innate and adaptive immune responses to intracellular infection as well as bacterial entry and survival within mammalian host cells (Cossart P, 2007). *Listeria*, as previously noted, has the utmost capability of crossing the BBB invading the CNS. Infections of the central nervous system, especially those characterized by a chronic progressive course, may produce multiple damage in infected and neighboring cells. The activation of inflammatory processes and host immune responses cause chronic damage resulting in alterations of neuronal function and viability, but different pathogens can also directly trigger neurotoxic pathways (De Chiara, 2012). Inflammation enhances this invasion of the CNS because inflammatory molecules released during the systemic infection activate infected leukocytes, which in turn attach to and invade the postcapillary venule wall surrounding endothelial and parenchymal basement membranes and crossing the BBB (De Chiara, 2012). Although activation of the host immune response in an attempt to eradicate the pathogen may significantly contribute to produce neuronal damage, different pathogens and/or their products may directly induce long-term degenerative effects, such as the deposit of misfolded protein aggregates, increased levels of oxidative stress, deficient autophagic processes, synaptopathies and neuronal death (Kristensson 2011). Further studies on the relationship between recovering zebrafish compared with

newly infected zebrafish could be performed to see if NFT formation decreases or continues to get worse even after treatment is being administered aside from the natural immune response. If studies show that immune responses could possibly make infection worse, there could be a possibility that an antimicrobial agent reduces the risk of furthering infection and NFT formation in neurons.

Staining Neuropathological Abnormalities

Neuropathological diagnosis of brain abnormalities is identified through histological examination of brain tissue (Perl, 2010). Brain abnormalities having distinct contributions to neurological degeneration are considered neurofibrillary tangles (NFT) and amyloid beta plaques (A β). Ordinary morphological staining techniques are usually not used for the identification of NFT or A β . General staining techniques are not specific to NFT or A β abnormalities therefore, they are left with staining a large variety of unwanted morphological structures. Using the Gallyas staining procedure normal structures are not stained in the process. This method uses silver ions along with reducing agents that quickly react together to mediate specific attachment onto the target tissues containing plaques and NFT (Uchihara, 2007). Gallyas silver staining technique was performed for the conduction of this research study followed by ultra-microtome sectioning and observation of brain tissues under a digital light microscope in search for NFT and A β .

Abundance of NFT

A major contributing factor to A β plaque formation are neurons reentering into the cell cycle resulting in an overload of A β later leading to plaque buildup. In other words, senile plaque formation is a product of A β undergoing a cleavage process producing A β peptide fragments that are not intact and therefore cannot be disposed properly. Upon observation, no A β were present but a large number of NFT were present in all tissue samples. NFTs are seen as black, abnormal fibrous inclusions within the perikaryal cytoplasm of neurons seen in figures one, two, and three in the results section. The abundance of NFT suggest that infection can in fact lead to paired helical fragmentation of brain cells. The lack of A β plaque could be a result from the short amount of time each brain was extracted from the infected zebrafish. Further studies could use longer time periods as compared to a maximum of 7 days to allow infection to settle in longer. NFT were indicated as black zones around the peripherals of the tissues as well as lighter yellow/brown bundles in the actual tissue.

Future Research

Additional research should be completed for further accuracy of the results obtained. In addition to longer time periods, more trials of the overall experiment should be completed to support the results obtained. Regenerating tissues were also not of concern in this experiment. Further research should take into account the regenerating tissue throughout the different time periods to see if there is a possibility that when tissues regenerate there is a decrease in beta-amyloid and NFT. Another area to be explored is whether or not there is a decrease in A β and NFT when infection is being treated. The highlight of this experiment was to investigate the effect of infection on brain cells. Results supported that infection can lead to the formation of both A β and NFT. However, no further research was conducted to see the effect of infection on brain cells followed by the introduction of a therapeutic agent. Another interesting area to be researched is whether or not there is a possibility that after a therapeutic agent has been introduced, and infection begins to heal, that there a decrease in A β and NFT. In addition, different staining techniques for A β and NFT could be performed and compared to the Gallyas silver stain to see how results may differ, whether it being positive or negative.

V. Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family for never once doubting me throughout this whole process. They have been my backbone throughout this time and I can never thank them enough for giving me that little extra push whenever I needed it. I especially thank Dr. Christopher Corbo for all he has done for me. He has been my greatest motivation and most admired mentor. Working alongside him has been a true honor. I also would like to thank the Department of Biological Sciences at Wagner College for granting me the privilege to do this work.

VI. References

Alzheimer Universal. (2010, July 29). Inside the Brain: Unraveling the Mystery of Alzheimer's disease [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NjgBnx1jVIU>

Berche, P., J.-L. Gaillard, and P. J. Sansonetti. (1987). Intracellular growth of *Listeria monocytogenes* as a prerequisite for in vivo induction of T cell-mediated immunity. *J. Immunol.* 138:2266-2271.

Berche, P., J.-L. Gaillard, and S. Richard. (1988). Invasiveness and intracellular growth of *Listeria monocytogenes*. *Infection* 16:S145-S148.

Bonazzi M, Lecuit M, Cossart P (2009) *Listeria monocytogenes* internalin and E-cadherin: from structure to pathogenesis. *Cell Microbiol.* 11(5):693-702.

Boutajangout, A., Authelet, M., Blanchard, V., Touchet, N., Tremp, G., Pradier, L., & Brion., J-P. (2003). Characterisation of cytoskeletal abnormalities in mice transgenic for wild-type human tau and familial Alzheimer's disease mutants of APP and presenilin-1

Braak H, Braak E. (1991). Neuropathological staging of Alzheimer- related changes. *Acta Neuropathol (Berl)* 82:239-259

Braak H, Braak E, Grundke-Iqbal I, Iqbal K. (1986). Occurrence of neuropil threads in the senile human brain and in Alzheimer's disease: A third location of paired helical filaments outside of neurofibrillary tangles and neuritic plaques. *Neurosci Lett* 65:351-355, 1986

Castellani J. R., Rolston K. R., & Smith A. M. (2010). Alzheimer's Disease

Claudio Soto, C., Mark S. Kindy, M.S., Baumann, M., and Frangione B. (1996) Inhibition of Alzheimer's Amyloidosis by Peptides That Prevent b-Sheet Conformation

Cossart P. (2007). Listeriology: the rise of a model pathogen. *Microbes and Infection*, 9(10), 1143–1146.

de Jong, J.L., and Zon, L.I. (2005) Use of the zebrafish system to study primitive and definitive hematopoiesis. *Annual Review of Genetics*, 39, pp. 481–501

De Chiara, G., Marcocci, M.E., Sgarbanti, R., Civitelli, L., Ripoli, C., Piacentini, R.,

Dramsi S., Cossart P. (2002) Listeriolysin O: a genuine cytolysin optimized for an intracellular parasite. *J. Cell Biol.* 156: 943-946

Dramsi, S., Lévi, S., Triller, A., & Cossart, P. (1998). Entry of *Listeria monocytogenes* into Neurons Occurs by Cell-to-Cell Spread: an In Vitro Study. *Infection and Immunity*, 66(9), 4461–4468.

Drevets DA, Leenen PJM & Greenfield RA. (2004) Invasion of the central nervous system by intracellular bacteria. *Clinical Microbiology Rev* 17: 323–347.

Flynn, K.C. (2013). The cytoskeleton and neurotic initiation. *Bioarchitecture*. 3 (4): 86–109.

Garaci, E., Grassi, C., Palamara, A.T., (2012) Infectious Agents and Neurodegeneration. *Mol Neurobiol* (2012) 46:614-638

Grundke-Iqbal I, Iqbal K, Quinlan M (1986) Microtubule-associated protein tau: a component of Alzheimer paired helical filaments. *J Biol Chem* 261:6084-6089

Hamon M, Bierne H, Cossart P (2006) *Listeria monocytogenes*: a multifaceted model. *Nat Rev Microbiol*. 4(6):423-34.

Hardy, A. J., Higgins A. G. (2012) Alzheimer's Disease: The Amyloid Cascade Hypothesis

Hof, P. R. and Morrison, J. H. (1990) Quantitative analysis of a vulnerable subset of pyramidal neurons in Alzheimer's disease: II. Primary and secondary visual cortex. *J. Comp. Neurol.*, 301: 55–64.

J.M. Farber and P.I Peterkin. (1991). *Listeria monocytogenes*, a Foodborne Pathogen.

Kretuzberg G. (1996) Microglia: A Sensor for Pathological Events. *TINS* 19:312-318.

Kristensson K. (2011) Microbes' roadmap to neurons. *Nat Rev Neurosci*. 12:345–357.

Knudsen, K.A., Frankowski, C., Johnson, K.R., Wheelock, M.J (1998) A role for cadherins in cellular signaling and differentiation. *J Cell Biochem Suppl*, 31 pp. 168–176

Kuninaka, N., Kawaguchi, M., Ogawa, M., Sato, A., Arima, K., Murayama, S. and Saito, Y. (2015) Simplification of the modified Gallyas method. *Neuropathology*, 35: 10–15.

LECMA Vaincre Alzheimers. (2013, October 11). Mechanisms and secrets of Alzheimer's disease: exploring the brain. [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dj3GGDuu15I>.

- Levrud J.P., Disson O., Kissa K., Bonne I., Cosart P., Herbolme P., Lecruit M.** (2009) Real Time Observation of *Listeria monocytogenes* -Phagocyte Interactions in Living Zebrafish. *Infect. Immun.* 77:3651
- McGee, Z. A., G. L. Gorby, P. B. Wyrick, R. Hodinka, and L. H. Hoffman** (1988). Parasite-directed endocytosis. *Rev. Infect. Dis.* 10:S311-S316.
- Moh, C., Kubiak, J.Z., Bajic, V.P., Zhu, X., Smith, M.A., Lee, H-g.** (2011). Cell Cycle in Development. In: *Cell Cycle Deregulation in the Neurons of Alzheimers disease*, pp 565-576. Springer Berlin Heidelberg
- Mylonakis E, Hohmann EL & Calderwood SB** (1998) Central nervous system infection with *Listeria monocytogenes*.
- Nicolson, L. Garth.** (2008) Chronic Bacterial and Viral Infections in Neurodegenerative and Neurobehavioral Diseases. *Lab Med.* 2008; 39(5):291-299
- Nguyen, D.H.** (2016). What is a Mordant in Microbiology?
- Perl, D.P.** (2010) Neuropathology of Alzheimer's Disease
- Pike, C. J., Burdick, D., Walencewicz, A. J., Glabe, C. G., and Cotman, C. W.** (1993) Neurodegeneration induced by beta-amyloid peptides in vitro: the role of peptide assembly state. *J.Neurosci.* 13, 1676–1687.
- Schubert, W-D., Urbanke, C., Ziehm, T., Beier, V., Machner, M.P., Domann, E.,**
- Schluter D. Buck C. Reister S.** (1999) Immune Reaction to *Listeria monocytogenes* in the Brain. *Immunobiology* 201: 188-195
- Schuchat A, Robinson K, Wenger JD et al.** (1997) Bacterial meningitis in the United States in 1995. Active surveillance team. *N England J Med* 337: 970–976.
- Schnupf P, Portnoy DA.** (2007) Listeriolysin O: a phagosome-specific lysin. *Microbes Infect* 2007; 9:1176–87.
- Selkoe, DJ., Bell, DS., Podlisny, MB., Price, DL., Cork, LC.** (1981) Conservation of brain amyloid proteins in aged mammals and humans with Alzheimer's disease. *Science.* 235:873–877.

Soto, C., Branes, M. C., Alvarez, J., and Inestrosa, N. C. (1994) β -sheet breaker peptides inhibit fibrillogenesis in a rat brain model of amyloidosis: Implications for Alzheimer's therapy. *J. Neurochem.* 63, 1191–1198.

Steinberg, M.S., McNutt, P.M (1999) Cadherins and their connections: adhesion junctions have broader functions. *Cell Biol.*, 11, pp. 554–560.

Sullivan C. Kim CH. (2008) Zebrafish as a model for infectious disease and immune function. *Fish and Shellfish Immunology* 25: 341-350

Suzuki, S.C., Inoue, T., Kimura, Y., Tanaka, T., Takeichi, M (1997) Neuronal circuits are subdivided by differential expression of type-II classic cadherins in postnatal mouse brains *Mol Cell Neurosci*, 9 (1997), pp. 433–447

Tilney, L.G.,and D.A. Portnoy. (1989). Actin filaments and the growth, movement, and spread of the intracellular parasite, *Listeria monocytogenes*. *J. Cell Biol.* 109:1597-1608.

Tilney, L. G., P. S. Conneily, and D. A. Portnoy. (1990). Actin filament nucleation by the bacterial pathogen. *Listeria monocytogenes*. *J. Cell Biol.* 111:2979-2988.

Turner, P.R., K. O'Connor, W.P. Tate, and W.C. Abraham. (2003) Roles of amyloid precursor protein and its fragments in regulating neural activity, plasticity and memory. *Progress In Neurobiology.* 70:1-32.

Tweten, R.K. (2005) Cholesterol-dependent cytolysins, a family of versatile pore-forming toxins. *Infect Immun* 73: 6199–6209.

Uchihara,T. (2007) Silver diagnosis in neuropathology: principles, practice and revised interpretation

Viala, J. P. M., Mochegova, S. N., Meyer-Morse, N. and Portnoy, D. A. (2008), A bacterial pore-forming toxin forms aggregates in cells that resemble those associated with neurodegenerative diseases. *Cellular Microbiology*, 10: 985–993.

Wehland, J., Chakraborty, T., and Heinz, D-W. (2002) Structure of Internalin, a Major Invasion Protein of *Listeria monocytogenes*, in Complex with Its Human Receptor E-Cadherin. *Cell*, Vol. 111:825-836.

Yoder J. Nielsen M. Amemiya C. Litman G. (2002) Zebrafish as an Immunological Model System *Microbes and Infection* 66:4461-4468

Zatloukal, K., Stumptner, C., Fuchsichler, A., Heid, H., Schnoelzer, M., Kenner, L., Kleinert R., Prinz, M., Aguzzi, A., Denk, H., (2002) p62 is a common component of cytoplasmic inclusions in protein aggregation diseases. *Am J Pathol* 160: 255–263.

Section II: The Social Sciences

Access Rewired: Telecommunication Liberalization in Developing Nations

Leslie Lopez (International Affairs and English)¹

This paper will explore the competing rationales over the benefit of telecommunication liberalization on LDCs or developing nations. The paper will first provide background on the field of telecommunications and define liberalization. Following this background will ensue an exploration of expected push factors and shortcomings of liberalization. In an effort to test these opinions and come to a conclusion, the paper will also reference my two case studies on Africa's Ghana and South Asia's Bangladesh, which are lesser-developed countries that chose to adopt telecom liberalization. Additionally, concluding statements will focus on drawing final determinations on telecom liberalizations benefit on developing nations and provide potential policies for developing telecom markets.

I. Introduction

As our world becomes increasingly more globalized, the pressure to become readily interconnected continues to surge. In consequence, the liberalization of the telecommunications sector has become an increasingly popular form of policy reform among nations. However, this interest is not singular to Western developed nations such as the United States and the United Kingdom as many lesser-developed countries (LDCs) are developing into increasingly crucial parts of this broader economic reform initiated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) on February 5, 1998 (Bodamer, Pirie, Addy-Nayo. 2005 p.538). The Agreement on Basic Telecommunication (ABT) was considered the first "major accomplishment" by the WTO as sixty-nine governments, which included over 40 LDCs and represented "over 90% the world's basic telecommunications revenues," made the landmark decision to formulate a commitment to provide market access or liberalize their basic telecommunications service (Bressie, Kende, and Williams, 2005, p.4). This decision exemplified the trend of LDCs pursuing liberalizing policy reform and a warm welcoming of an interconnected and globalized telecommunication market.

Still evident today, developing nations such as Myanmar, Asia's least-developed telecom market, are forming lucrative telecom hubs for investors and are becoming

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Abraham Unger in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

subjects for liberalizing policy reform that intends to turn these nations into the world's fastest growing telecom sites (Heinrich 2014). On one hand, these developing nations have the potential to turn into newly industrialized countries that can provide a competitive network for development, productivity, and even counter the negative effects of "lack of access," which can undermine social stability. However, this tech revolution can also contribute to our ever-expanding development gap, as unwired nations and poor inhabitants are unable to sustain or achieve the economic development opportunities that stem from telecommunication liberalization. Therefore, these competing rationales serve as the basis for the focus of this paper as this study seeks to examine whether telecommunication liberalization benefits developing nations by detailing the effects of access on nations.

In an effort to survey this question, this paper will first provide background on the field of telecommunications and define liberalization. Secondly, it will introduce potential origins of motivation for the adoption of liberalization. Next, it will introduce expected possible positive and negative effects of telecommunication liberalization. Additionally, I will present my methods of observations. Lastly, the paper will conclude with a case study of two developing nations from the Africa and South Asia, respectively. Ultimately, the essay should provide a fair guide into the factors that contribute to either a damaging or constructive use of telecommunication liberalization.

II. Literature Review

The telecommunication sector has greatly reshaped infrastructure industries worldwide by "allowing new market configurations and institutions to emerge." (Gasmi, Vitro, 2008 pp. 275). However, as communication technology has developed, so has the need for new forms of policy and regulation. As a result, there is now an accumulation of literature analyzing telecommunication reforms, such as telecom liberalization by analyzing privatization, competition, universal service, and their impact on the development of nations. Prominent scholars leading this field of discussion include, Agustin J. Ros (1999), George R.G. Clarke and Scott J. Wallsten (2002), as well as Wei Li and Lixin Colin Xu (2002). Beginning with Ros, his study is considered "the first empirical work on the impact of privatization and competition" as his data covers the onset of telecom reform spanning from 1988 through 1995 (Garbacz and Thompson, 2007 p.277). His study concludes that privatization is crucial to the expansion of mainline networks and suggests that competition does not affect network expansion. However, he acknowledges that competition does positively affect efficiency, which "increases technical innovation and the likelihood that these technological advances may lead to

new and lower cost technologies to expand network[s]” (Ros 1999, pp. 72). In regard to developing countries, he believes their telecom systems suffer from “numerous deficiencies” such as an “unmet demand for basic services, lack of advanced services needed by the private sector, poor service quality, low productivity, and having revenues diverted to other sectors of the economy,” hindering their potential for growth (65). Ros holds some skepticism toward the idea of liberalization alone being able to contribute to developing nations’ development.

Similarly, scholars George R.G. Clarke and Scott J. Wallsten, “argue[d] that universal service for the poor in developing countries is generally ineffective” (Garbacz and Thompson, 2007 pp. 279). They believe the expectation that telecom liberalization will reduce prices for public through competition is not enough, “to ensure [the] full coverage of vulnerable groups,” such as those living in rural or very low-income households (Clarke and Wallsten, 2002 pp.13). Additionally, they introduce the need for regulation and an effective distribution system to finance universal service if it is truly a goal of public policy. Lastly, Wei Li and Lixin Colin Xu suggest privatization and competition, “are important factors to the development and expansion of both fixed and mobile telecommunications” (Garbacz and Thompson, 2007 pp. 277). Unlike Ros, they do recognize competition makes some contribution to growth. However, they also cite, “less efficient modes of governance,” as a, “bottleneck for growth,” for the progression of developing countries (Li and Xu, 2002 p.25). Ultimately, these studies highlight skepticism and uncertainty regarding the contribution of telecommunication liberalization, since the onset of competition and privatization alone may not prove largely beneficial to the entirety of developing countries’ population. This makes proving the benefits of telecom liberalization benefits increasingly difficult. Thus, there is a need to test its benefit through an improved understanding of telecommunication, and its motivations, drawbacks, and reported effects.

What is Telecommunication?

When we think of telecommunication today, we often associate it with big business. In the United States alone, “110 million households have telephones,” there are “170 million mobile subscribers,” and “50% of total households in the U.S. have Internet access” (Freeman, 2005 p. 1). Nevertheless, defining this business garners far more confusion as it consistently redefines itself with the development of technology. An evolving definition, it is consistently grounded in implying, “communication at a distance,” but its method of communication can no longer be restricted to telephones, telegraphs, radio or television as it was in the past (Freeman, 2005 p.20). Telecommunication now encompasses all media including voice, data, and image,

therefore, calling for redefining of telecommunications as a “suite of technologies, devices, equipment, facilities, networks, and applications that support communication at a distance” (Lucky, R.Q, Eisenberg, J., National Research Council. 2006, pp.6). In other words, the definition of telecommunications is rather subjective and can affect the daily lives of most people and industries as it encompasses multiple service providers ranging from “telephone companies, cable system operators, Internet service providers, wireless carries, and satellite operators” (Lucky, R.Q, Eisenberg, J., National Research Council. 2006, p.7).

Consequently, over the years, telecommunication has become increasingly more crucial to individuals, businesses, industries, and nations. As it becomes an enabler for productivity and development, it provides growth not only in its own industry as the broadness of communication’s range strengthens telecommunication’s impact. As a result, industries are able to profit off of key benefits of telecommunications by constructing “technological foundations for societal communications,” and “enabl[ing] participation and communication,” while “provid[ing] vital infrastructure for national security” (Lucky, R.Q, Eisenberg, J., National Research Council., 2006, pp.8). Telecommunications has become engrained in our fundamental societal operations as communication plays a role in business, government, and even our individual relationships. A lack of access can enable or disable participation and development of these forms of community, which can in turn hinder social stability, the economy, and even security. Thus, knowing who has control of this “access,” becomes imperative to understanding who benefits from telecommunications’ economic and technological impact. Who has control over telecommunication access can be divided into the categories of “state-run monopolies, privatization, and lastly liberalization” (Ratto-Nielsen 2004 p.400).

What is Liberalization?

Telecom liberalization as a concept originated from the WTO’s negotiations concerning telecommunications, which lasted from 1986 to 1998, and culminated in the Agreement on Basic Telecommunications (Bodammer, Pirie, and Addy-Nayo 2005 pp. 538). Telecommunications liberalization is the introduction of “competition into the [nation’s] telecom sector,” in order to compete for consumer demand (Sebban and Abu Ghazaleh 2007 p.9). It is a policy reform in which a nation’s government allows commercial enterprises (i.e. AT&T) to construct telecom businesses in their nation under the condition that they conform to certain regulations defined by the government and trade agreements. The adoption of liberalization marked a turning point as nations diverted away from the historical strategy of state-run monopolies in which governments

operated as a, “policy-maker[s], regulator[s], and operator[s]” (Lucky, R.Q, Eisenberg, J., National Research Council. 2006, p.9). The accepted perspective of the telecom sector as a “natural monopoly” began to wean among governments.

More increasingly, governments began feeling the monopolist tradition was less likely to incentivize investors to introduce new technologies and services due to it increasing operational cost and risk. Fearing inaccessibility to the developing telecom market, developed and developing nations alike abandoned their state-run monopolies for access into this informational and industrial global society. Ultimately, the goal of liberalization is to assist in the development of a free market, in which nations embrace a decrease in government intervention and state regulated prices.

In consequence, the increased competition was expected to attract investors to nations. However, the change also implied a complete restructuring of the regulatory framework of a sector of a nation’s trade, which thoroughly complicates the understanding of who benefits as the terms of the agreement are not set by individual governments, but by international treaties in which more than domestic interests are at play. Therefore, national development through access provided by liberalization is not always the explicit motivator for LDCs to liberalize. This deduction insinuates a need for understanding telecom liberalization’s regulatory framework and prompts the question, “what motivates an adoption of telecom liberalization?”

III. Motivations for Telecommunication Liberalization

Broad motivators for telecommunication liberalization include aspects such as membership into the global trading system (GATS) and universal access, which ultimately contribute to assimilation into the globalized economy. Considering its essentiality to transnational business, internationalization of services has become central to economic globalization. In other words, the rising importance of “services,” specifically, telecommunications has created a need for establishing global links (e.g. universal access, global trading system member) and liberalization is perceived as a means to achieve these benefits.

GATS

Beginning with membership, it is telecommunication liberalization’s regulatory framework that allows a nation access into the global trading system. Governments operating under telecom liberalization have regulatory framework adhering to commitments made in an international trade treaty agreement. More specifically, the framework is set by the General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS) under which the WTO’s 1997 ABT was made (Bhuiyan, Shafiul Alam A.J.M., 2004 p. 270). The

GATS consists of a framework agreement and commitments that cover four modes of international delivery of services, which include, “cross-border supply (international telephony), consumption abroad (tourism), commercial presence (provision of services abroad through a branch, agency, or subsidiary), and the presence of natural persons (entry and temporary stay of foreign individuals necessary to supply a service)” (Primo Braga, 1997, p.2). As they adopt an unconditional MFN treatment, in which all members agree to treat each other favorably, commit to transparency, and make trade regulations or laws accessible as countries that agree to GATS embrace trade that is nondiscriminatory and holds fewer restriction. In essence, national treatment and market access are obligations under the GATS that apply to specific service industries and activities such as the treatment of telecommunications under ABT.

Under ABT, telecommunications service commitments concerned themselves with providing basic services and value added services. Participating developing and developed countries committed to pro-competition, regulatory principles with underlying, “unconditional MFN” mechanisms deriving from GATS legal obligations such as, “market access, most-favored nation treatment... [as well as] the reference paper commitments to an independent regulator, regulation of anticompetitive conduct as well as interconnection, and finally liberalization” (Bressie, Kende, and Williams, 2005, p.9). In other words, the outcome of countries embracing “regulated” competition in which they became members of a multilateral system, the establishment of telecom services abroad, and to a degree standardized the process.

Universal Access

The concept of universal access is becoming heavily integrated in the telecom policies of developing countries. For instance, increasingly influential, telephony has become a crucial infrastructure, as it is seen as, “supporting human freedom, enabling economic development, and increasing people’s organizing power,” which in turn causes a demand for universal access due to telecommunications importance in social and economic life (Bhuiyan, Alam Shafiul A.J.M. 2004 p. 269). Universal access by definition involves, “widespread availability of telecoms or ICT services” or simply providing access to telecommunications for everyone in society (Sebban and Abu Ghazaleh 2007 p.22). However, universal access’ very definition becomes increasingly complex because determining which forms of telecommunication’s access should be facilitated is subjective to the terms and conditions of the country.

For instance, in the case of developed countries such as the United States and United Kingdom, universal access is acknowledged as expanding access beyond basic telephony for more advanced telecom services, such as the internet. In contrast, for many

developing countries universal access entails “everyone, at home or at the office, should be within a reasonable distance of telephone,” which is something many of these countries have yet to achieve (Bhuiyan, Alam Shafiu A.J.M. 2004 p. 270). Likewise, for some nations, such as Bangladesh, universal access may entail expanding the goal of providing basic telephony to also adopt a value-added system, which makes telephone access as well other services such as email, voicemail, and cell phones more affordable. For good reason, these goals have led to a push for facilitating universal access, making it a decisive factor in nation’s decision to liberalize their telecommunication markets.

However, what can all be inferred by the unstable definition of universal access, is that there are several factors that could potentially hinder or prevent a nation from achieving their goals and benefit from universal access. Ultimately, this uncertainty makes determining the benefit of telecommunication liberalization for developing countries increasingly more intricate, but also interesting. In an effort to provide further reasoning for developing nations turning to telecom liberalization, the following sections will introduce expected benefits, challenges and the methodology, which will be used to analyze the telecom liberalization case studies.

IV. Benefits and Challenges of Telecom Liberalization

Telecom reform is linked to expected benefits such as the development of a nation’s economy on the macro and microeconomic level. On a macro level, telecom liberalization is believed to attract new investment to the country, which leads to increased competition. In turn, this new investment and competition leads to an upgrading of national infrastructure as the investors attempt to construct telecom sectors in the country. Sites of new profit, the newly constructed telecom sectors further entice investors as sites with untapped potential capital.

If successful, a nation can legitimize and integrate itself as a player in the increasingly global market place. In consequence, the macro-economic benefits soon impact national or micro-economic interests, as the new telecom industry create jobs for locals in these new telecom industries. The improving national efficiency is then expected to assist in making universal access a viable possibility. Ultimately, the universal access alongside new competition, a result of telecom liberalization, allows for improved “services, pricing, and choice” as well as service variety for communities. (Sebban and Abu Ghazaleh 2007 p.11). To sum it up best, the improved telecom system prompted by liberalization create an improved connotation for investors that a nation is secure, developed, and ultimately connected and these new investors are expected to prompt new infrastructure, prices, and services intended to benefit citizens who make up

the domestic economy.

Nonetheless, there challenges are to telecom liberalization in the context of developing nations, which is largely due to their poor macroeconomic conditions. Featuring “poor infrastructures, weak economic conditions, and inefficient institutions inherited from pre-reforms era,” the effectiveness of telecom liberalization on developing nations is quite erratic (Gasmi and Recuero Vitro 2009 pp. 275). Likewise, political accountability is also a place of concern as market outcomes and industry performance are tied to their lawfulness and policies. Referencing scholars Farid Gasmi and Laura Recuero Vitro, they comment, “Corruption engrained in the political system and lack of democracy substantially weaken the efficiency of institutional rules [, while]...high debt service and inefficient taxation worsen the financial situation” (276). Unlike developed nations, the infrastructure of these nations is not yet fully established making the integration of liberalization reforms and the success of telecom sectors more complicated.

Another complication is the wealth gaps in terms of telecommunication access between “rich and poor as well as urban and rural areas” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul Alam A.J.M., 2004 pp. 270). An issue of distribution, the low economic conditions of a nation limit access to a select few, more specifically, the wealthy being that the poor cannot afford to spend on these services. For instance, scholars Wellnius and Stern concluded, “in 1980s the total unmet demand was 30 to 49 million lines in the developing world” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul Alam A.J.M., 2004 p. 271). Due to insufficient infrastructure, there is an increased unmet demand consisting mainly of the poorer citizens. The lack of infrastructure also leads to the establishment of telecom services being centralized to wealthier, more metropolitan areas, which in 1996 alone, the “ITU estimates that of the total telephone users in developing countries...77% were urban and 23% rural” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul Alam A.J.M., 2004 p. 272). In turn, these factors exempt rural and poorer communities from inclusion, which can contribute to a greater divide between the rich and poor by creating an information gap in which the poor remain disconnected and illiterate to these technological resources. Evidently, when compared with developed countries the establishment of telecom liberalization in developing countries is riddled with hindrances that can undermine its benefit to the nation as a whole and potentially further isolate populations rather than provide access. However, if telecom liberalization is successful a developing nation can gain access into the global market as well as allow citizens to benefit from more affordable and diverse services. Thus, this juxtaposition becomes the basis for my reasoning to create a methodology to come to a conclusion on telecom liberalization’s benefit for developing countries.

V. Methodology

In an effort to reach a conclusion, the case studies on Ghana and Bangladesh will be analyzed through a comparison of the respective nation's changes in tele-density (access and competition), infrastructure (direct investment), and GDP (domestic economy) prior to and after liberalization. Tele-density will operate as a measure of access and competition by working as an indication of telecom sector's pressure as well as present the nation's proximity to universal access or an increasing unmet demand. Tele-density will also serve as a measure of testing whether the increased competition actually does contribute to lower prices and consequently, greater access. An analysis of infrastructure provides a means to measure the impact of foreign direct investment by studying the rise or fall of private and public investment following telecom liberalization. Much literature, like the earlier mentioned Ross (1999) has associated a link between infrastructure and economic performance finding infrastructure to contribute to "output, growth, and productivity" (Loayza and Odawara. 2010 pp.4). Lastly, there will be a focus on the telecommunication sector's contribution by looking at what percentage of a nation's GDP telecom revenues make before and after liberalization, which will help assess the domestic economic contribution made by telecom sector to the lives of citizens.

VI. Case Studies: Africa (Ghana) and South Asia (Bangladesh)

Africa: Ghana

Today, in Ghana, the telecommunication industry has seen a great expansion progressing at a rate comparable with "other low-income countries globally and [is] above [the] 1.1 per cent average for Sub-Saharan Africa" (Atsu et al., 2014 pp.195). Targeting a stronger market economy, Ghana has made commitments to WTO basic telecommunications services and liberalization has gained traction through Accelerated Development Plan, meant to prepare Ghana with a "level playing field" and "integration into the global playing field" (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.545). In sum, the intention behind Ghana's liberalization is the pursuit of a standard in which "policy bottlenecks" to competition are removed believing it will encourage better services to consumers at more competitive prices through an introduction of competition. Assisted by the World Bank, some policy objectives included, "achiev[ing] a density between 1.5 and 2.5 lines per 100 people, improve[ing] public access in rural and urban areas, through public and private provisions of payphone facilities, expand[ing] the coverage of mobile services, promot[ing] Ghanaian ownership and control of telecommunication companies, [and] retain[ing] overall public regulatory control through...the National Communication

Authority” (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.544). Evidently, Ghana has intended to make a contribution to tele-density, infrastructure, and its GDP, which are all factors of methodology.

As shown in table one, from 1980 to 1994, penetration of telephone lines remained constant at “around 0.3 per 100 inhabitants” (Falch and Anyimandu, 2003 p. 26). After liberalization, the increase in privatization led to greater increases in teledensity and number of phone lines as mobile phone services entered in 1993.

Year	No. DELS	DELS per 100 inh.	No. of cellular subscribers	Cellular subscribers per 100 inh.	Total penetration of wired and cellular lines
1980	36,931	0.33	—	—	0.33
1985	37,600	0.30	—	—	0.30
1990	45,500	0.37	—	—	0.37
1993	48,681	0.30	1742	0.01	0.31
1994	50,007	0.30	3347	0.02	0.32
1995	63,067	0.37	6137	0.04	0.41
1996	77,886	0.44	13,804	0.07	0.51
1997	105,534	0.57	28,853	0.16	0.73
1998	133,000	0.72	39,750	0.21	0.93
1999	158,000	0.81	70,000	0.36	1.17

Table 1: Number of phone lines and teledensity in Ghana from 1980-1999. Reprinted from *Tele-centres as a way of achieving universal access-the case of Ghana* (p.26), by M. Falch and A. Aniyimadu, 2003, Telecommunication Policy: Elsevier Science Ltd.

In regard to teledensity, telecom liberalization led to spur in cellular subscribers from 1742 in 1993 to a high of 70,000 in 1999 (Falch and Anyimandu, 2003 p. 26). Similarly, total penetration of mobile and landline phones increased from 0.3 to a high of 1.17 per 100 inhabitants (Falch and Anyimandu, 2003 p. 26). Nevertheless, before 1999 teledensity did not exceed 1 per 100 inhabitants and this stagnation is still partly apparent as the World Bank reports that in 2015 the number of fixed telephone subscriptions remains at 1.021 per 100 people (data.worldbank.org). Conversely, the effects of competition spurred through liberalization are still evident in the vast increase in mobile subscriptions, which according to the World Bank was at 129.736 per 100 inhabitants in 2015 (data.worldbank.org). Ghana is still unable to “achieve a density between 1.5 and 2.5 lines per 100 people” a condition in their policy objectives for telecom liberalization.

Likewise, their goal of “improve[ing] public access in rural and urban areas” falls short as there is a “unsatisfied demand for telecom services” with one of nation’s largest fixed service providers, Ghana Telcom, having “a waiting list of around 50,000”

(Falch and Anyimandu, 2003 pp. 26). In response, many give up on applying or even turn to cellular phones as an alternative, but unfortunately this is often much more expensive and not available in all areas. The World Bank reports the cost of mobile cellular services in Ghana is \$5.1 per month, which is costly for those living on limited income at or below the international poverty line at \$1.90 per day (wdi.worldbank.org). Another limitation is the high concentration of telephone lines, specifically public payphones, being mainly built in capitals. In rural areas where 70% of the population lives, phone lines remain limited and are only supplied by two service providers one of which is the overwhelmed Ghana Telecom. Ultimately, low telephone penetration continues to limit rural development, but the telecom market continues to grow evidenced by infrastructure.

With regard to infrastructure, prior to 1992, Ghana had only a state-owned telecommunication company (Atsu et al., 2014 pp.196). However, liberalization has led to a global expansion of telecommunication sector “facilitat[ing] market competition” and “attract[ing] a lot of private investment (both domestic and foreign investment)”(196). In Ghana there are now three fixed service providers and three mobile service providers (Falch and Anyimandu, 2003 pp. 27). A newly globalized market, players providing telephony service include, “Ghana Telecommunications Company Limited, Telenor of Norway, Western Telestems Ghana Ltd, Capital Telecom Ltd.” (Bodammer et al., 2005 pp.546).

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Telephone lines (000s)	63	78	130	144	159
Teledensity	0.36	0.44	0.70	0.76	0.81
Digital main lines (%)	90	91		70	
Waiting list for lines (000s)	28			28	
Public telephones	27	453		8,100	
Public telephones per 1,000 inhabitants	0.001	0.02		0.43	
Mobile subscribers (000s)	6	12		21	70
Mobile subscribers per 100 inhabitants	0.04	0.07		0.28	0.36
Mobile subscribers as percentage of telephone subscribers	10	16		15	31
Telecommunications revenue (M US\$)	65	100		145.9	
Telecommunications investment (M US\$)		7		7.3	
Investment as a percentage of revenue		7		5	
Facsimiles				5 000	
Computer(s) per 100 inhabitants		0.12		0.16	0.25
Radios per 100 inhabitants	23.1		68.10		
TVs per 100 inhabitants	4.04	4.49	10.35	11.00	
Home satellite dishes/antennas				15,000	
Internet host sites	6	203	253	241	112
Internet service providers (ISPs)				3	3
Internet subscribers				6,000	13,000
Internet subscribers per 10,000 inhabitants				3.13	6.88
Internet users					20,000
Internet users per 10,000 inhabitants					10.16
Internet bandwidth (Kbit/s)				640	640

Table 2: National Information and Communication Infrastructure 1995-1999. Reprinted from *Telecom Regulation in Developing Countries Attracting Investment into the Sector: Ghana-A Case Study* (p.547), by I. Bodammer, M. Forbes Pirie, and C. Addy-Nayo, 2005, Journal of World Trade: Kluwer Law International.

As presented by the examples and in Table 2, these domestic and international investors have led to a growth in infrastructure expanding Ghana's telecom sector to include, mobile cellular, Internet, paging, and television services. A positive factor of liberalization, the variety of telephony services is growing and infrastructure is steadily expanding to reach beyond urban areas. However, regulations are having difficulty keeping up with the technology and uses of telecommunications infrastructure cause regulations designated for specific devices to become obsolete (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.528). Regulations become problematic, as they must be reestablished quickly, but also alleviate investor concerns such as transparency, controls on anti-competitive conduct, and have an enforcing regulator body (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.532). In regards to Ghana, they have a National Communications Authority (NCA), which has the authority to develop regulations for the sector, maintain transparency, and promote fair competition. However, there are increasing complaints by consumers and businesses that feel that "regulation has also been used to ensure that specific vested interest are protected and manifested... [and that the] problems that surface are not inherent in regulations, procedures, and policies in place, but rather a product of politics and lack of transparency," which has led to increasing skepticism among investors (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.552). For instance, the previously mentioned issues with high service prices and unmet service demand are occurrences mobile operators attribute to their "sub-standard access to the GT (Ghana Telecommunications Company Limited) network," despite regulations against anti-competition (Bodammer et al., 2005 p.553).

Lastly, is a study of the impact of telecom liberalization on Ghana's GDP through an observation of the telecom sectors contribution following liberalization. The impact of telecom investment is difficult to track due to the subjectivity of how "governments harness and allocate these telecom resources," making their impact an issue "of [the] host country-specific factors and policies" (Atsu et al., 2014 p.198). A study by Atsu, Agyei, Phaniel Darbi, and Adije-Mensah (2014), would further support this point by concluding in their case study on Ghana between 1976-2007 "telecommunications revenue does not contribute significantly [to economic growth] whilst telecommunications investment does" (p.195). Correspondingly, the World Bank's World Development Index, documented that telecom revenue made up a small 2.3% of Ghana's GDP in 2014 (wdi.worldbank.org). However, Atsu and his colleagues believe these conditions may in part be due to the immaturity of Ghana's telecom sector and infrastructure rendering the impact of telecom revenue minimal. Consequently, their findings reveal that there is a need to create a "favorable environment that encourages and supports massive investments in telecommunications," which ultimately attracts foreign direct investment (Atsu et al., 2014

p.204). Ultimately, the impact of telecommunications revenue on economic growth (GDP) can only be supplemented by investing in the success of policy initiatives to “enhance teledensity, telecommunications infrastructure, and economic activity” (204). Thus, it is concluded that in order for telecom revenue to make impact on economic growth it must be supported by “sound favorable and targeted policies” that reduce investor skepticism (Atsu et al., 2014 p.205).

South Asia: Bangladesh

In regard to Bangladesh, the nation committed to GATS basic telecommunication commitments in February 1997 (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.271). The nation committed to license two private operators to provide “domestic long distance and local services,” allowed for full competition on “voice and data transmission” through the internet, and lastly four cellular service providers were permitted. Similar to Ghana, the nation restructured its telecom sector to allow the private sector to aid in the supplying of basic and value added services. The nation’s aim is to achieve universal access, which Bangladesh defines as, “providing efficient and cost-effective basic and value-added telecommunication services, to as many people as is economically and socially justifiable” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p. 270). These basic services include residential and business telephones, while value added services include email, cellular mobile phones and even voice mail. In an effort to achieve universal access, Bangladesh initiated a “four-phase plan” in 1998 to reach the following objectives, first, “1 telephone for every 100 people and a number of telephone mainlines to 1,300,000 by the year 2000,” second, “make telecommunication facilities available in every village by 2005, third, “achieve 4 telephones for every 100 people by 2010,” and fourth, “10 telephones for every 100 people”(Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p. 270). Unfortunately, Bangladesh’s telecom sector remains characterized with having a very low telecommunication penetration historically, limited capability to meet growing demand, low levels of investment, as well as dated technology and systems (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p. 269).

As shown in figure one, Bangladesh has one of the lowest teledensities in South Asia and in the onset of its liberalization in 1981 it had a teledensity of 0.1(itu.int). In 2003, the government presented their teledensity to be “0.63 per 100 people” with telephone mainlines at “920,000” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.272). Bangladesh is considered to have one of the lowest densities among developing countries. The World Bank’s World Development Indicator reports that in 2015 the rate for fixed telephone subscriptions is 1 per 100 people, but the International Telecommunication Union reports

the numbers to be much lower, as seen in figure two, at 0.518 per 100 people (data.worldbank.org). Likewise, Bangladesh's telephone mainlines remain at 1,090,000.

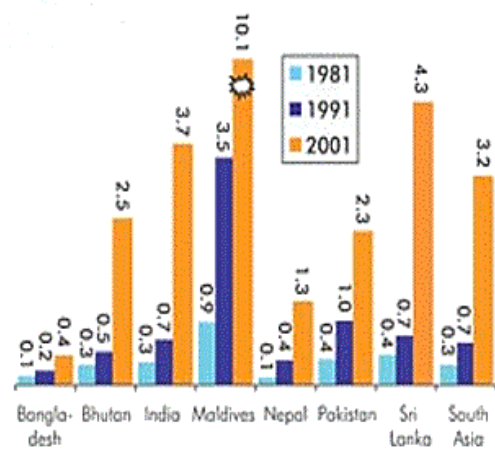


Figure 1: Fixed teledensity in South Asia (1981-2001).



Figure 2: Fixed Telephone Subscriptions South Asia (2007-2015)

Sources: ITU World Telecommunication Indicators Database; WorldBank as of 2014 (world.bymap.org). All these figures are an indication of Bangladesh's inability to achieve its universal access objective of "1 telephone for every 100 people and a number of telephone mainlines to 1,300,000 by the year 2000" (270). Likewise, there remains a very high, unmet demand for telecommunications in Bangladesh because subscribers must wait "more than four years" after their initial request (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.273). Bangladesh Telegraph and Telephone Board (BTTB), which is the state-owned dominant operator creates new lines every year, but is unable to keep up with demand for landlines. As a result, many areas, especially rural or poorer villages, remain disconnected unwilling to wait. Similarly, prices and skewed distribution also create a problem as the price for landlines is heavily subsidized by BTTB having to pay \$104 in connection fees with largely all phones concentrated in urban areas. Cellphones pose a more feasible, but still costly investment with services costing "\$1.40 per month," but "\$88 to get a cellular connection" in addition to the price of the cellphone itself (wdi.worldbank.org).

In regard to infrastructure, liberalization has led to the Bangladesh's development as the telecom sector now consists of private and public providers, which has led to an increase in competition. As opposed to its system prior to liberalization in which BTTB was the monopoly provider of telecommunication services in Bangladesh. Currently, this competition is extremely visible in the mobile service sector as there are now four private operators providing cellular service. The first private company was Pacific Bangladesh Telecom and another is Granmeen Phone, which alone has 750,000 subscribers. Bangladesh's telecommunication sector is flourishing and is one of the country's largest foreign direct investment (FDI) recipients (Immrans Hossain, 2015 p.157). As shown in Table three and figure three, the telecommunications sector received \$525.29 million in FDI 2013 and \$226.79 million in 2014 (Immrans Hossain, 2015 p.157; Bangladesh Bank, 2014, p.13). This is a stark contrast to the FDI in 1997 at \$1.37 million, which was the onset of liberalization. Despite these large contributions, Bangladesh still suffers from insufficient infrastructure causing it to be unable to achieve universal access and unable expand certain services such as the internet, which "Bangladesh is ranked 199th out of 206 countries in multimedia access" (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 pp.273). This disparity is the result of "high cost of telephone connections," "unavailability of digital telephones," "high Internet access cost," and "the price of computers," which are issues are supplemented by Bangladesh's poor method of service distribution (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.273). For instance, BTTB's monopoly provides 95% of local and long distance telephone service, but alone fails to meet the telecom demand, as does the attempt

to have Grameen Phone be the only licensed mobile operator allowed to “provide basic services to in rural areas” (Bhuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p. 274).

Year	Gas & Petroleum	Textiles & Wearing	Banking Sector	Telecommunications
1997	109.09	44.77	115.88	1.37
1998	230.45	116.82	139.95	7.24
1999	180.87	37.16	94.39	23.97
2000	50.17	143.71	19.62	n.a
2001	139.16	112.76	29.22	5.40
2002	75.14	67.15	38.27	20.71
2003	22.71	76.66	40.93	61.74
2004	61.06	32.25	52.43	43.76
2005	168.75	74.99	94.88	261.89
2006	181.87	73.53	129.95	267.97
2007	204.98	105.44	91.83	304.71
2008	132.82	93.42	156.80	299.92
2009	23.49	130.35	110.20	579.62
2010	36.87	157.94	111.56	445.82
2011	74.60	225.17	208.78	52.41
2012	180.77	241.39	253.44	178.90
2013	22.35	412.43	268.53	525.29

Table 3: Bangladesh’s Time Series Data on FDI Inflows by Sectors (Million US\$). Reprinted from *Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Economic Reforms: The South Asian Perspective* (p.157), by M. Imran Hossain, 2015, European Journal of Business and Management

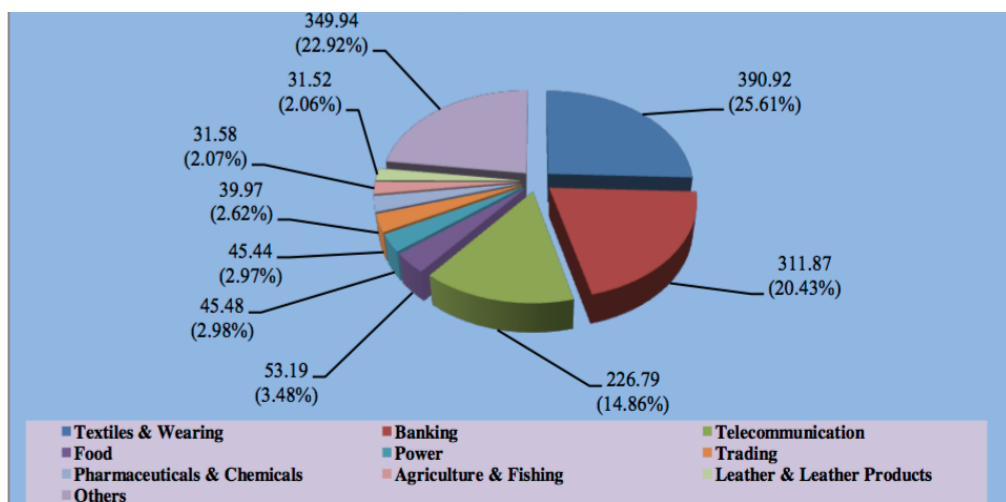


Figure 3: FDI inflows (in million USD) Reprinted from *Foreign Direct Investment in Bangladesh* (p.13), by Statistics Department of Bangladesh Bank.

Ultimately, as a consequence, universal access is unable to be achieved and the telecom revenue gained can only make up a small 1.9% of Bangladesh's GDP, which is too small to make a significant contribution to the overall condition of a nation (wdi.worldbank.org).

VII. Conclusions & Policy Recommendations

As presented in both case studies, the results of telecommunication liberalization is mixed at best, being that the nations have yet to achieve objectives settled upon as their basis for enacting liberalization. Some shared objectives and pitfalls include universal access, which was hindered by skewed distribution of services and high subsidies, an expansive GDP through telecom revenues, which ultimately proved less significant a contribution than earlier predicted, and lastly, reducing bottlenecks against foreign direct investment, which was also hindered by a lack of enforcement. However, the contributions of telecom liberalization should not be ignored as it has allowed for these nations to enter the global market by allowing competition and privatization, an increase in FDI, which contributes to some revenue and funding, and lastly, an expansion of their telecom sector beyond the pre-liberalization numbers, especially in the case of mobile services. Despite its drawbacks, telecom liberalization has become a gateway to a variety of telephony services for these developing nations. Nevertheless, as these nations are still in their early stages of network development, there are policy recommendations that can be adopted to counter the pitfalls these nations face and consequently contribute to greater benefit from telecom liberalization.

In an effort to provide policy recommendations I will reference scholars, A.J.M. Shafiul Alam Bhuyian as well as Imme Bodammer, Mia Forbes Pirie, and Chris Addy-Nayo. In regard to skewed distribution, we have seen that the monopolizing of telecom service is not conducive to universal access. However, research on the relationship between universal access, privatization, and liberalization reveals that the presence of multiple service providers does not ensure universal access nor does privatization (Bhuyian, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.274). There should be more operators, but there should not be a fixation on privatization. Rather, licensed operators be they private or otherwise, such as Bangladesh's Grameen Phone, should be subject to policy guidelines that can help insure universal access. Scholar Bhuyian suggests, "build-out obligations" that specify requirements for operators such as "serv[ing] a certain amount of new customers within a certain period of time or require that an operator expand infrastructure to rural areas" (p. 275). In enacting these policies, nations can help reduce the concentration of telecom services to urban areas, monopolization of a tech service, and unmet demand.

To address the issues of lack of enforcement and high subsidies, both a new enforcement and funding mechanism should be established. As presented in the case study on Ghana, unclear motives by a regulating body can lead to investor insecurity and limit FDIs. In response, Bodammer et.al., suggests “institutional structures...be reformed with specific emphasis on improving internal management practices as well as promoting ethics and accountability” (558). The purpose of this suggestion is to ensure regulators have the independence necessary to apply laws fairly, which instills confidence in investors and consumers as decisions gain transparency.

Lastly, the high subsidies on telecom services, such as those on Bangladesh fixed telephone lines, can be challenged through different funding mechanisms. For instance, Bhyuiyan suggests cross-subsidization as opposed to cost-based pricing. Cross-subsidization involves the “shifting of costs away from rural toward the urban market, from residential to business market and from local toward long distance market” (Bhyuiyan, Shafiul A.J.M., 2004 p.275). This tactic reduces the need for heavy subsidies on the rural poorer villages that cannot afford to pay. The effects could contribute to reducing unmet demand, increasing rural consumer connectivity, and help the nation become closer to universal access. In contrast, cost-based pricing, the embraced approach, can be counterproductive as Bhyuiyan comments, “rural expansion requires more money than urban expansion,” which would make services remain unaffordable to the poor rural masses (p.276). Evidently, there are both benefits and shortcomings in telecom liberalization, but if developing nations are to succeed in obtaining benefits for a greater majority, we must not adopt liberalization, with a one-size-fits-all approach. Instead, we must look at the conditions as well as infrastructure present and adapt policies to the needs of each country.

VIII. References

Atsu, F., Agyei, C., Darbi, W. P., & Adjei-Mensah, S. (2014). The impact of telecommunication revenue on economic growth: Evidence from Ghana. *African Journal of Economic and Management Studies*, 5(2), 195-208.

Bhuiyan, A. S. (2004). Universal Access in Developing Countries: A Particular Focus on Bangladesh. *The Information Society*, 20(4), 269-278.

Bodammer, I., Pirie, M. F., & Addy-Nayo, C. (2005). Telecom Regulation in Developing Countries: Attracting Investment into the Sector: Ghana-A Case Study. *Journal of World Trade*, 39(3), 527-558.

- Bressie, K., Kende, M., & Williams, H. (2005). Telecommunications trade liberalisation and the WTO. *Journal of Policy, Regulation and Strategy for Telecommunications, Information and Media*, 7(2), 3-24.
- Clarke, G., & Wallsten, S. (2002). Universal(ly Bad) Service: Providing Infrastructure Services to Rural and Poor Urban Consumers. The World Bank.
- Falch, M., & Anyimadu, A. (2003). Tele-centres as a way of achieving universal access—the case of Ghana. *Telecommunications Policy*, 27(1-2), 21-39.
- Fixed telephone subscriptions (per 100 people) Bangladesh. World Bank. Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org//indicator/IT.MLT.MAIN.P2?end=2015&locations=BD&start=2007&view=chart>
- Fixed telephone subscriptions (per 100 people) Ghana. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.MLT.MAIN.P2?end=2015&locations=GH&start=2004&view=chart>
- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Bangladesh. (2014). Retrieved from Statistics Department Bangladesh Bank <https://www.bb.org.bd/pub/halfyearly/fdisurvey/fdisurveyjuldec2014.pdf>
- Freeman, R. L. (2005). *Fundamentals of telecommunications*. United States: IEEE Press.
- Garbacz, C., & Thompson, H. G. (2007). Demand for telecommunication services in developing countries. *Telecommunications Policy*, 31(5), 276-289.
- Gasmi, F., & Virto, L. R. (2010, December 9). The determinants and impact of telecommunications reforms in developing countries. *Journal of Development Economics*, 93(2), 275-286.
- Heinrich, E. (2014). Asia's least-developed telecom market will soon become the world's fastest growing.
- Hossain, M. I. (2015). Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Economic Reforms: The South Asian Perspective. *European Journal of Business and Management*, 7(5).

Li, W., & Xu, L. C. (2002). The Political Economy of Privatization and Competition: Cross-Country Evidence from the Telecommunications Sector. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 30(3), 1-41.

Minges, M., & Simkhada, P. (n.d.). A closer look at South Asia. Retrieved November 26, 2016, from <https://www.itu.int/itu-news/issue/2002/10/southasia.html>

Mobile cellular subscriptions (per 100 people) Bangladesh. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/>

Mobile cellular subscriptions (per 100 people) Ghana. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/>

Poverty Overview. (n.d.). from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview>

Primo Braga, C. A. (1997, July). Liberalizing Telecommunications and the Role of the World Trade Organization.

Ratto-Nielsen, J. C. (2004). A Comparative Study of Telecom Reforms in East Asia and Latin America. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 27(6), 399-416.

Ros, A. J. (1999). Does Ownership or Competition Matter? The Effects of Telecommunications Reform on Network Expansion and Efficiency. *Journal of Regulatory Economics*, 15(65), 65-92. doi:10.1023

Sebban, G., & Abu-Ghazaleh, T. (2007). Telecoms Liberalization Guide. Retrieved from <http://www.iccwbo.org/Advocacy-Codes-and-Rules/Document-centre/2007/Telecoms-Liberalization-Guide/>

World Development Indicators: Power and communications. (n.d.). from <http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/5.11>

The Financial and Social Impact of Organizational Cultural Awareness for Cosmetic Brands in France and the United States

Julia Loria (Business Administration)¹

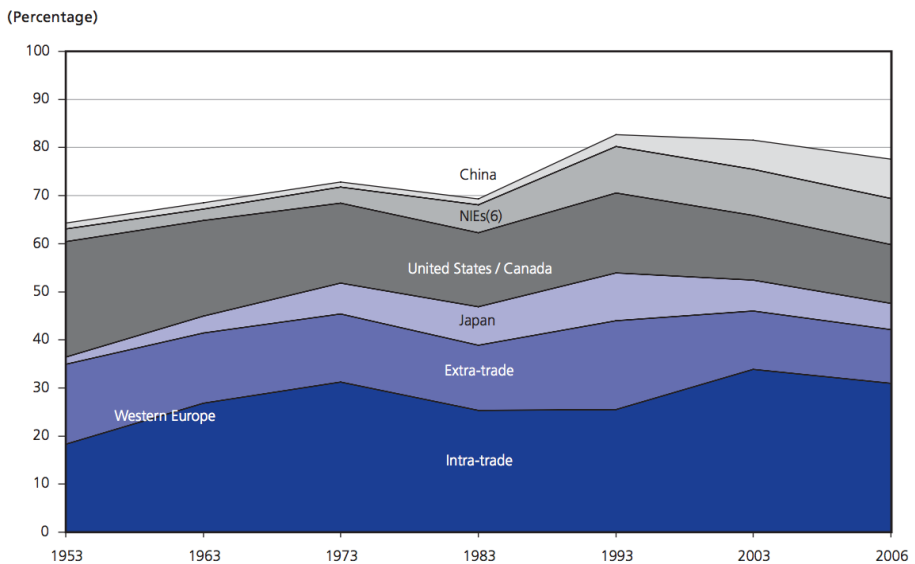
As preferred trading allies in the cosmetics industry, the United States and France continue to strengthen their partnerships through both financial and social impact initiatives. To better understand the American-French relationship, one begs the question: to what extent has organizational cultural awareness for cosmetic brands caused financial and social impact similarly or differently in France and the United States? This dissertation focuses on a financial, economic, and social comparative analysis supported by case studies from premier brands such as L'Oréal in France and Procter and Gamble (P&G) in the USA. As a result of primary and secondary peer review analysis, the economic signals include: First, organic as a trend to stay, second, cosmetics perceived as a normal good and cultural signal, and third, communication, which leads to the opportunities for both France and the United States. Interviews with principals in the cosmetics industry identified that these trends hold constant for both nations and that effective organizational management with these signals could increase financial sales as well as increase brand awareness in respective target markets. This research has shed light on two leading brands with product lines worth several billion dollars, each of which have the opportunity to make social good impact on the environment through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives. It is the researcher's fundamental belief that the application of these three cultural signals to CSR initiatives will allow for greater momentum in business development and organizational success for both L'Oréal and P&G. Additionally, small and medium-sized businesses will find these cultural signals relevant to apply for their product lines to increase their product positioning in the cosmetics industry.

I. Introduction

According to research from the International Monetary Fund, globalization has increased in world trade from 42.1% in 1980 to 62.1% in 2007 (IMF). The increase in global trade could be seen as the 21st century world rapidly expanding through cultural

¹ Written under the direction of John Moran, J.D. in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

and financial growth across different countries and continents. Additionally, intra-trade and extra-trade have led the growth in globalization over the past 40 years (figure 1). Global trade has been seen as a relevant indicator for the financial health among trading nations both in emerging and developed nations. One example of two favorable trading partners tells the story of how France and the United States have created immersive industries between the two nations located halfway around the globe. From wine and food to fashion and cosmetics, the United States and France have developed integrated societies fascinated by each other’s culture, lifestyles, and behaviors of their citizens.



Note: Break in series between 1993 and 2003. Western Europe becomes Europe including Eastern Europe and Baltic States.
 NIEs - Newly Industrialised Economies comprising Chinese Taipei; Hong Kong, China; Rep. of Korea; Malaysia; Singapore and Thailand.
 Source: WTO Secretariat.

Figure 1: Percentage share of major exporters in world merchandise trade, 1953-2006

The researcher’s primary belief in 2016 is that French and American trade continue to integrate further as both societies behave as favorable trading partners that offer cultural benefits to each country. As a result of her practicum experience as L’Atelier NYC, a French American agency for worldwide makeup and hair stylists, the researcher has chosen to shed light on the evolution in the cosmetics industry. According to the Soil Association’s 2015 Organic Market Report, the organic beauty evolution in 2016 continues to focus more attention on the rapidly changing ecosystem for cosmetics.

The research shares that consumers discretionary spending has shifted to green products and vegan-friendly products that contain toxin-free ingredients for both animals and the environment. The report continued to share how consumer demand has increased for organic products since 2007, and how there exists an educational gap for consumer's appetite to understand the stories behind organic products. In general, companies that market their products as organic, include language such as "ethical sourcing of ingredients, green chemistry, sustainable packaging, organic and sustainable production methods, water management and a reduction of carbon footprints" (Organic Beauty evolution, 2016)

The objective of this report is to investigate the impact of organizational cultural awareness on cosmetic brands in France and the United States in an effort to better understand its financial and social ramifications. In addition, the researcher hopes to shed light on the shift to organic products in the cosmetics industry.

Key Points About the Cosmetic Industry

The cosmetic industry includes any products in "makeup, sun care, skin care, fragrances, toiletries and other grooming products". As of 2016, the estimated total value for the global cosmetic industry is "121 billion dollars". It is predicted for the cosmetic industry in the United States to expand to a value of "11 billion dollars". The elements that will raise the value for the industry are the increase in the demand for natural products and the effectiveness of skin care marketing. On the other hand, in France, the total revenue for the cosmetic industry is 13,089.7million Euros (Statista). Transparency Market Research conducted a forecast that shows that the leading five brands of the global industry will be "L'Oréal, Unilever Group, Procter& Gamble, Beiersdorf AG and Avon Products". These five corporations are expected to encompass about "45 %" of the market (Global Cosmetics, 2016).

According to IBIS World research, there are "external factors" that have a strong impact on the "Global Cosmetics Manufacturing industry". These factors include "GDP of the BRIC nations, global per capita income, global research and development funding, world price of crude oil, performance, prestige and environmental issues" (IBIS,2016).

As the BRIC nations (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are developing their markets, their GDP is growing and expected to continue to grow. This is affecting their BRIC's economy and will affect "purchasing power". If purchasing power increases, it will give consumers more capability to afford products in the cosmetic industry. These

new markets are thus appealing to companies in the cosmetic industry looking to expand their business units (IBIS, 2016).

If the purchasing power increases, it will also affect the sales of the more expensive products as more people are able to purchase them. Similarly, the “global per capita income” is also expected to grow this year, increasing opportunities for companies in the industry.

Another factor that is expected to augment this year is the funding for research and development (R&D) as it is what enables companies in the industry to create innovative products with better quality functions. Similarly, it is important to take into account that the price of petroleum should be considered as most companies hold factories for their production and those factories need crude oil to function. As prices of crude oil goes up it affects the prices of materials and decreases the amount of profit. Even though the prices of oil are expected to decrease this year, oil is a very “volatile” good and there is the possibility of it increasing again at any time (IBIS, 2016).

The cosmetics industry has been affected by the “global economic recovery”, which created a slow pace for revenue in the industry as a whole. In addition, this caused a higher quantity of demand. Now that the economy is recovering there is even more demand for higher priced products (IBIS, 2016).

The consumers that represent the most growth potential for the industry are consumers between the ages “15 and 34”. Consumers of that age group are using cosmetics and toiletries more regularly. A lot of young consumers of the cosmetic industry are aware of the different brands and search for “high end brands at affordable prices”. Furthermore, IBIS World estimates that the demand for luxury goods will continue to increase up to 1.8 % by the end of the year (IBIS, 2016).

Similarly, it is important to take into consideration that the industry’s “core product portfolio” has also changed recently in the last 5 years. The product portfolio constantly adapts to the consumer’s taste and preferences, which today prefer natural organic products. Many companies have launched organic and vegan brands without chemicals in order to adapt to this change to suit consumer preference (IBIS,2016).

The cosmetic industry is in “the mature stage of its life cycle; it has an industry value added (IVA) that is expected to increase at rate of 3.4 % annually until 2021. The industry is growing even quicker than the French economy. Both exports and imports in the industry are increasing. France is “the leading exporter of industry goods”. They export 16.8% of the “total amount of manufactured cosmetics”. The United States is the second “largest exporter” in the industry with a value of 10.4% of industry exports (Global Beauty, 2016).

According to IBIS the factors that can help companies be successful in the cosmetic industry includes being able to produce “premium goods or services”, having a brand well known in different markets and being able to niche position. Similarly, it is important to have a “clear market” position, keeping up with market trends and adapt to “ethical and environmental concerns” of consumers. (IBIS,2016)

Doing Business in France vs. the United States

In France, the business culture is closely linked to the country’s culture. Comparing both cultures from both point of views truly shows the differences and helps analyze how to prevent cultural miscommunications in business dealings. From an American perspective, Jones states that France values “freedom of opinion” and French people like to separate their social and personal lives. It is an individualistic country. When dealing with business, French people do not like “uncertainty” and like to follow a set of rules and order (Jones, 2016).

Almost everyone in France speaks at a proficient business English level, as everyone is required to learn it in school starting at a young age. Nevertheless, even though most people speak English, Jones recommends learning some basic French vocabulary to show you respect the language and to further aid you in business dealings with the French. Likewise, French people appreciate learning about other cultures and would enjoy being taught something about a different country (Jones, 2016).

In France, hierarchy plays a significant role in the business structure. It may even seem too strict in comparison to the American culture. The hierarchical structure in French businesses follows a vertical line of command, signifying that the highest level of management will discuss each decision. Jones suggests that the best person to speak to is a “PDG”, the French word for CEO, if one would like to negotiate a long-term strategy. It is crucial to stay polite and confidently voice requests in order to impress the CEO (Jones, 2016).

In France, contrary to the USA, it is not considered rude to debate and point out the low points of your colleague’s ideas. Being “formal” and “professional” is emphasized. French people admire simplicity and elegance when it comes to business wear. Makeup should also remain simple and stay in the natural tones. When it comes to handshakes, French people shake hands faster and not as firm as Americans. It is important to take into consideration that the French language has two forms of addressing the American term “You”. In France, there is a “vous” form, which is used when referring to people in a professional and formal way. It is required to address people in

the “vous” form unless instructed otherwise. Similarly, it is important to address people by their last names (Jones, 2016).

French people use a “direct and questioning” conversation style. They like well-structured presentations, but prefer simplicity compared to bold presentations. Arguing plays an important role in the French business structure, however it is important that Americans do not misinterpret the arguments. In France, arguments are not necessarily to show who is right or wrong; they are used to best analyze ideas. Arguing the most negative points of a good idea will only help make that idea even better (Jones, 2016).

The way an argument is structured in France is as vital as the argument itself. The French value logical, clear arguments from charismatic people. It is best to avoid humor when dealing with French people as the jokes could be lost in translation and end up offending them or making them think one should not be taken seriously (Jones, 2016).

In the French culture having a meal, and taking the time to enjoy it, is valued. Business lunches or dinners can last two hours and may not even include a business discussion. In addition, French people appreciate direct eye contact and a good posture when speaking. In France, there is less personal space than in the United States when it comes to discussing with colleagues (Jones, 2016).

People in France pay close attention to detail and are “careful with makeup”, they place an important role for skin care (Business culture). Studies have shown that makeup can be a “confidence booster”. People who wear makeup feel more attractive and thus feel more confident (NY Times).

II. Case Studies

Study on L’Oreal

The leading company in the cosmetic industry in France is L’Oreal. L’Oreal was founded in 1963 in France. It is a public, international company. The company sells products such as “makeup, perfume, hair care, styling luxury products, and skin care products”. L’Oréal consists of four sectors that include: “Consumer Products, Professional Products, Luxury Products and Active Cosmetics”. Each sector is marketed in a different place. The consumer products include brands such as L’Oréal Paris and Garnier. Professional products represent hair care products for hairdressers and they are advertised under the brand names “Kerastase, Redken, Matrix and L’Oreal Professionel”. Luxury Products include brands such as “Lancôme, Diesel, Giorgio Armani and Cacharel”. Finally, active cosmetics are sold in pharmacies and include brands such as Vichy and La Roche Posay (L’Oreal S.A, 2016).

Table 1 shows L’Oreal’s strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. L’Oreal’s strengths include having strong research skills, operations that work globally and they have “brand equity”, signifying their brand has a strong value associated to its name. L’Oreal’s research skills are what leads their management to achieve a high level of innovation by combining bioinformatics with considering consumer diversity.

Table 1: SWOT Analysis

L’Oreal S.A., SWOT Analysis	
Strengths	Weaknesses
Advanced Research Capabilities	Trade Receivables
Global Operations	Lawsuits
Brand Equity	Product Recall
Opportunities	Threats
Diversification Initiative	Foreign Exchange Risks
Focus on Digitalization and E-commerce	Intense Competition
Growing Global Health and Beauty Market	Stringent Regulations
Source : GlobalData	

As of today, L’Oreal has created 130 molecules and spent more than \$94 million on R&D. It is a company that values quality products and is always trying to improve their quality. L’Oreal has reached “140” countries and markets through “32” brands internationally. The cosmetic branch of L’Oreal functions in “Western Europe, North America and New Markets comprising Asia Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa and the Middle East. L’Oreal profits from its brand equity and that is what allows them to obtain loyal customers. Similarly, L’Oreal achieves strong sales. From 2014 to 2015, L’Oreal was able to increase 12.1 % of their sales. This was especially due to three main divisions: “The Active Cosmetics, L’Oreal Luxe, and Professional Products”. The Active Cosmetics division had a sales growth of “9.4%”. L’Oreal Luxe had a growth of “16.7% with the launch of its new brands Decleor and Carita. Professional Products had a growth of 12.1% (L’Oreal S.A,2016).

Their opportunities are based on their attempt for diversification, their emphasis on “e-commerce and digitalization. L’Oreal is projecting to further invest in beauty tech startups worldwide and create two new companies each year. Similarly, L’Oreal just launched a virtual make-up app in Honk Kong to increase digitalization and has recently created an “e-skin platform”, that allows consumers to connect with professionals for advice and also have an online health and beauty diagnosis (L’Oreal S.A,2016).

L’Oreal faces threats, however, that need to be considered. The lack of “counterfeit goods and accessories” is influencing the number of sales of “branded products” (L’Oreal S.A). The Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Seizure Statistics by Customs and Border Protection Office of International trade reported that IPR seizures increased to “23,1410 in 2014”. The “low quality counterfeits” causes consumers to trust the products with brands less and therefore decreases revenue and affects L’Oreal’s brand image. (L’Oreal S.A,2016)

On the other hand, L’Oreal’s three main weaknesses include increasing amount of trade receivables, many lawsuits, and negative effects of the product recalls on the brand image. L’Oreal’s trade receivables have increased to 3,627.7 million Euros from 3,297.8 million in a year. The trade receivables amount comprises 39.3% of L’Oreal’s total current assets. L’Oreal has had to spend money and time filing lawsuits and defending themselves in lawsuits. Several False advertisement lawsuits were filed against L’Oreal. This is a weakness as these lawsuits can give the brand a bad image or cause the company to pay fines. In March of this year, L’Oreal had launched a cream that level of “concentration of preservative methylisothiazolinone that was too high”. Even though there were no complaints from consumers it could have caused a health issue and risked a violating health image for the company. (L’Oreal S.A, 2016)

L’Oreal’s top competitors include Beiersdorf AG Coty Inc., Henkel AG & Co., KGaA Johnson & Johnson Kao Corporation, LVMH Moet Hennessy, Louis Vuitton SA Revlon, Inc., Shiseido Company, Limited, The Estee Lauder Companies Inc., and The Procter & Gamble Company Unilever.

Jean – Paul Agon the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of L’Oreal stated, “Despite a slowdown in worldwide growth, the group delivered a solid performance. Sales growth was strong, supported by a positive currency effect. Three out of four divisions outperformed their market. And we delivered good quality results.” L’Oreal’s three divisions named “L’Oreal Luxe, Active Cosmetics and the Professional Products Division” grew significantly helping L’Oreal achieve a higher market share. In regards to the other divisions that didn’t do as well, L’Oreal plans on improving it’s brands’ images and putting maximal efforts to provide innovation at a faster paste. L’Oreal has

successfully grown in Western Europe and in North America it has improved each quarter. (L'Oreal S.A, 2016)

Over the past four years, L'Oreal has continued to see favorable increases in total revenue across the organization as well as consistent Gross Profit at a 71% margin. Additionally, earnings before income tax (EBIT) is consistent at 16%-17%. L'Oreal's quick ratio has decreased from 1.1 to 0.6 over the past four years. Overall, inventory metrics remain consistent year over year. Total liabilities seem to fluctuate year over year as L'Oreal invests into its operations and expands its product lines. L'Oreal's financials are consistent with the industry standard. L'Oreal's growth rates are consistent, although lower than new competitors in the industry who are rapidly growing. L'Oreal has the third lowest Beta or volatility risk among its peer competitors, which indicates a relatively stable financial organization. Additionally, L'Oreal is ranked in the top 5 of its competitors for its Enterprise Value (17.6x to 21.1x) and Earnings Per Share (5.7). L'Oreal leads in revenue across its industry, only second to Unilever. S&P Capital IQ recommends a hold on L'Oreal as a result of acquisition integration with new brands, a weakening in the Asia-Pacific market, and emerging market currencies (L'Oreal S.A,2016).

L'Oreal went from being a prominent cosmetic company in France to being one of the leading cosmetic companies in the world. They have gone global while still having kept a French image worldwide. L'Oreal has successfully adapted a strategy of incorporating a team of managers with mixed cultures and backgrounds. These managers are considered assets to the new product opportunities and serve as the link that helps the company understand the cultural differences. They facilitate the relationship between "executives and their direct reports" and relationships between "subsidiaries and headquarters". This strategy has helped them to adapt products, services, and business models to the conditions of different countries (Harvard Business, 2013).

From its Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives, L'Oreal's management believes that an investment in multi-cultural strategies will result in improved financial operations. From the top-down management, L'Oreal has identified five key characteristics that can support an organization to become a multi-cultural entity where cultural awareness is placed above an organization's special interests. L'Oreal believes that by being sensitive to one's own and other's cultures, other firms can recognize new product opportunities. Coupled with cultural awareness, curiosity, and cultural empathy, cosmetic companies can prevent losses in translation from impacting brand strategies negatively. Other soft skills from analysts and associates such as multilingual skills, semantic awareness, and ability to switch cultural frames of reference and

communication modes would be effective to integrate outsiders and bridge differences between brand subsidiaries and headquarters.

L’Oreal Paris consists of 40 product development teams who work on different concepts. The teams are usually made up of four people and out of those four people, half are multicultural. Most members are recruited from top International Business Schools and go through a 12-month training period either in Paris, Singapore, New York or Rio. (Harvard Business, 2013)

In addition, people who are exposed to multiple cultures are able to see things from different perspectives. An Indian -American –French manager of a L’Oreal team of men’s skin care line in Asia stated. “I read books in three different languages, meet people from different countries, and so on. I cannot think about things in one way”. This further demonstrates how exposure to different cultures impacts someone’s way of thinking. As table 2 indicates, a multicultural person will be able to think and adapt to “multiple mindsets and communication styles” (Harvard Business, 2013).

Table 2: Multicultural Strategy

ROLE	How multiculturals do it	How others can learn
1 RECOGNIZING NEW-PRODUCT OPPORTUNITIES	Sensitivity to one’s own and others’ cultures	Training with multiculturals and repatriates
2 PREVENTING LOSSES IN TRANSLATION	Cultural awareness and curiosity	One-on-one coaching by multiculturals
3 INTEGRATING OUTSIDERS	Cultural empathy	Regular evaluation by an HR specialist knowledgeable about multiculturals’ competence and skills
4 MEDIATING WITH BOSSES	Multilingual skills	Foreign language and semantics training
5 BRIDGING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBSIDIARIES AND HEADQUARTERS	Contextual understanding and sensitivity	Enhanced promotion prospects for foreign language speakers
	Semantic awareness	Opportunities to carry out leadership responsibilities in a foreign language
	Ability to switch among cultural frames of reference and communication modes	

As there was an increase in the demand of high end brands for affordable prices, L’Oreal incorporated YLS Beauty as one of its luxury brands (IBIS,2016).

Study on Procter and Gamble (P&G)

Similar to L'Oreal, Procter and Gamble is also one of the world's largest consumer good companies. The company has product brands in "beauty, health care, grooming, fabric care, and home care categories". Procter and Gamble is an American company but has also reached global markets such as Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia Pacific. The headquarters of Procter and Gamble is located in Cincinnati, Ohio and its total revenues are of \$76,279 million dollars. P & G owns "50 leadership brands" in the Cosmetic industry (Marketline,)

P&G's strengths include having a "dominant market position and a strong brand portfolio". The company has reached "4.4 billion" consumers around the world. It takes over "65 %" of the market share for blades and razors globally. It has a market share of "more than 20%" in the "male shavers market" and "50% in the female epilators market". In addition, P&G has a strong position in the "retail and color market", having a total of more than "20%" market share value. Its total market share value is of "30%" making it a "market leader" (Marketline).

The "strong brand portfolio" comes from the fact that it's 21 billion dollar brands are successful at being "market leaders" in multiple prominent "consumer categories". Its brands for paper toilet "Charmin" and for paper towel "Bounty" has earned P&G a total market share of 45 % and 25% in the U.S Market. Both its "dominant market position and strong brand portfolio" are important strengths as it allows P&G to reach an economies of scale, keep a good bargaining relationship with retailers and maintain their "financial growth" (Marketline).

In addition, it has important investments in marketing and R&D as well as having a "large scale of operations". P&G conducts more than "15,000 research studies every year" spend more than "\$350 million to fully understand consumers". The company partners up with external partners to "connect and develop" in order to enhance its innovation capabilities. P&G's successful product innovation techniques have helped them gain more revenue and have a better market position. This has made P&G the cosmetic industry's "global innovation leader" (Marketline).

The company's "large scale of operations" is based on the fact it was able to reach a value of \$76,279 million in revenues and a "strong geographical presence". Operating in about "70 countries" around the world and having sales of products in 180 countries. This "large scale of operations" further strengthens the company's strong bargaining power (Marketline).

On the other hand, P&G's weakness includes having to be dependent on few customers. This causes the bargaining power of the company to lower and large customers could enforce "unfavorable terms" on the company (Marketline).

P&G's financial performance is recommended as a Strong Buy from S&P Capital IQ as a result of a significant favorable price increase in its stock performance over the next 12 months. As a large-cap growth stock in the Consumer Staples and Household Products, P&G leads consumer products in more than 180 countries. Sales are expected to increase 1.0% in FY 17 to \$65.95 billion, up from \$65.30 billion in FY 16. EBITDA margins will remain flat at 26.2% in FY 17, and there exists realized expectations on multi-year cost savings and productivity initiatives. Earnings per share (EPS) in FY 17 is expected to increase to \$3.97 from \$3.61 in FY16 as a result of share repurchases. The result of heightened competition, promotional spending, unfavorable currency translation, rising commodity costs, and slow consumer acceptance of new products could result in slower growth for the organization. P&G's 12-month price target is \$103, reflecting a P/E ratio of 26X, trading near a three-year high from the range of between 21.1X to 28.4X. P&G offers relatively low volatility. Expectations for debt are to decrease over time, as well as new products to begin generating stronger cash flow revenues for P&G's bottom line. Over the past 3 years, the majority of P&G's financial ratios have held constant with minimal fluctuations given the large scope of the organization.

The main opportunities for P& G include having potential to grow in the "male grooming industry" and the "personal care and homecare markets". As the industry, as a whole, has shifted from women focused products to incorporating grooming and skin care products for men, P&G could benefit from this factor. It is expected for the male grooming market to grow "at a compound annual growth rate of approximately 8%". It is not only predicted to expand in the United States, but also in other countries such as China and India. P&G targets male consumers with products such as "male blades and razors, electronic hair removal devices, and pre- and post-shave products". These products are under the brand names of "Fusion, Gillette, Mach3 and Prestobarba" (Procter and Gamble Swot, 2015).

As the purchasing power rises and consumers are becoming more aware the global products market is expected to grow and reach a "value of 625.8 billion". As consumer's global income is increasing it will continue to increase the value of the market as a whole (Market line).

Similarly, P& G has the potential to reduce costs by using their "strategic initiatives" to increase productivity. It is expected to have an "excess of \$5 billion in

before tax restructuring costs during 2012 to 2017”. Due to “manufacturing cost savings”, the gross margin also raised to “50.3% of net sales” from the end of the financial year 2015 to December 2015 (Marketline).

However, it is important for them to consider the threat of “counterfeit goods”, severe competition as well as strict and laws and regulations they have to follow. (Marketline).

III. Product Analysis of Lipstick in the Global Industry

The lipstick industry is a highly competitive industry as it includes products such as “lipstick, lip gloss, lips stains, and lip liner and lip balm”. Figure 2 demonstrates that lipstick accounts for “42.5%” of the industry’s revenue, whereas lip balm is “24%”, Lip-gloss is “20.3%” and lip liner is “13.2 %” (IBIS,2016).

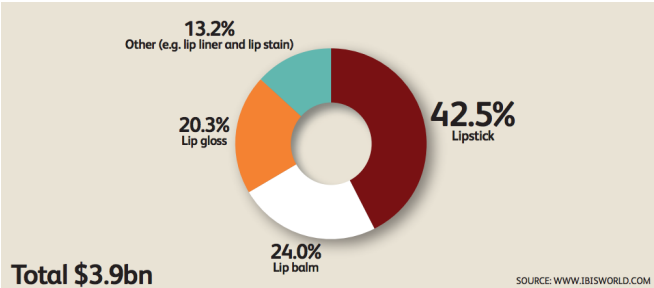


Figure 2: Products and services segmentation (2016)

In 2016, in the US, the lipstick industry as a whole had a total revenue of “3.9 billion dollars”. It grew annually at a rate of “4.7 %” from 2011 to 2016. It is predicted to keep growing at a rate of “2.3%” from 2016 to 2021. This growth was due to more demand of “premium goods” and the rise of the economy creating more “consumer spending” (IBIS,2016).

As there is a growing population of consumers who prefer natural products and vegan products the demand for vegan lipsticks has grown. More funding has been invested in the research for innovative “natural and safe products”. The fact that crude oil prices declined and consumer spending went up led to an increase in the industry’s total profit. As crude oil prices are expected to go up at rate of “8.5%” annually, from 2016 to 2021 it will cause the growth to slow down (IBIS,2016).

Figure 3 represents the trade weighted index graph that measures the value of the US dollar compared with the values of its trading partners’ currencies. It indicates

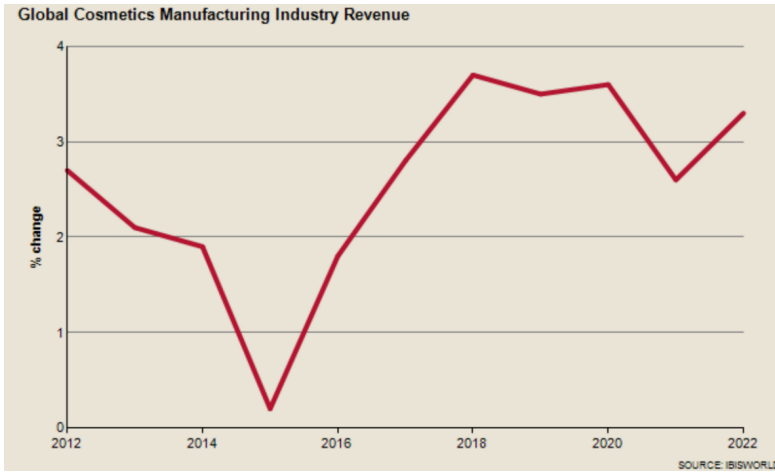


Figure 3: Global cosmetics manufacturing industry revenue

that the value of the U.S dollar will rise which can cause the U.S to lose foreign customers as it will be “less affordable” for foreign consumers.

International trade has become prominent for the manufacturing lipstick industry. Imports are valued at 16.1%, which equals to “\$691.1 million”. The past five years, imports have grown at rate of “15.3%” annually due to “premium brand demand” and a “6.2%” increase annual in the trade-weighted index. The United States primary suppliers for “high-end cosmetic products” include France, Canada, and Italy. The three countries total an amount of “more than 40 % of the industries’ imports” (IMF, 2008).

On the other hand, the low –end cosmetic goods used in the United States are imported from China and Mexico. In regards to exports, they have also increased at a rate of “2.7%” annually over the past five years. The primary countries that the U.S exports are Canada and Mexico as they are close and they share beneficial trade agreements (IMF, 2008).

Lipstick is “the largest industry product segment”. It is a product used to add color, and smoothness as well as to hydrate the lips. There are many different types of lipsticks in the market with different ingredients, different purposes and different colors and textures. When it comes to “sheer lipstick” for example, it has a high amount of oil and “less wax and pigment” than matte lipsticks. They both give different effects to the lips. The translucent lipstick has to be reapplied and give the lips a “shiny and glossy” look. On the other hand, matte lipsticks give a “flat look” and last longer. Similarly, like the lipstick manufacturing industry as a whole, revenues in high-end lipsticks have increased due to more “consumer spending”. Another factor that contributed to the rise in

sales of lipstick in the US was the “bold lip color trend” (Beauty and Personal Care,2016).

As lipstick is considered a “small luxury” product, consumers purchase more lipsticks when they have to cut back on higher luxury goods. This is what allowed the sales of lipsticks to continue increasing even though the economic recovery was slow (Beauty and Personal Care, 2016).

The major company for lipsticks is Estee Lauder, selling in “150 countries” and having multiple brands including;” Clinique, Origins, Smash box, Mac and Bobbi Brown”. Estee Lauder holds 17.1 % of the market share in the global lipstick manufacturing industry compared to P&G with 3.6 % and L’Oreal with 3.8%. In regards to the lipstick part of the cosmetic industry P&G and L’Oreal have a very close estimated market share.

L’Oreal’s main two branches that sell lipstick are the “L’Oréal Luxe” division and the “Consumer Products Division”. The “Luxe” division represents high-end lipsticks that can be purchased at “department stores, cosmetic stores, travel retail, brand boutiques and e-commerce websites”. On the other hand, the consumer products division represents the more affordable lipsticks distributed in “retail channels” (L’Oreal, 2016).

The “L’Oréal Luxe” division brands that sell lipsticks include Yves Saint Laurent, Lancôme and Giorgio Armani Beauty. The lipsticks that L’Oréal offers under the “consumer products” division include brands like Maybelline and NYX. (L’Oréal, 2016).

A very popular red lipstick in the Yves Saint Laurent (YSL) brand is named “Rouge Pur Couture the Mats” displayed in figure 4. It is a matte lipstick with a “velvet complex” that allows a “smooth application” as it contains jojoba oil. The jojoba oil will also help the lipstick to last. It gives a “vibrant” look. The packaging of the lipstick is in a gold color and it is priced on the YSL website at \$37 (Yves saint Laurent).

L’Oreal’s brand Lancôme offers a Red lipstick called “L’Absolu rouge Definition” displayed in figure 5. It is a “creamy matte” lipstick and gives a defined lip

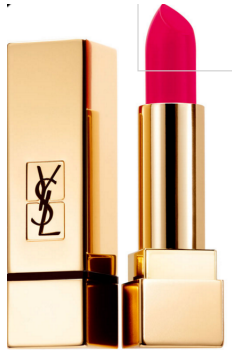


Figure 4: Rouge Pur Couture the Mats



Figure 5: L'Absolu rouge Definition

look. It also has jojoba oil in order to provide lasting “comfort and hydration”. It has a gold and black packaging and is priced at \$30.50 on Macys website and thus is slightly cheaper than the one from YSL.

The Giorgio Armani brand offers a red lipstick called “Rouge D’Armani Lipstick” shown in figure 6. It is also a long-lasting comfortable lipstick. In addition, it has a “soft texture and a shine. It’s packaging is in a “black lacquered case” and it is “sealed with a magnetic click”. It is priced at \$37.00 on the Giorgio Armani Beauty website.



Figure 6: Rouge D'Armani Lipstick

L'Oreal's consumer division brand Maybelline, also offers a red lipstick showed in figure 7 named "Red Revolution". It is a rich creamy color made from honey nectar. It doesn't last as long as the luxury brands but is priced at "\$7.49" at Ulta. Its brand NYX also offers a red lipstick shown in figure 8 that can be purchased on the NYX official website. It is called "Perfect Red" and has a strong pigment color. It is a matte based lipstick and is smooth. It is priced at \$6.



Figure 7: Red Revolution



Figure 8: Perfect Red

It is interesting to note that L’Oreal’s Luxury brands use French names compared to L’Oreal’s Consumer division brands that use American names for their products.

P & G also has two main brands for lipsticks. On the high end is Gucci cosmetics and on the low end is Cover girl. The Gucci cosmetic’s Red lipstick can be compared to the Yves Saint Laurent, Lancôme and Giorgio Armani lipstick. The Gucci Lipstick shown in figure 9, “Gucci Luxurious moisture –Rich”, also has a gold color packaging and is priced at \$40. It has a bold color, incorporates oils to give a smooth and hydrating touch to the lips and “allows for smooth application” (Gucci cosmetics).



Figure 9: Gucci Luxurious moisture –Rich

Cover Girl also offers a red lipstick called “Continuous color lipstick”, featured in figure 10. It has a smooth black packaging look. It is described as “Easy, breezy classic with rich, long lasting lipstick color” and is priced at “\$5.74”, which is slightly less expensive than the L’Oréal low end brands which could give the product a competitive edge.



Figure 10: Cover Girl

IV. Interviews

Malena Holcomb, one of the partners of L'Atelier NYC

I interviewed Malena Holcomb, one of the partners of L'Atelier NYC, the company I intern at. L'Atelier NYC is a French and American P.R company that represents high-end makeup artists and hairdressers. Ms. Holcomb has been on both ends of the fashion and cosmetic industry by being a model and by working with many different makeup artists and cosmetic and fashion companies.

Tell me a little bit about your story, who you were, and who you are today.

Malena: I was a model in the beginning; I always liked the fashion industry. Through modeling I got to do a lot of travelling and my intellectual curiosity made me ask questions wherever I went and it built the best kind of education for me. I then interned at photography at a photography agency and worked with photographers and production and make up and hair. In 1998, I met Francois who had started a Makeup and hair stylist agency. He was looking for an American person and I worked with him as an agent to hair and makeup artists. Four years later I became partner.

Do you see certain trends in products being used?

Malena: Yes, I see a major trend for Korean skin care products and natural products.

When you were a model, what was your opinion on cosmetics for fashion, for self-confidence, for your lifestyle, for who you are? What did it say about you? What was your preferred brand? And today what is your opinion?

Malena: I have always been passionate about cosmetics not just as a model but as a woman. I grew up with severe acne and I loved the effect of foundation and how it gives

confidence. I like how makeup makes people feel good and I believe people will do better when they feel better. I switch a lot between brands but red lips are forever, they always add color to the day.

Have you noticed the shift towards organic products and men’s products?

Malena: Yes, there is a major trend for organic products & skin care is pushed even more. Men’s products are extremely high in demand in Asia; there are more men in China and thus more competition on looking good.

How has traveling shaped your work?

Malena: Traveling influenced me to see beauty beyond the face but at the end of the day people are the same. The communication style is different however when communicating with people from different countries. For example, the Japanese can’t say no so you have to guide them to being able to say no. On the other hand, someone who is Latin would like to be treated on a more “mommy like”.

What are the major changes you have witnessed?

Malena : There is a different market for skin care. When I started modeling in the 80s was just when they just started introducing black and Latin models.

Paco Blancas on of the make-up artists represented by L’Atelier NYC.

What is your story and what inspired you to work in the Cosmetic industry?

Paco: I was always attracted to the makeup from a young age. I would admire when my mother did her makeup so quickly. It was her transforming moment. I would enjoy looking at my mom’s magazines and the beauty section of the magazine really stayed with me.

What is your style as a makeup artist and what sets you apart from the completion?

Paco: I have a minimalistic style. For many years I like to work with clean skin. A lot of times I skip foundation and work with a translucent luminous skin. I like to focus on one trait instead of doing a full-face makeup look. I will incorporate a strong line or shape and bring focus to that. I have been doing that for 30 years.

Have you witnessed the Cosmetic industry change?

Paco: Yes, the business has changed due to the digital world. I personally don’t like to rely on the digital world. I aim for flawless makeup that is perfection to the point “it looks already retouched”. There has been an evolution in the cosmetic industry since I

started. Products are more sheer, more silky, and easier to apply. The makeup can be more part of the skin less “cakey makeup” that gives more hydration quality. Technology has improved makeup.

Do you prefer French or American Products? Do have a preference for L’Oreal or P&G?

Paco: I usually use French products rather than American products. However, I do like to use Nars as well which is an American brand. I prefer L’Oreal than P&G. I usually like to use Armani makeup for foundation. I have tried a few mascaras from P&G’s Cover girl brand though.

Do you choose products based on brand, pricing or quality?

Paco: I choose products based on quality and most of the time that goes hand in hand with higher prices.

What characteristics do you look for when you are searching for Mascara?

Paco: I usually look for a very black mascara that doesn’t collapse. I prefer waterproof mascara that doesn’t crack as it helps to keep the lashes curly. I really like L’Oreal’s Yves Saint Laurent Mascara.

What do you look for when searching for a lipstick?

Paco: I look for lipsticks that have vibrant colors, that are silky, matte, easy application, hydrating, long lasting and fresh.

Have you noticed the trend for organic products in the cosmetic industry?

Paco: Yes, it has been going on for a few years now. I would go for an organic makeup product for an everyday look but a lot of organic products pigments are not very intense and tend to fade. I hope to see them improve with the evolution of R&D.

Emile Loria who has worked as a CEO in both an American company and a French company.

Tell me about yourself? Where have you worked and what was your position?

Emile: I am an M.D. and worked in a cancer research center called "institute for cancer Immuno genetics" at a time where immunology was not established as a major cancer treatment and the importance of genetics almost ignored (1971). Besides research and student jobs, I started my career as international product manager in pharma Headquarter in Switzerland (Base, Ciba-Geigy today Novartis). I started my own consulting firm in

Geneva with the objective to develop a transdermal product after my positive experience at Ciba. I selected a start up in California and we made two successful products one for menopause and one for smoking cessation. I wanted to continue in patient friendly designed products and as CEO for Biovector initiated a nasal flu vaccine product and as the capital venture people wanted to sale the company I decided to move to the US (Epimmune, San Diego). The cancer immunotherapy project is presently the main asset of OSE Immuno, a company listed in France and I am the chairman of the company.

What is the major similarity you noticed between the French Company and the American Company?

Emile:

- People quality
- Basic scientific knowledge
- Team work

What is the major difference you noticed between the French Company and the American Company?

Emile:

American Company

- Going deeper on a subject
- Very focused
- Lean hierarchy
- The show

French Company

- Imagination
- Curiosity but lack of focus
- Highly hierarchical
- Humility

What kind of situations can you encounter when working with both French and American people? What should be done in order to bridge the cultural gap?

What is your suggestion to a French person and to an American person?

Emile: Relaxed atmosphere but competition exists, US scientists are the divas.

Culture gap:

- Eating at meetings,
- Family first (US people)
- Sport a major subject to initiate contacts

- 5pm we close in California
- Non-stop in France but coffee breaks...

To bridge culture: Organize events with underlying meaning 4th of July vs. le 14 July

When hiring new people, how important is it to hire someone who is multicultural?

Emile: Yes, definitely someone who is multicultural would be an asset to the firm as they can help us bridge cultures.

V. Conclusion

Economic signal: Organic as a trend to stay

This research has shown that through both L’Oréal’s and Proctor & Gamble’s Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives and product brand development, that organic as a trend has solidified into core product offerings for both Consumer Brand companies. Consumers continue to increase their educational awareness about the products used on their bodies from ingredients and manufacturing to product delivery and packaging. As consumers continue to become more aware of the growing ‘green’ trends in beauty products, this research would recommend additional investment into natural beauty products.

Economic signal: Cosmetics perceived as normal good

Primary economic research as well as secondary case study interviews has confirmed that cosmetics could be perceived as a normal good. While fashion accessories such as handbags, sunglasses, and jewelry are perceived as luxury goods for when economic industries experience growth, the cosmetics space has been perceived as a normal good where consumers make purchases both in good and sub-optimal economic conditions. First-person interviews confirmed that cosmetic offerings include both high-end and low-end pricing options to appeal to consumer segments based on their discretionary spending, and that pricing differences between comparable products for both L’oreal and P&G are negligible by a few cents. It could be determined that the cosmetics industry will continue to grow as the developing BRIC nations become more developed, and minority demographics experience higher consumer spending both in America and France.

Cultural signal: Communication is key

Regardless of whether business is conducted in France or the United States, secondary research and primary sources indicate that communication is essential for

successful product implementation and delivery to consumers. On the business side, corporate staff need to adapt to cultural references, language barriers, and norms in their respective country, as well as an understanding on the purposes for health and beauty products. Both France and the United States believe in fashion forward and trendy lifestyles; however, France sees cosmetics as a more refined and educated part of lifestyle, while Americans treat cosmetics as a luxury. It could be perceived that French culture continues to be immersed into American society, where marketing managers and product managers will need to adapt education and advertisements for a shift to education and refinement, instead of the need to pamper and experience luxury. Economic changes in FY 17 and beyond will determine the speed of integration for the shift in cosmetics use in America, France, and developing nations. Nonetheless, localized cultural signals remain imperative for successful product sales and new product offerings in any country or marketplace.

VI. References

Business etiquette. Retrieved October 25, 2016, from [http://businessculture.org/western-europe/business-culture-in-france/business-etiquette-in-france/Cosmetic industry](http://businessculture.org/western-europe/business-culture-in-france/business-etiquette-in-france/Cosmetic%20industry).

Bidness ETC. <http://www.bidnessetc.com/subindustry/cosmetic/overview/>

Etcoff, N. (2013, January 2). Makeup Can Provide a Fleeting Confidence Boost to Some. Retrieved November 10, 2016, from Global Beauty by the Numbers. (2016). *Global Cosmetic Industry*, 6.

Hae-Jung, H., & Doz, Y. (2013). L'Oréal Masters Multiculturalism. *Harvard Business Review*, 91(6), 114-119.

IMF research on globalization trend increasing:
<https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2008/053008.htm>

I. S. Globalization: A Brief Overview. Retrieved October 22, 2016, from <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2008/053008.htm>

Jones, M (2011). Doing business in France: 8 cultural cues that make (or break) a deal. *International Business Times*. <http://www.ibtimes.com/doing-business-france-8-cultural-cues-make-or-break-deal-368258>

L'Oreal S.A. SWOT Analysis. (2015). L'Oreal SA SWOT Analysis, 1(1), 1-9. Retrieved November 10, 2016, from <http://www.investing.com/equities/loreal-ratios>

Marshall,C (2014). Youtube and the beauty industry: how brands are getting crushed [REPORT], *Tubular Insight*. <http://tubularinsights.com/youtube-beauty-industry/> October 26, 2016, from <https://fashionunited.com/global-fashion-industry-statistics>

Okpara, J. O. (2008). Globalisation of Business. Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd. Retrieved from http://www.cosmeticsbusiness.com/technical/article_page/Organic_beauty_evolution_in_2016/114941

President, S. V. (2016). Beauty and personal care: France market value 2011-2016 | statistic. Retrieved October 26, 2016.

President, S. V. (2016). Apparel and footwear: France market value 2011-2016 | statistic. Retrieved October 26, 2016, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/494010/apparel-and-footwear-france-market-value/>

Strijbos, B. (2016, April 20). Global fashion industry statistics - international apparel. Retrieved <https://www.statista.com/statistics/494028/beauty-personal-care-france-market-value/>

The Procter & Gamble Company SWOT Analysis. (2016). Procter & Gamble SWOT Analysis,1-9.

Wikipedia. Retrieved November 12, 2016, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_\(nominal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal))

Appendix A: L'Oreal SA (ENXTPA:OR) > Financials > Ratios

Restatement: Latest Filings

Period Type: Annual

Order: Latest on Right

Decimals: Capital IQ (Default)

Ratios				
For the Fiscal Period Ending	12 months Dec-31-2013	12 months Dec-31-2014	12 months Dec-31-2015	LTM 12 months Jun-30-2016
Profitability				
Return on Assets %	7.7%	7.7%	8.3%	8.0%
Return on Capital %	10.5%	10.5%	11.5%	11.0%
Return on Equity %	13.2%	12.9%	15.1%	12.9%
Return on Common Equity %	13.2%	12.9%	15.1%	12.9%
Margin Analysis				
Gross Margin %	71.2%	71.1%	71.2%	71.5%
SG&A Margin %	51.0%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%
EBITDA Margin %	20.2%	20.6%	20.6%	20.8%
EBITA Margin %	17.1%	17.4%	17.5%	17.6%
EBIT Margin %	16.8%	17.1%	17.2%	17.4%
Earnings from Cont. Ops Margin %	13.0%	12.3%	13.1%	11.4%
Net Income Margin %	13.4%	21.8%	13.1%	11.4%
Net Income Avail. for Common Margin %	13.0%	12.3%	13.1%	11.4%
Normalized Net Income Margin %	11.4%	11.6%	11.7%	11.8%
Levered Free Cash Flow Margin %	9.6%	11.2%	9.3%	10.6%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow Margin %	9.7%	11.2%	9.3%	10.6%
Asset Turnover				
Total Asset Turnover	0.7x	0.7x	0.8x	0.7x
Fixed Asset Turnover	7.7x	7.5x	7.7x	7.5x
Accounts Receivable Turnover	7.3x	7.1x	7.3x	6.3x
Inventory Turnover	3.1x	3.0x	3.1x	2.8x
Short Term Liquidity				
Current Ratio	1.5x	0.9x	1.1x	1.1x
Quick Ratio	1.1x	0.6x	0.7x	0.6x
Cash from Ops. to Curr. Liab.	0.6x	0.4x	0.5x	0.5x
Avg. Days Sales Out.	50.1	51.2	50.0	58.3
Avg. Days Inventory Out.	116.0	122.1	118.0	129.1
Avg. Days Payable Out.	199.2	183.2	180.7	189.1
Avg. Cash Conversion Cycle	(33.0)	(9.9)	(12.7)	(1.7)
Long Term Solvency				

Total Debt/Equity	1.5%	12.8%	3.3%	7.7%
Total Debt/Capital	1.5%	11.4%	3.2%	7.1%
LT Debt/Equity	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
LT Debt/Capital	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%
Total Liabilities/Total Assets	26.6%	37.0%	29.9%	34.2%
EBIT / Interest Exp.	161.1x	122.9x	183.8x	264.8x
EBITDA / Interest Exp.	193.1x	147.5x	219.8x	NM
(EBITDA-CAPEX) / Interest Exp.	149.0x	115.4x	170.4x	241.9x
Total Debt/EBITDA	0.1x	0.6x	0.2x	0.3x
Net Debt/EBITDA	NM	0.1x	NM	0.1x
Total Debt/(EBITDA-CAPEX)	0.1x	0.7x	0.2x	0.4x
Net Debt/(EBITDA-CAPEX)	NM	0.2x	NM	0.1x
Altman Z Score	6.74	4.94	6.74	6.55
Growth Over Prior Year				
Total Revenue	2.2%	1.8%	12.1%	4.8%
Gross Profit	3.2%	1.8%	12.2%	5.4%
EBITDA	5.3%	3.8%	12.5%	6.0%
EBITA	5.3%	3.7%	12.9%	4.0%
EBIT	5.0%	3.7%	12.9%	5.9%
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	4.3%	(4.0%)	19.3%	(1.9%)
Net Income	3.2%	66.0%	(32.8%)	(42.8%)
Normalized Net Income	5.1%	3.4%	12.7%	6.3%
Diluted EPS before Extra	3.7%	0.0%	23.5%	(2.4%)
Accounts Receivable	(0.9%)	9.1%	10.0%	2.8%
Inventory	5.8%	8.5%	7.9%	7.9%
Net PP&E	2.1%	8.6%	8.4%	6.1%
Total Assets	5.6%	3.8%	5.2%	(5.6%)
Tangible Book Value	14.8%	(30.6%)	25.8%	(3.3%)
Common Equity	8.2%	(10.8%)	16.9%	(4.1%)
Cash from Ops.	9.9%	4.1%	8.8%	17.0%
Capital Expenditures	10.3%	(1.0%)	16.3%	21.4%
Levered Free Cash Flow	2.4%	17.9%	(7.0%)	(22.9%)
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	2.2%	18.0%	(7.2%)	(23.0%)
Dividend per Share	8.7%	8.0%	14.8%	14.8%
Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Two Years				
Total Revenue	4.3%	2.0%	6.8%	7.4%
Gross Profit	4.2%	2.5%	6.9%	7.7%
EBITDA	5.2%	4.6%	8.1%	8.6%

EBITA	5.0%	4.5%	8.2%	8.7%
EBIT	6.3%	4.3%	8.2%	8.6%
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	8.6%	0.1%	7.0%	0.3%
Net Income	10.1%	30.9%	5.6%	(1.5%)
Normalized Net Income	6.7%	4.2%	7.9%	8.4%
Diluted EPS before Extra	7.7%	1.8%	11.1%	4.1%
Accounts Receivable	0.4%	4.0%	9.5%	6.9%
Inventory	0.8%	7.1%	8.2%	9.1%
Net PP&E	0.2%	5.3%	8.5%	8.1%
Total Assets	7.2%	4.7%	4.5%	(1.0%)
Tangible Book Value	26.6%	(10.7%)	(6.5%)	(9.0%)
Common Equity	13.4%	(1.8%)	2.1%	(2.0%)
Cash from Ops.	13.1%	6.9%	6.4%	10.2%
Capital Expenditures	8.5%	4.5%	7.3%	12.1%
Levered Free Cash Flow	15.8%	9.9%	4.7%	41.6%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	15.1%	9.8%	4.7%	41.0%
Dividend per Share	11.8%	8.3%	11.4%	11.4%
Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Three Years				
Total Revenue	4.3%	3.5%	5.3%	3.9%
Gross Profit	4.5%	3.4%	5.6%	4.2%
EBITDA	5.3%	4.7%	7.1%	4.9%
EBITA	5.8%	4.6%	7.2%	4.6%
EBIT	6.8%	5.4%	7.1%	4.9%
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	8.7%	4.3%	6.1%	(0.5%)
Net Income	9.7%	26.3%	4.8%	(0.6%)
Normalized Net Income	7.0%	5.6%	7.0%	5.0%
Diluted EPS before Extra	7.7%	5.1%	8.6%	1.9%
Accounts Receivable	4.0%	3.2%	5.9%	3.6%
Inventory	4.8%	3.3%	7.4%	5.9%
Net PP&E	2.6%	2.9%	6.3%	4.5%
Total Assets	8.7%	6.1%	4.9%	2.7%
Tangible Book Value	27.3%	3.6%	0.1%	(3.3%)
Common Equity	15.1%	4.6%	4.1%	0.3%
Cash from Ops.	4.0%	10.0%	7.6%	6.9%
Capital Expenditures	14.5%	5.2%	8.3%	8.8%
Levered Free Cash Flow	(1.0%)	16.5%	3.9%	7.7%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	(1.2%)	16.0%	3.9%	7.6%
Dividend per Share	11.6%	10.5%	10.5%	10.5%

Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Five Years				
Total Revenue	4.8%	5.2%	5.3%	4.9%
Gross Profit	5.0%	5.4%	5.4%	5.0%
EBITDA	5.4%	6.3%	6.4%	6.3%
EBITA	6.0%	7.8%	6.8%	6.3%
EBIT	6.4%	8.4%	7.3%	6.8%
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	8.1%	9.0%	8.0%	3.9%
Net Income	8.7%	22.3%	8.0%	3.9%
Normalized Net Income	7.8%	8.8%	7.4%	6.8%
Diluted EPS before Extra	7.5%	9.0%	9.0%	4.9%
Accounts Receivable	2.3%	6.2%	6.2%	6.0%
Inventory	5.0%	8.9%	6.2%	6.8%
Net PP&E	1.0%	3.9%	4.9%	5.5%
Total Assets	6.2%	6.6%	7.0%	5.8%
Tangible Book Value	29.2%	10.3%	12.5%	6.9%
Common Equity	14.4%	8.2%	9.7%	6.4%
Cash from Ops.	7.4%	3.7%	4.9%	9.6%
Capital Expenditures	6.4%	9.9%	11.6%	10.7%
Levered Free Cash Flow	6.6%	0.8%	1.2%	11.8%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	5.0%	0.5%	1.1%	11.6%
Dividend per Share	11.7%	12.5%	11.5%	11.5%

Appendix B: The Procter & Gamble Company (NYSE:PG) > Financials > Ratios

Restatement: Latest Filings

Period Type: Annual

Order: Latest on Right

Decimals: Capital IQ (Default)

For the Fiscal Period Ending	12 months Jun-30-2014	12 months Jun-30-2015	12 months Jun-30-2016	LTM 12 months Sep-30-2016
Profitability				
Return on Assets %	6.1%	6.4%	7.0%	7.0%
Return on Capital %	8.5%	8.8%	9.9%	9.8%
Return on Equity %	15.4%	12.5%	16.6%	16.6%
Return on Common Equity %	15.2%	12.2%	16.4%	16.5%
Margin Analysis				
Gross Margin %	47.5%	48.5%	50.7%	50.9%
SG&A Margin %	28.8%	28.7%	28.7%	28.7%
EBITDA Margin %	22.9%	24.3%	26.7%	26.8%
EBITA Margin %	19.4%	20.5%	22.6%	22.7%

EBIT Margin %	18.7%	19.8%	22.0%	22.1%
Earnings from Cont. Ops Margin %	14.3%	11.7%	15.4%	15.5%
Net Income Margin %	15.6%	9.9%	16.1%	16.3%
Net Income Avail. for Common Margin %	13.8%	11.2%	14.8%	15.0%
Normalized Net Income Margin %	11.0%	11.8%	13.2%	13.4%
Levered Free Cash Flow Margin %	7.4%	15.1%	11.8%	18.7%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow Margin %	8.0%	15.6%	12.3%	19.3%
Asset Turnover				
Total Asset Turnover	0.5x	0.5x	0.5x	0.5x
Fixed Asset Turnover	3.4x	3.4x	3.3x	3.4x
Accounts Receivable Turnover	11.5x	12.9x	14.6x	13.8x
Inventory Turnover	5.7x	6.2x	6.6x	6.3x
Short Term Liquidity				
Current Ratio	0.9x	1.0x	1.1x	1.1x
Quick Ratio	0.5x	0.5x	0.6x	0.6x
Cash from Ops. to Curr. Liab.	0.4x	0.5x	0.5x	0.5x
Avg. Days Sales Out.	31.6	28.3	25.1	26.5
Avg. Days Inventory Out.	63.9	58.8	55.1	58.4
Avg. Days Payable Out.	80.9	87.4	100.1	96.4
Avg. Cash Conversion Cycle	14.6	(0.4)	(19.9)	(11.6)
Long Term Solvency				
Total Debt/Equity	50.6%	48.1%	52.8%	52.8%
Total Debt/Capital	33.6%	32.5%	34.5%	34.6%
LT Debt/Equity	28.3%	29.1%	32.7%	32.1%
LT Debt/Capital	18.8%	19.6%	21.4%	21.0%
Total Liabilities/Total Assets	51.5%	51.3%	54.4%	54.3%
EBIT / Interest Exp.	19.6x	22.4x	24.8x	25.3x
EBITDA / Interest Exp.	24.0x	27.4x	30.1x	30.7x
(EBITDA-CAPEX) / Interest Exp.	18.6x	21.4x	24.4x	24.7x
Total Debt/EBITDA	2.1x	1.8x	1.8x	1.8x
Net Debt/EBITDA	1.5x	1.1x	1.0x	1.0x
Total Debt/(EBITDA-CAPEX)	2.7x	2.3x	2.2x	2.2x
Net Debt/(EBITDA-CAPEX)	1.9x	1.4x	1.2x	1.2x
Altman Z Score	3.4	3.87	3.72	3.74
Growth Over Prior Year				
Total Revenue	(7.1%)	(4.9%)	(7.7%)	(4.7%)
Gross Profit	(11.8%)	(3.0%)	(3.5%)	(1.5%)

EBITDA	(0.3%)	0.7%	1.6%	1.2%
EBITA	(1.6%)	0.4%	1.8%	0.9%
EBIT	(1.5%)	0.9%	2.4%	1.4%
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	(2.7%)	(22.2%)	21.0%	21.3%
Net Income	2.9%	(39.6%)	49.3%	38.9%
Normalized Net Income	(2.5%)	1.8%	3.5%	2.9%
Diluted EPS before Extra	(2.3%)	(21.7%)	23.1%	23.6%
Accounts Receivable	(1.9%)	(28.5%)	(4.3%)	(0.2%)
Inventory	(2.2%)	(26.3%)	(5.3%)	(4.6%)
Net PP&E	2.9%	(11.9%)	(1.4%)	1.2%
Total Assets	3.6%	(10.2%)	(1.8%)	(0.2%)
Tangible Book Value	NM	NM	NM	NM
Common Equity	1.8%	(9.9%)	(8.2%)	(6.5%)
Cash from Ops.	(6.2%)	4.7%	5.7%	2.8%
Capital Expenditures	(4.0%)	(2.9%)	(11.3%)	0.2%
Levered Free Cash Flow	(35.4%)	92.6%	(28.0%)	181.7%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	(33.4%)	84.9%	(27.2%)	167.0%
Dividend per Share	7.0%	5.9%	2.5%	2.0%
Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Two Years				
Total Revenue	(4.7%)	(6.0%)	(6.3%)	(9.2%)
Gross Profit	(6.7%)	(7.5%)	(3.3%)	(7.7%)
EBITDA	(2.2%)	0.2%	1.1%	(2.2%)
EBITA	(2.3%)	(0.6%)	1.1%	(2.7%)
EBIT	(2.4%)	(0.3%)	1.6%	(2.4%)
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	7.9%	(13.0%)	(3.0%)	(4.5%)
Net Income	4.0%	(21.1%)	(5.0%)	0.1%
Normalized Net Income	(2.2%)	(0.3%)	2.6%	(1.4%)
Diluted EPS before Extra	8.8%	(12.5%)	(1.8%)	(3.3%)
Accounts Receivable	2.6%	(16.2%)	(17.2%)	(12.8%)
Inventory	0.3%	(15.1%)	(16.5%)	(16.1%)
Net PP&E	4.6%	(4.8%)	(6.8%)	(5.9%)
Total Assets	4.4%	(3.6%)	(6.1%)	(3.4%)
Tangible Book Value	NM	NM	NM	NM
Common Equity	4.6%	(4.3%)	(9.1%)	(6.1%)
Cash from Ops.	2.5%	(0.9%)	5.2%	(2.0%)
Capital Expenditures	(1.5%)	(3.5%)	(7.2%)	(6.1%)
Levered Free Cash Flow	(21.1%)	11.6%	17.8%	11.1%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	(20.2%)	10.9%	16.0%	10.3%
Dividend per Share	7.0%	6.4%	4.2%	3.4%

Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Three Years				
Total Revenue	(2.8%)	(4.8%)	(6.6%)	(7.3%)
Gross Profit	(5.0%)	(5.5%)	(6.2%)	(6.9%)
EBITDA	(2.4%)	(1.2%)	0.6%	(2.1%)
EBITA	(3.5%)	(1.4%)	0.2%	(2.8%)
EBIT	(3.5%)	(1.3%)	0.6%	(2.5%)
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	(3.1%)	(3.2%)	(2.9%)	(3.8%)
Net Income	(0.4%)	(13.2%)	(2.4%)	(2.7%)
Normalized Net Income	(3.9%)	(0.9%)	0.9%	(2.2%)
Diluted EPS before Extra	(2.1%)	(2.5%)	(2.0%)	(2.9%)
Accounts Receivable	0.6%	(9.0%)	(12.4%)	(10.4%)
Inventory	(2.9%)	(9.5%)	(12.0%)	(12.2%)
Net PP&E	1.6%	(1.2%)	(3.6%)	(4.1%)
Total Assets	1.4%	(0.7%)	(3.0%)	(2.9%)
Tangible Book Value	NM	NM	NM	NM
Common Equity	0.8%	(0.5%)	(5.6%)	(5.1%)
Cash from Ops.	1.5%	3.2%	1.2%	1.8%
Capital Expenditures	5.2%	(2.0%)	(6.1%)	(4.1%)
Levered Free Cash Flow	(8.9%)	6.2%	(3.6%)	9.4%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	(8.6%)	5.6%	(3.6%)	8.9%
Dividend per Share	7.5%	6.6%	5.1%	4.6%

Compound Annual Growth Rate Over Five Years				
Total Revenue	(0.6%)	(1.8%)	(4.2%)	(4.6%)
Gross Profit	(1.4%)	(3.3%)	(4.3%)	(4.4%)
EBITDA	(1.6%)	(1.8%)	(1.0%)	(0.7%)
EBITA	(2.1%)	(2.4%)	(1.7%)	(1.1%)
EBIT	(2.0%)	(2.3%)	(1.5%)	(1.1%)
Earnings from Cont. Ops.	(0.0%)	(5.2%)	(3.0%)	(2.7%)
Net Income	(2.8%)	(11.2%)	(2.3%)	(2.0%)
Normalized Net Income	(1.8%)	(1.9%)	(1.3%)	(0.7%)
Diluted EPS before Extra	1.3%	(3.9%)	(2.0%)	(1.6%)
Accounts Receivable	1.8%	(3.1%)	(7.0%)	(6.5%)
Inventory	(0.4%)	(4.8%)	(8.6%)	(9.0%)
Net PP&E	2.8%	0.4%	(1.9%)	(1.4%)
Total Assets	1.4%	0.2%	(1.7%)	(1.1%)
Tangible Book Value	NM	NM	NM	NM
Common Equity	2.0%	0.5%	(3.2%)	(2.2%)
Cash from Ops.	(1.3%)	(2.0%)	3.0%	2.7%
Capital Expenditures	3.5%	4.0%	0.0%	(0.9%)
Levered Free Cash Flow	(11.0%)	(2.7%)	1.0%	10.6%
Unlevered Free Cash Flow	(11.1%)	(2.9%)	0.5%	9.7%
Dividend per Share	8.4%	7.6%	6.2%	5.8%

Section III: Critical Essays

Mina and her Men: Examining Gender in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*

Madison LaSorda (Theatre/Speech)¹

Bram Stoker's *Dracula* examines gender not just by portraying gender roles, but also by showing the bending and crossing of gender lines. While multiple characters challenge gender roles throughout the book, none do so more than Mina Harker, née Murray. Mina's journey throughout the novel shows her visiting both ends of the gender spectrum. Van Helsing says it best when he notes, "she has a man's brain...and a woman's heart" (Stoker 226-227). In a world with strict gender roles and no concept of a gender spectrum, Mina is an anomaly. Her "unwomanly" intelligence, however, might have gone unnoticed if it were not for Mina and the band of men's encounter with Count Dracula. Dracula, and the supernatural events that accompany him, is the catalyst that causes the characters to cross gender lines, willingly or not. In surviving her encounter with him, Mina not only crosses gender lines, she also creates herself as a matriarch in a patriarchal world.

The first person whose gender role is altered by Dracula within the novel is Mina's fiancé, Jonathan Harker. When he travels east to meet with Dracula as a solicitor, Jonathan soon becomes a captive within Dracula's castle. Dracula forces Jonathan into a position many middle and upper class Victorian women were accustomed to—being stuck inside a house, the domestic sphere. Jonathan, also like women of the time, is powerless to do anything but accept his position. The doors to the outside are kept locked and when he tries to reach out for help by means of sending letters, Dracula intercepts the letters and silences him (43). In other words, while keeping him prisoner, Dracula completely dominates Jonathan.

Along with domination, Dracula treats Jonathan with an air of seduction and physical possession. Though Dracula does not treat his captive cruelly or dominate him through scare tactics, he removes Jonathan's agency—his freedom to leave and his voice through letters—while still providing him food, a place to sleep, and gentlemanly conversation. Later, however, Dracula's true intentions become clear when Jonathan encounters the three vampire women. When Dracula walks in on Jonathan and the women, he says to the vampire women, "I promise you that when I am done with him

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Susan Bernardo for EN 225: *Ghosts, Vampires, and Civilization in English Gothic Fiction*.

you shall kiss him at your will” (39). Dejan Kuzmanovic describes the kiss Dracula alludes to:

The emphasis on the woman's mouth, lips, and teeth, as well as her going on her knees and moving her head lower and lower, connote fellatio, even though Harker's weakened ego is still strong enough to substitute the throat, with its 'super-sensitive skin,' for the penis, but the woman's sharp teeth and her impending bite clearly endanger the throat/penis and suggest castration, which Harker, less and less invested in maintaining his own masculinity, almost welcomes, in an ultimately masochistic impulse. (Kuzmanovic 417)

The kiss Dracula was so desperate to stop would not just turn Jonathan into a vampire, but also could remove the last of his masculinity. Marking Jonathan as his possession until he says otherwise implies that Dracula wishes to perform the “castration” himself and the vampire women only have permission to kiss Jonathan after Dracula has kissed him first. Dracula wants to be the only creator of vampires and therefore remain at the center of his harem with all vampires directly connected to him.

Eventually, Jonathan escapes Castle Dracula and manages to make his way to Budapest, where he is diagnosed with brain fever. His fiancée, Mina, travels to Budapest where they are reunited and ultimately married before returning to England. Jonathan, however, remains in the feminized state Dracula forced him into. Before they are married, Jonathan gives Mina his journal and says, ““Here is the book. Take it and keep it, read it if you will, but never let me know unless, indeed, some solemn duty should come upon me to go back to the bitter hours” (Stoker 103). As Alison Case notes, Jonathan’s continued feminized state is evident by this treatment of the journal he wrote during his time at Dracula’s castle. Case says, “the abdication of narrative authority signaled by Jonathan’s rejection of the journal provides the context for Mina’s growing importance as a complier and interpreter of her own and others’ stories,” and, “Mina, not Jonathan, is now the authority on what he ‘meant to say’” (229). In other words, Jonathan’s unmaning not only feminizes him, but also leaves a void of masculinity in his marriage with Mina—a void she easily fills.

This narrative and masculine authority Mina now possesses is evident when she meets Dr. Abraham Van Helsing. After failing to prevent Lucy Westenra becoming a vampire, Van Helsing reaches out to Mina, a close friend of Lucy’s, hoping to gather more information about Dracula. Not only does Mina give him a copy of Jonathan’s journal that she typed out, she also makes the effort to show off her intelligence. When Van Helsing asks to see her own journal from her time staying with Lucy, Mina first gives him the original written in shorthand, assuming correctly that he cannot read it (Stoker 177). This power play not only shows off her intelligence, but also tells Van Helsing that she is not just a dutiful wife handing papers over for the men to deal with.

Instead Mina is a woman with her own mind and with agency. Mina's power play is successful, for Van Helsing immediately remarks, "Oh, you so clever woman!" (177).

Despite Mina's masculine qualities, the band of men who go up against Dracula still do not see her as an equal. The men in question include Mina's husband, Jonathan Harker; the late Lucy's fiancé, Arthur Holmwood; two of Lucy's former suitors, Quincey Morris and Dr. John Seward; and Dr. Seward's former mentor, Van Helsing. After telling the entire group about vampire lore and explaining the best way to destroy Dracula, Van Helsing turns to Mina and says,

And now for you Madame Mina, this night is the end until all be well. You are too precious to us to have such risk. When we part tonight, you no more must question. We shall tell you all in good time. We are men and are able to bear, but you must be our star and our hope, and we shall act all the more free that you are not in danger, such as we are. (233)

Van Helsing not only wants Mina to be removed from the physical action, he also wants to keep her in the dark about the events to come, despite the fact that while organizing and typing up all the information thus far she has been made aware of the horrors of Dracula's world and has handled it as well as, if not better than, the men. Van Helsing both underestimates Mina and becomes an anti-feminist force that tries to push Mina back into her proper gender role. Mina, as a patriarchal woman, writes in her journal about the men's decision, "though it was a bitter pill to swallow, I could say nothing, save to accept their chivalrous care of me" (233). In this way, Mina passively allows the men to retake the agency she had gained. Although she is more than capable of performing male tasks and has the initiative to research and organize without being asked, Mina is not actively pursuing equality. Due to the era she lives in, she has been socially programmed to consider herself subordinate to men. Masculine qualities do not automatically give Mina equal rights in her mind or the men's, instead she becomes a threat to their patriarchal world, and so they try to push her out of it.

While the human men might not think Mina is their equal, Dracula singles her out in a way that infers that he considers her, if not his equal, a greater threat than the men actively attacking him. After he has drunk her blood, Dracula says, "And so you, like the others, would play your brains against mine," and in doing so both acknowledges that she is intelligent and equates her with the men (277). For him, all humans are equal for they are all prey. Dracula does acknowledge human patriarchy, however, and uses it to manipulate the band of men when he claims possession of 'their' women—"your girls" he calls them—but it is Mina he chooses to link his mind with by giving her his blood (296, 277). He could have chosen Van Helsing who has the most knowledge of vampires and has been doing most of the plotting, or Jonathan, with whom he already has a relationship, but instead he chooses Mina to become "flesh of my flesh, blood of my

blood, kin of my kin” (277).

Dracula, as the being causing all the gender shifting in the other characters, is interestingly gendered himself. Through his domination of Jonathan and his vampire progeny he appears masculine, but unlike human men, Dracula can reproduce without a woman. Likewise, the three vampire women we meet can presumably reproduce without a man, but Dracula physically prevents them from doing so. He has created for himself a forced matriarchy by allowing no one else to vampirically procreate. In other words, he has made himself both the patriarch and the matriarch of his world.

Not only does his ability to reproduce feminize Dracula, Van Helsing does as well. When speaking to his fellow men, Van Helsing refers to Dracula’s brain as a “big child-brain” (292). Children, as well as women, criminals, savages, and the insane, were considered to be right-brained in this era, while men were superiorly left-brained (Stiles 885). Despite having failed to protect Mina from being bitten by Dracula, by thinking he has a child’s brain, Van Helsing implies that he considers Dracula to be inferior. Inferiority and femininity go hand-in-hand in this era, and therefore Dracula is once again feminized.

There is one other way in which Dracula is feminized, and it relates to one of the rules of vampirism. According to Van Helsing, a vampire cannot enter a dwelling unless a member of the household grants him permission (Stoker 231). The home is considered feminine space, yet it is the space Dracula most wants to penetrate. With all the men occupied next door at Dracula’s English estate, Carfax, perfectly poised to become prey, Dracula still seeks out Mina to satiate his appetite, just as he did with Lucy. Permission, in this case, was given by Renfield, a patient in Dr. Seward’s asylum, prior to Mina taking up temporary residence there. Renfield, like the other men, is compelled to try to protect Mina and asks to be moved out of the asylum in order to negate the invitation to enter he gave Dracula, but Dr. Seward denies him (238). In general, however, Dracula’s inability to enter the female space without permission infers that he still possesses masculine qualities, but by wanting to enter it he feminizes himself as well.

In the final battle between the band of men and Dracula, Mina witnesses and notes in her journal “a look of peace” on Dracula’s face as he is killed (364). Both her noticing this and the gladness it brings her denotes, not for the first time in the novel, her mothering instincts. Earlier in the novel when she comforts Arthur after the loss of Lucy, Mina records in her journal,

We woman have something of the mother in us that makes us rise above smaller matters when the mother spirit is invoked. I felt this big sorrowing man’s head resting on me, as though it were that of a baby that may someday lie on my bosom, and I stroked his hairs as though he were my own child. (222)

Although Mina has masculine qualities, one feminine quality she maintains throughout the novel is her maternal instinct. Just as Van Helsing says, she has “a woman’s heart” (227). She comforts a grieving man even though he is little more than a stranger to her, and she is the only one of the band who cares whether Dracula is at peace in death.

The endnote in the novel informs us that Mina does eventually become an actual mother. When writing about their son, Jonathan says, “his bundle of names links all our little band of men together. But we call him Quincey” (365). Naming her son after all the men who went after Dracula—Quincey, Jonathan, Arthur, John Seward, and Van Helsing—implies multiple men are responsible for the child, in other words, multiple fathers. Due to their adventure, they are all linked to Mina with varying degrees of intimacy. Jonathan is her husband; Arthur was mothered by her; Quincey died to save her; Seward let her listen to his recorded diary; and Van Helsing hypnotized her. While they may not all be the biological father, having gone through so much to save her from damnation they all feel responsible for her and her offspring. This is very similar to a hypothetical matriarchal society where multiple sex partners would allow a woman to have multiple men acting protectively over their potential children. In a spiritual way, Mina has created a similar matriarchy for herself.

In *Dracula*, both Mina Harker and Dracula are androgynous characters—embodying a mix of feminine and masculine qualities. While for most of the novel Dracula’s supernatural existence affects the genders of the other characters, when he dies at the end he leaves a void in the shape of a simultaneously matriarchal and patriarchal figure. In slicing open Dracula’s throat, Jonathan loses the femininity caused by the vampire and is able to finish the novel with verbal agency, just as he started it. This leaves Mina, with “her man’s brain” and “woman’s heart” as the only surviving character able to fill Dracula’s role (226, 277). Not only does she meet the gender qualifications, but also Dracula himself made her kin by sharing his blood, which also makes her the rightful successor. Although she is not as cruel and her influence does not go further than the four remaining men and her son, by surviving Dracula’s attack, Mina replaces him and becomes a matriarch in her own world.

Works Cited

Case, Alison. “Tasting the Original Apple: Gender and the Struggle for Narrative Authority in *Dracula*.” *Narrative*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1993, pp. 223-243. *JSTOR*. Accessed 28 Nov. 2016.

Kuzmanovic, Dejan. “Vampiric Seduction and Vicissitudes of Masculine Identity in

Bram Stoker's *Dracula*." *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2009, pp. 411-425. *JSTOR*. Accessed 28 Nov. 2016.

Stiles, Anne. "Robert Louis Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde* and the Double Brain." *Studies in English Literature*, vol. 46, no. 4, 2006, pp. 879-900. *JSTOR*. Accessed 28 Nov. 2016.

Stoker, Bram. *Dracula*. Canterbury Classics, 1897; 2012.

Seneca Village: A Forgotten History

Hadeel Mishal (History)¹

Seneca Village beautifully, and tragically, shows how unity and determination can get a community far, and the ways in which powerful people and institutions can decimate these things, and leave them forgotten in history. Seneca Village, a free black community in Manhattan, was established in 1825 when white land-owners sold off their plots at affordable rates to black New Yorkers. Over the course of its existence, from 1825 to 1861, the community became a thriving place for black people, eventually containing a flourishing community of three churches, two schools, two cemeteries, and upwards of 200 houses.² For black Americans, Seneca Village represented hope, and the potential that they had to be successful in this country. However, during the 1850s, with the movement to construct a municipal park for public gatherings, Seneca Village residents were caught in the middle and their land taken away through eminent domain. By 1861, despite resistance from the Seneca Villagers, the neighborhood was razed and disappeared from both the map of Manhattan, and from NYC history.³ My research suggests Seneca Village, which was a vibrant and successful community, should receive more attention from historians as an important example of northern black resistance to white aggression before the Civil War.

By as early as 1871, the Village was forgotten in New York City. Located between 82nd and 89th Street, from 7th to 8th Avenue, this tiny area achieved the closest thing to middle-class status for black people. As workers were uprooting trees at the new entrance of Central Park, on the corner of 85th Street and 8th Avenue, they came upon two coffins, both containing Black people from Seneca Village.⁴ This was so surprising that this discovery made it to the *New-York Herald*: an area which once served as a community for Blacks was lost in a matter of ten years. This was the beginning of unearthing the history of one of the most successful black communities in the Northern states.

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

² Leslie Alexander, *African or American? Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 157.

³ Alexander, *African or American?*, 172.

⁴ "Yesterday Afternoon," *New-York Herald* (New York, NY), August 11, 1871.

Seneca Village's history disappeared quickly. This stems from the lack of primary sources that have survived. Newspaper articles from *The New York Times*, *The New York Daily Tribune*, and *New York Sun* offer historians the richest sources for exploring Seneca Village. Also, there are government documents such as the Census, the Mayor's notes, and the Board of Commissioners of Central Park's *First and Second Annual Report on the Improvement of the Central Park*. Topographical maps, which were created to survey the location of the Park also exist, such as Egbert L. Viele's "Topographical Map of the City of New York," which shows the original water courses and land quality. A Central Park map book from 1856 shows the plots of land owned in all the area taken for the creation of Central Park, including Seneca Village. Lastly, there are documents (such as a list of members) which survived from one of the churches in Seneca Village, All Angel's Church, upon its transfer to its new location. No letters or documents remain from the community members, which makes studying the everyday life of a Seneca Villager extremely challenging. Although some history has been pieced together on Seneca Village, there are gaps within it. This shows how primary documents are instrumental to putting together a concise history, and how the lack of them leaves stories incomplete. Here, we see how this incomplete story leaves blank spaces in New York City history as well as erases the presence and contributions of Black New Yorkers.

Seneca Village served as a jewel for black New Yorkers. Unlike other black neighborhoods in New York, black people in Seneca Village were middle-class and owned land. In fact, "about 50% of Seneca Village residents owned land, which was five times higher than the average ownership rate for all New Yorkers," showing how the community differed from other Black communities in the North through land ownership.⁵ John Whitehead, a white cart man, was selling off plots of land in the Upper West Side during 1825. There is no information on how Whitehead had obtained so much land or why he was choosing to sell it off. Andrew Williams, a young black man, bought three lots from Whitehead, and then Epiphany Davis bought twelve lots in the area. Within a week, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church purchased six lots as well.⁶ It is unknown why AME Zion Church decided to purchase the lots in Seneca Village, but it is known that the AME Zion church had been organized in New York in 1756, and that it was described as the "largest and wealthiest church of the coloured people in this city, perhaps in this country."⁷ Davis' purchase really put a stake in the area, because he was a

⁵ Elizabeth Blackmar and Roy Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 70.

⁶ Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 65.

⁷ Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 66.

leader of AME Zion, and over the course of three years, three or four other church leaders purchased plots. Communities have historically been built around houses of worship, which would explain AME Zion church's investments in the plots, as well as the purchases which came later from other church leaders. Although it is unknown why these men decided to purchase these plots, my research suggests that the men intended to build a community, because they settled in close proximity to one another. Williams and Davis went on to be the founding fathers of the Village, because between 1825 and 1832, Whitehead sold off the remainder of his fifty plots to black families.⁸ Although there is no evidence on why Whitehead chose to sell off his land to black people, it is significant to note that in other parts of New York City, this was uncommon, making Seneca Village unique as a free black community.

The influential role of the church in Seneca Village was solidified in 1853, when the AME Zion church laid a cornerstone on 85th Street, between 7th and 8th Avenues. It was laid out to honor the location of the new building, which would be "22x40 in size, [with] the basement of it serving as a school-room for the education for colored children."⁹ This shows that the church served as a foundation for the community, because it provided a place of worship for the "fifty colored families' resid[ing] in the neighborhood," and also contributed to the education of the Black students.¹⁰ The laying of the cornerstone shows how critical the church was to Seneca Village, because it was so well-established, and was one of the first plots to be purchased in the founding of the Village.

Black enfranchisement was an important element of why Seneca Village was able to be actively against the construction of Central Park. Of the 13,000 Black New Yorkers, 91 Black New York residents were qualified to vote, and 10 lived in Seneca Village (which only spanned about eight blocks up, and two blocks across). The purchase of land by Blacks came to play out significantly in their political engagement. Blacks in Seneca Village were extremely politically engaged in proportion to the rest of New York. The requirements for voting were "a \$250 freehold estate and three years of residency in the state," which some of the Seneca Villagers fit the criteria for.¹¹ This is incredible, and

⁸ Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 74-75.

⁹ "Laying of a Corner-Stone," *New-York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), August 5, 1853.

¹⁰ "Laying of a Corner-Stone," *New-York Daily Tribune*.

¹¹ Elizabeth Blackmar and Roy Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 72.

shows that Seneca Villagers were more likely to be politically engaged than their black counterparts in other neighborhoods, which would serve as a substantial reason to keep their community established. This also provides a reason for why black ownership was critical to political activism. Furthermore, this is important because it shows a large difference between Seneca Villagers and the rest of the free black population in the North, who were disenfranchised.

Seneca Village functioned as a community of working class people, with only three residents being considered middle class: German grocer Henry Meyers, black grocer William Pease, and New York born innkeeper John Haff.¹² This is interesting, because although the community consisted mostly of unskilled laborers and service traders, they were able to build a sustainable, functioning community. Economic activity in the community was reflective of the rest of New York City, with women and children supplementing the earnings of the men. Black women “worked as domestics and laundresses...and wives contributed to the household economy through housework: sewing, economizing on meal preparation, and especially scavenging for food, clothing, and fuel.”¹³ This shows that their labor force was similar to the rest of New York City. Establishing this labor force and economic balance is important to note, because one of the Park’s first engineers described that Seneca Villagers were “living off the refuse of the city,” and “denuding the park’s forests for firewood,” thus attempting to degrade the community and financial security that Seneca Villagers were able to develop.¹⁴

It is necessary to challenge that narrative, and show that despite the Village being predominantly lower class, they were able to sustain themselves. White New Yorkers made Seneca Villagers out to be scavengers, who could not provide for themselves. In fact, the Village was frequently referred to as “Ni**er Village.” In one article, Seneca Villagers were described as “present[ing] a pleasing contrast in their habits and the appearance of their dwellings to the Celtic occupants, in common with hogs and goats, of the shanties in the lower part of the Park.”¹⁵ This excerpt, from an article published in 1856, which serves as a primary source, shows how the Seneca Villagers were viewed by their white counterparts. Their homes were referred to as “shanties in the lower part of the Park,” which was alluding to Five Points, where most Black Manhattanites lived. Five Points was reputed for having high crimes rates, rampant

¹² Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 68.

¹³ Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 69.

¹⁴ Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 69.

¹⁵ “The Present Look of Our Great Central Park,” *New-York Daily Times* (New York, NY), July 9, 1856.

prostitution, and gang activity. This description of Seneca Village is problematic in many ways, because Five Points has continually been dramatized as being worse than it actually was, and this newspaper article only added to the stigmas of black people in New York City. Considering that this was being published in the newspaper, there was a massive audience who was engrossed with this information, giving black people living in Five Points and Seneca Village a terrible, and quite falsified reputation. Moreover, the author seems to compare the residents to animals alongside the Irish immigrants who also occupied the Village, showing a disregard for their humanity. Approximately 30% of the population of the Village was composed of Irish immigrants, showing that there was class and racial unity and solidarity between the two groups of people.¹⁶ It is important to note that although Seneca Village was predominantly black, they were welcoming to the Irish immigrant community, who historically faced racial discrimination.

Talks of a centralized park in Manhattan became serious in 1848, with the publication of Andrew Downing's "A Talk about Public Parks and Gardens." Downing was a horticulturalist and landscape designer who believed that creating public space would advance urban environments. He went on to say that Manhattan was the ideal location for a public park, which would promote social freedom by providing a space for interaction between different classes.¹⁷ When this push for a park continued, Mayor Kingsland partitioned Jones Woods, which was near the East River, to be used as a space for a public park.¹⁸ Andrew Downing immediately opposed the location, because it was too small of a place which would not be effective in serving its purpose. He suggested that the Common Council, the municipal legislature, use land above Thirty Ninth Street, because it was more spacious, and would provide "broad reaches of park and pleasure grounds, with a real feeling of the breadth and beauty of green fields, the perfumes and freshness of nature."¹⁹ Following the publication of Downing's article, in July 1851, the Common Council actually took his advice and decided that they wanted "the piece of

¹⁶ Elizabeth Blackmar and Roy Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 66.

¹⁷ Andrew Downing, "A Talk about Public Parks and Gardens," *Horticulturalist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 3, no. 4 (October 1848): 155. Although the idea of Central Park is typically credited to Andrew Downing, it is important to note that William Cullen Bryant issued an appeal for a public park in 1844, four years prior to Downing. Nevertheless, Downing's articles have been referred to as the birth of the idea of a Central Park.

¹⁸ Board of Commissioners of Central Park, *First Annual Report on the Improvement of the Central Park*, New York (New York: Charles Baker, Printer, 1857), 6.

¹⁹ Downing, "A Talk about Public Parks and Gardens," 346-47.

ground lying between Fifth and Eighth Avenues, Fifty-Ninth and One Hundred Sixth Streets, for the purpose indicated over that known as Jones Woods.”²⁰

This sudden decision to change the location of the park to annexing 800 acres of land was controversial, and was complicated for a wide array of reasons, the most central being the annexation of Seneca Village. A crucial reason for its controversy was the way the Central Park Board of Commissioners described the land in this annex. They declared that a lot of the land in this area to be unfit for a park to be built. The land south of Seneca Village was reported as “a pestilential spot, where rank vegetation and miasmatic odors taint every breath.”²¹ The reason this did not sit well with many Manhattanites was because the reports contradicted the way the Council would use the land. If the land was unfit for being constructed into a park, why take the land? Furthermore, the land that the *Report* described as pestilential and bad for vegetation was actually able to sustain greenery. It is unclear why the *Report* was so ambiguous and misinformed.

Manhattanites whose land was being taken away for the construction of Central Park attempted to change the location of the Park by petition, which gained thousands of people’s support. The petition protested the new, expanded location for the park. It stated that “the time to consummate this desirable object should be no longer delayed,” and that the Council should work as soon as possible on the land which is “so eligibly situated,” referring back to the original location at Jones Woods.²² There is no evidence that residents from Seneca Village signed this petition, but it can be inferred that if other Manhattanites were this upset and willing to challenge authority, so would the Seneca Villagers. Consequently, something interesting came from this unity and resistance: a suspension of the construction of Central Park. This resulted in a subcommittee overturning the plans, and going back to the construction of a park at Jones Woods. For a moment, there was a sense of victory for those who would have been displaced.

Fernando Wood, the new Mayor, used his power to veto this resolution on March 23, 1855, and continued the plans for Central Park.²³ His decision was quite shocking, considering that he represented the people, yet made a decision that went against the thousands of people (black and white) who signed the petition for the change in location for the Park. This suggests that there could have been a complicity to build Central Park in order to raise property value. The construction of the Park was funded

²⁰ Board of Commissioners of Central Park, *First Annual Report*, 6.

²¹ Board of Commissioners of Central Park, *First Annual Report*, 11-12.

²² James W. Beekman Papers, *Jones Woods Petitions*, New York City, 1853. The land which is being referred to as “eligibly situated” is Jones Woods.

²³ Blackmar and Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People*, 56.

federally and privately, and Wood was financially invested in Central Park. Wood owned property adjoining Seneca Village, and an examination of Wood's tax records show that following the razing of Seneca Village, his land value increased from a few hundred dollars to over \$10,000.²⁴ This shows that there was corruption in the support Wood gave for the construction of the Park, because he was looking to make financial profits, as opposed to representing the residents who wanted to see a change in location.

It is significant to understand Wood's views of black people in the North, because it gives better insight on the theory that it was possible that Woods intentionally wanted to raze Seneca Village because of prejudice against black people. During his time in Congress as a member of the House of Representatives, 1841-1843, he advocated against the removal of the property qualifications from Black voting to make it more difficult for them to be politically engaged. He also supported the *Dred Scott* decision, and supported the extension of slavery into new territories of the United States. Wood strongly despised the Radical Republicans because they were promising "lazy, unfit blacks immediate suffrage, high pay and social superiority."²⁵ All of these words and actions help to build up a conclusion that not only was Woods benefitting financially from the creation of Central Park, but he was using his power to get rid of black people from New York City, specifically Seneca Village. The Village functioned as a community with politically active citizens, who owned land: Wood's voting record suggests he was opposed to black enfranchisement. Furthermore, this shows how anti-black sentiments fueled decisions like that of Wood, because he was motivated by black disenfranchisement and making profits in his investments.

An interesting theory on Seneca Village, developed by historian Leslie Alexander, is that Seneca Villagers were involved in the Underground Railroad. The location of the Village, uptown, and away from the chaos of the City, would make it a place that was away from preying eyes. Also, the African Society helped to establish Seneca Village, and was known for its help in the Railroad. Men such as Charles Ray, James McCune Smith, John J. Zuille, and Albro Lyons were known conductors of the Railroad, and were connected to the African Society. Furthermore, there were more

²⁴ Fernando Wood's Tax Records, 1855-1860; Alexander, *African or American?*, 168.

²⁵ Alexander, *African or American?*, 169. Woods continued this discrimination against Black people, and stated that to make the United States a better country, they needed to "extinguish the followers of the anti-slavery fiend stalking the country." He also believed in an armed rebellion against Blacks to annihilate them. Furthermore, Wood and his brother, who were publishers of the *New York Daily News*, have been blamed for instigating the 1863 draft riots, which resulted in riots, the destruction of Black institutions and the torture and death of hundreds of Blacks.

homes than residents in Seneca Village, which means that there would be space to house these fugitives.²⁶ The Railroad would have operated in total secrecy, so there is no way to confirm Seneca Village's role in it. If Seneca Villagers could be active in the Underground Railroad, that is the ultimate form of resistance against the oppression of black people in the United States. Therefore, we can assume that if they were active in this ultimate form of resistance, then they would also be active against their forcible relocation.

Although there is no research that shows where the Seneca Villagers found their new homes, there is evidence that shows that the residents were not given the full value of their lots, because the government decided on the property value. One of the founding fathers of Seneca Village, Andrew Williams, made a plea to get more out of his plots. He claimed that the price for his plots was valued at least \$4,000 each, instead of the \$2,335 the government was giving him per plot.²⁷ Furthermore, the *First Annual Report* issued by the Board of Commissioners stated that Seneca Villagers were pleading to either keep their property, or get more out of it.²⁸ There is no proof that the protesting and petitioning was successful, because by 1861, Seneca Village was cleared and razed. The mystery of where the Seneca Villagers scattered to makes it even more challenging to piece together whether or not their resistance was effective in any way.

After it was decided that Seneca Village was going to be taken through eminent domain, there is a debate about the extent the Villagers resisted their relocation. According to James Roman, who wrote *Chronicles of Old New York: Exploring Manhattan's Landmark Neighborhoods*, "On October 1, 1857, the residents of Seneca Village scattered, quietly and without violence, enabling the construction of Central Park."²⁹ On the other hand, Leslie Alexander uses her book *African or American? Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861* to recount opposition from the community. In her chapter on Seneca Village, Alexander notes that "for those remaining few who did not comply, the police violently removed them in the following month."³⁰ Furthermore, she refers to an article published in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1866, which states that "[the raid upon Seneca Village could] not be forgotten... many a brilliant and stirring fight was had during the campaign. But the supremacy of the law

²⁶ Alexander, *African or American?*, 166.

²⁷ Andrew Williams, *Andrew Williams's Affidavit of Petition*, 1856.

²⁸ Board of Commissioners of Central Park, *First Annual Report*, 93.

²⁹ James Roman, *Chronicles of Old New York: Exploring Manhattan's Landmark Neighborhoods* (United States: Museyon, 2010), 96.

³⁰ Alexander, *African or American?*, 173.

was upheld by the policeman's bludgeons," which implies that the Seneca Villagers were passionate about opposing the government.³¹ This conflict in opinion is not uncommon for historical events, but it is quite interesting, because they completely oppose one another. Alexander argues vehemently that Blacks were politically active during the antebellum period, and throughout her book, uses her tone to push this idea forward.

My research suggests that Alexander's view is probably the most accurate. The *New-York Daily Tribune* published an article titled "City Items: Central Park Lands," on May 28, 1856, which explores the "commotion among property-holders within the proposed limits."³² This article is key to understanding potential Seneca Village resistance, because there was a general mass of commotion from the people who were being kicked out to build Central Park. Although this article does not specifically state that Seneca Villagers were putting up resistance, it is important to understand that there would be a general sense of unity and anger, because Central Park would displace 800 acres worth of people.³³ This refusal to move, as referred to in this article, can be traced back to "the awards made to them not [being] equal to what, in justice, they are entitled."³⁴ This is an issue which Seneca Villagers struggled with, meaning that this article could be alluding to resistance from Seneca Villagers.

Seneca Villagers were viewed as simple-minded by the main news media outlets. According to another article from *New-York Daily Times*, dated July 9, 1856, Seneca Villagers "have been notified to remove by the first of August. The policemen find it difficult to persuade them out of the ideas which has possessed their simple minds that the sole object of the authorities making the Park is to procure their expulsion from the homes which they occupy."³⁵ These two sentences are extremely powerful, and necessary to understanding Seneca Village and the way it was viewed by whites. Firstly, the tone of this article is degrading and dismissive of the Seneca Villagers, and that is evident in the diction being used. The author, who is anonymous, describes them as "simple minded," as if their beliefs are outlandish. Secondly, this article was published in early July of 1856, which was the year that Seneca Village was taken by eminent domain. A few months to relocate is a very short time to give Seneca Villagers, who had to be out

³¹ Alexander, *African or American?*, 173.

³² "City Items: Central Park Lands," *New-York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), May 28, 1856.

³³ "The Present Look of Our Great Central Park," *New-York Daily Times* (New York, NY), July 9, 1856.

³⁴ "City Items: Central Park Lands," *New-York Daily Tribune*.

³⁵ "The Present Look of Our Great Central Park," *New-York Daily Times*.

by August 1st, 1856. This shows a lack of respect for the members of the community, This could be one more example of how race and class based prejudices have played out in New York City, because there was a lack of respect for the community members, who were being forced out in a short window of time. Lastly, the article states that “the policemen find it difficult to persuade them out of the ideas which has possessed their minds,” suggesting that there was interaction between the community members and the police which did not go in favor of the police, because they were struggling with them. Based on this primary source, our best bet in understanding what happened when Seneca Villagers were being expelled is that they put up a fight. The sources do not touch upon the scale of the resistance, but it shows that there is a contradiction to Roman’s statement of the Seneca Villagers leaving quietly.

However, this brings up a bigger question of why there is no actual documentation of this resistance. Because Seneca Village was so significant to the community members, why haven’t letters or some other form of documentation of this resistance survived? Why are there no surviving police documents, especially since according to the *Tribune* article from ten years later, they were the ones who shut it down?³⁶ Over and over again, the way that whites have regarded and spoken of Seneca Village has been with a poor connotation, but even if historians had a biased account of the resistance, having that as substance would be better than having nothing. Moreover, this is another reason why primary sources are vital for historical analysis, because now we may never know whether or not the Seneca Villagers actually resisted. They had a huge stake in the community; the fact that they were landowners gave them political power- once again, of the 13,000 Blacks in New York, 91 were qualified to vote, and 10 of those people were from Seneca Village, as of 1845. Based on these facts, a historian can assume that the case of resistance is the most plausible. Additionally, in Mario Maffi’s book, *New York City: An Outsider’s Inside View*, he references the New York Historical Society’s exhibit on Seneca Village, and says that “despite a wave of objections and protests, the village inhabitants were scattered,” which does not give the reader much insight on how the Villagers would have conducted this protest.³⁷ Also, the book does not provide any footnotes on the sources that would lead to this conclusion, which is problematic for historians, because he does not state if the exhibit suggested this, or it was an interpretive leap which led him to such a conclusion.

³⁶ *New York Times* (New York, NY), August 17, 1866.

³⁷ Mario Maffi, *New York City: An Outsider’s Inside View* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004), 24.

Researching Seneca Village is fascinating in an array of ways, because there is so much to learn from this underrated neighborhood which once existed in New York City. Seneca Village was a politically engaged community with land owning black people- something practically unheard of during the antebellum period. This community functioned as a hope for black New Yorkers to step up in the social and political ladder to find success, economic stability, and involvement in politics. Despite the razing of Seneca Village, and the erasure from history, it is important to have a coherent understanding of the place, because it serves as a community which was ahead of its time. Seneca Village beautifully, and tragically, shows how unity and determination can get a community far, and the ways in which power structures can decimate these things, and leave them suppressed and erased from history.

Bibliography

Alexander, Leslie. *African or American? Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

James W. Beekman Papers. *Jones Woods Petitions*. New York City, 1853.

Blackmar, Elizabeth, and Roy Rosenzweig. *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992.

Board of Commissioners of Central Park. *First Annual Report on the Improvement of the Central Park*. New York (New York: Charles Baker, Printer, 1857).

“City Items: Central Park Lands.” *New-York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), May 28, 1856. Downing, Andrew. “The New York Park.” *Horticulturalist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 3, no. 4 (October 1848).

Downing, Andrew. “A Talk about Public Parks and Gardens.” *Horticulturalist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste* 8 (August 1, 1851).

Fernando Wood’s Tax Records, 1855-1860.

Germic, Stephen. *American Green: Class, Crisis, and the Deployment of Nature in Central Park, Yosemite, and Yellowstone*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001.

Harris, Leslie M. *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.

“Laying of a Corner-Stone.” *New-York Daily Tribune* (New York, NY), August 5, 1853.

Maffi, Mario. *New York City: An Outsider's Inside View*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004.

Meyerson, Ann. “Review of *Before Central Park: The Life and Death of Seneca Village*.” *The Public Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall, 1997): 100-102.
New York Times (New York, NY), August 17, 1866.

“The Present Look of Our Great Central Park.” *New-York Daily Times* (New York, NY), July 9, 1856.

White, Shane. *Prince of Darkness: The Untold Story of Jeremiah G. Hamilton, Wall Street's First Black Millionaire*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015.

Williams, Andrew. *Andrew Williams's Affidavit of Petition*, 1856.

Is She or Isn't She?

An Analysis of Images of Virginity in Film

Natalie Persia (Arts Administration)¹

There may be no other form of media that affects our culture as much as film. From the time we're children and through the rest of our lives we are constantly being bombarded with images of the world and what life should be through film, without even thinking about the validity of what we are seeing. It comes as no surprise that one of the topics rarely depicted with much accuracy is the image of the virgin and virginity in modern America. Throughout history there have been many misconceptions about what virginity symbolizes and what it means to either keep or lose it. Because film is such a universal medium, the messages it sends are very important to the health and identity of the women who are watching. This paper will analyze the image of the virgin in film as naïve and morally outstanding, with a specific focus on horror movies and *Final Girls*, and how these images further the belief that women should not possess sexual desire.

Virginity has always been a taboo topic throughout history, and in many countries and cultures, something that people feel needs to be guarded. In various cultures there is even a process of examining the hymen of a woman to "check" to make sure she is still a virgin. When discussing this process, Mary Owen Macey explains, "This boundary line is clearly demarked and ferociously protected by those cultures that value virginity before marriage and often rely on a bride-price as a financial reward for raising female children (4)." Often these practices are based on religious customs but the belief is that it is the right of those in power to have control over the women around them. This concept is not an outdated one: it is still very prevalent in the 21st century, especially in non-Western nations. Even if there is less invasive controlling of women's bodies in modern America, they are still viewed as public property subject to public opinion. Men and women alike decide that it is their right to express their concerns when a woman is wearing clothes that are too tight or not enough makeup and what these details must mean about her sexuality. Women's bodies are public property. If the subject of a woman's sexual experience or lack thereof were to become known, even complete strangers would have something to say about it.

Film is not the only modern media form to have an impact on this idea of controlling women's sexuality. Men's magazines like *Maxim* and *GQ* that have pictures

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Laura Morowitz for AH324: *Gender in the Visual Arts*.

of women often place them in two categories – “young, innocent, sweet, highly flawless, bright, open, cheerful female bodies, suggesting playfulness, purity, child-like qualities, or vixens, warrior-like, direct and sexually liberal, dangerous Amazon females or mysterious, hidden, prostitutes and femmes fatales. Categorizations of women's identities as wife or virgin, warrior and prostitute or mistress, make clear the static, unchanging roles allocated to female identities” (Macey 21). There are only these opposing options for images of women in film as well, and often the former is depicted as unglamorous and as inexperienced in the world as she is in sex. She appears childlike in her optimism and ignorance.

Film is the perfect medium to spread images of sexuality in a universal way. People around the world are capable of finding them and finding something in them to relate to. Turvey-Sauron explains, “...it is very difficult to experience the ‘live,’ immersive, awesome quality and transformative power of what is generally understood as the sacred, in the interaction between the static art object and the viewer. Film, however, which has a number of dimensions, such as time, and contains combinations of the aural and visual and of colour and pace, can affect and stimulate the emotional and bodily senses more directly” (153). While magazines can provide images of what seem like the right ways for women to live, film actually provides an immersive experience for its viewers. They can see, hear, and follow the journey of a character so closely that they feel a personal connection with them. In terms of virginity, it is no longer just a topic to speak about but the audience is able to really see it through a character’s eyes. Casey Ryan Kelly explains in *Abstinence Cinema* “...arguments about the meaning of virginity undergo a process of translation as they are converted from assumptions, beliefs, and discursive propositions into a visual and symbolic representation of virginity” (19). Instead of just hearing someone’s beliefs on the topic, they get to understand the topic through their personal experience. Often in film, characters remind viewers of people in their real life as well. By feeling a personal connection with them, viewers will be more likely to identify with them.

Laura M. Carpenter’s *Virginity Loss in Reel/Real Life: Using Popular Movies to Navigate Sexual Initiation*, claims there are three ways movies can depict virginity loss – as a gift, a stigma, or a rite of passage, but they all have an impact on their viewers. “Of the 61 people I interviewed, 52 either told me that they remembered seeing or hearing about virginity from the mass media I inquired about or discussed specific media at another point in the interview (Carpenter 811).” No matter how film projects the idea of virginity, it has an effect on those who view it.

One of the ways film depicts virgins is as naïve, young, inexperienced girls. They are often pictured wearing casual clothes and little to no makeup, especially in comparison to other female characters. While it seems that this projection of a woman would make her a less desirable character, many times it is exactly the opposite. “Conflicting notions of innocence and eroticism, passivity and agency, pricelessness and marketability, swirl around the figure of the beautiful virgin girl...” (MacDonald 7). Instead of being viewed as an de-eroticized child, the virgin is often viewed as a conquest – as a challenge, but one that is worth the end result. Her innocence is the very thing that makes her desirable, and once that innocence is lost, she is fully a woman.

Many times in film, the audience gets to experience the change from virgin to non-virgin and how this change affects the girl involved. One movie where this contrast can be seen is Will Gluck’s *Easy A*. Main character Olive appears as a normal high school student and claims at the beginning of the film that she is “invisible.” The movie focuses on her as a rumor circulates throughout the school that she has lost her virginity to a boy in college. As the movie progresses, she starts wearing more risqué and fashionable clothes; she wears more makeup and puts an obvious amount of effort into her looks as a whole. This switch can be seen as soon as her virginity is “lost,” so even though the character stays a virgin throughout the film, her visuals change. Just as her reputation in school is altered due to her sexual experience, her level of standard beauty changes for the audience as we watch her throughout the movie. Another level is added as she creates for herself and wears a red letter A to symbolize her connection with Hester Prynne from Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter*. The book which Olive’s class is reading tells the story of a woman who had an affair with a pastor and was forced to wear a red “A” as a sign of her crime. In Olive’s case, the red “A” symbolizes that she too has committed a crime in the eyes of her community, but her crime was instead her alleged virginity loss. Just as Hester’s sexuality became the gossip of the town and everyone felt the right to have an opinion on her “crime,” Olive felt the eyes and opinions of the school on her. She became another woman whose sexual encounters suddenly became public property without her permission.

The men in the movie also go through a change as the school begins to think they are no longer virgins. Those who were bullied for years and thrown into dumpsters now have the ability to live their lives without interruption. They are accepted as men who have reached some goal and are now free to live without harassment. Olive, on the other hand, is now the center of attention throughout the school as they all feel it necessary to make comments on the way she dresses and how many sexual partners she has. She becomes the most popular girl in school and men are chasing after her because

of the idea that she is no longer a virgin and now dresses more promiscuously than the other high school girls (*Easy A*).

Perhaps the most obvious example of this transition can be seen in Randal Kleiser's musical film *Grease*. Sandy is a sweet, soft-spoken girl who wears sundresses, her hair in braids, and no makeup. She resists Danny's passes when they are at the drive-in and it is very clear throughout the film that she is a virgin (lyrics in the song "Look at Me, I'm Sandra Dee" such as "Lousy with virginity. Won't go to bed 'til I'm legally wed, I can't; I'm Sandra Dee" show her friends (non-virgins) making fun of the way Sandy lives out her high school years). The switch happens with the reprise of this song, with lyrics, "Sandy you must start anew, don't you know what you must do? Hold your head high, take a deep breath and sigh, goodbye to Sandra Dee." In the next scene she has changed into a black, leather outfit, has teased her hair up high and covered her face with makeup. For the first time in the entire film she is accepted by her friends and receiving the attention she wants from Danny. It can easily be assumed, especially with her goodbye message to Sandra Dee, that she will be losing her virginity to Danny soon, now that she is beautiful and mature enough to do so (*Grease*).

While Olive and Sandy decide not to lose their virginity until they find someone they truly care about, in many scenarios this is not the case. Often, women feel their virginity is a stigma they must get rid of quickly so that they don't have to worry about it anymore. One of the first movies to depict virginity as a stigma, or burden to women that they want to get rid of was Amy Heckerling's *Fast Times at Ridgemont High*. "Young men and women both find virginity embarrassing in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (Amy Heckerling, 1982). Though a departure from traditional norms for women, this portrayal is consistent with real-life trends in the 1980s" (Carpenter 817). Instead of treating the virgin as a goddess with this special secret, it presented her as most women at the time probably felt – that they were living with something they were ready to get rid of. It is also interesting to note that Carpenter claims the embarrassment over virginity was not a traditional norm for women, but something that was an actual trend at this time. During the 1980s, there seems to have been a shift from the innocent virginal goddess into virgins who (although inexperienced) have an actual desire to have sex. This was something that would probably never be shown of women in films before this time.

In an early scene in *Fast Times*, the main character Stacy loses her virginity to a man 7 or 8 years older than her in a baseball dugout. She lies passively on her back and is shown to clearly be in a lot of discomfort. As the scene goes on, a very interesting thing happens with the camera angles. The shots switch back and forth between viewing Stacy's face and showing her point of view by flashing up to the ceiling of the dugout.

Instead of looking at her partner Ron, she is distracting herself with writings on the ceiling. Not even an inch of her partner is visible in these shots, making it clear to the audience that Stacy is trying to focus her attention specifically on anything other than him. This puts the audience in Stacy's place, seeing the same things she is and feeling the same level of discomfort as she is. This discomfort becomes even clearer in the immediately following scene in which the only thing she tells her friend about the event is "It hurt so bad." Her friend responds with "Don't worry, keep doing it, it gets a lot better, I swear" (*Fast Times*). Even if it is unenjoyable, the characters feel virginity loss is something they must get over with quickly until the "better" part of sex comes along. Stacy has a few more sexual encounters over the course of the film, all of which end with her discomfort and obvious pain. She receives no pleasure from any of these experiences and the men she is with all end up leaving her after. One of these encounters even leaves her pregnant and although her partner offers to pay for half of the abortion, he does not hold up this deal and leaves her on her own to figure it out. She eventually ends up with Mark, the sweet boy who liked her from the beginning, and they decide to focus on aspects of the relationship other than sex. The message here is clear – even though Stacy's sexual freedom is acknowledged and the ending of her story isn't too disastrous, she learned that girls who express this desire will not have a positive experience until they find someone they love and wait to have sex.

It is interesting to note that while the 1980s may have been a time of portraying more sexual freedom for women, the typical John Hughes type movies of this time say otherwise. They depict women who are saving themselves and men who have to work hard to prove to the woman why she should lose her virginity to him – although these women view virginity as a gift they can give more than a burden they must get rid of, the romantic quality of these movies is much higher than Stacy's painful dugout scene. The women who hold on to their virginity for as long as possible are the ones who are rewarded with romance and happiness. This is not an outdated concept either. Going back to *Easy A*, there is a scene where Olive asks, "Whatever happened to chivalry? Did it only exist in eighties movies? I want John Cusack holding a boom box outside my window. I want to ride off on a lawnmower with Patrick Dempsey. I want Jake from *Sixteen Candles* waiting outside the church for me. I want Judd Nelson thrusting his fist in the air because he knows he got me just once. I want my life to be like an eighties movie." At the same time a montage of clips from these movies – *Say Anything*, *Can't Buy Me Love*, *Sixteen Candles*, *The Breakfast Club* – flashes across the screen (Kelly 111). In all of these shots the characters are smiling and gazing lovingly at each other in complete joy over having found each other. The idea of the charming man winning over

the sweet, virginal girl with a grand gesture is still what many would consider the ideal romance story. Now, not only is the audience being affected by the messages about virginity in *Easy A*, but they are also reminded of the ideals of movies in the 1980s. A character within this movie acknowledges how her thoughts on sex and virginity were shaped by the film industry while this film does the same for a new generation of audiences. By the end of the movie, Olive, who has actually remained a virgin over the course of the film despite the rumors, is rewarded for her chaste behavior with her happy ending – her love interest Todd playing music outside her house as they raise their fists and ride off on a lawnmower. Olive is rewarded for her chastity just as Stacy is punished for her promiscuity.

One genre that surprisingly focuses a lot on sexual inexperience of women is the horror film category, particularly slasher films. There has been speculation for years that the last character to survive in most horror films is usually an innocent, virginal girl. Angela Weaver's *Embodying the Moral Code* explains, "It is a well-known stereotype among slasher fans that the most telling indicator of a bad (and ultimately disposable) girl in the slasher film is sexual activity (Rockoff, 2002). On the other side of this Madonna/whore dichotomy is the Final Girl (Clover, 1992), who, by virtue of her refusal to engage in licentious behavior (e.g., sex, drugs), is rewarded with survival" (32). So what exactly is the Final Girl? She is defined by Carol Clover as the character who outlives all of the other victims and is responsible for destroying (or seemingly destroying) the villain (Clover).

In general, Final Girls are thought to be attractive, sexually inexperienced, and to appear as more androgynous than other female characters. Angela Weaver conducted a study to determine just how much Final Girls really matched this description and discovered that while most Final Girls were not explicitly labeled as virgins, the audience can infer that they have much less sexual experience than their female counterparts. They are less likely to be shown engaging in any sort of sexual behavior and rarely, if ever, appear nude or partially nude. Sex and nudity are common in the horror genre, but mostly in terms of the female victims. Final Girls were also discovered to appear more androgynous than other female characters; they wear little to no makeup, rarely do much with their hair, and their style of dress is much less glamorous (Weaver 38).

While Final Girls are rarely explicitly identified as virgins there may be a reason for that. Tamar Jeffers MacDonald explains that virginity itself represents a barrier between what's inside and what people see on the outside, which is true of the horror movie genre in general. This category of film focuses on characters who may appear good and wholesome but are monstrous on the inside (evil children and dolls, attractive vampires,

etc). Horror films are all about deception and keeping what's inside hidden (MacDonald 126). It only makes sense that the one who truly keeps herself hidden by remaining a virgin would be the one who can defeat all of the forces of evil in her complete virtue. This idea provides two separate visions of the Final Girl – she is either the definition of goodness and is rewarded with life, or she is aligned with the killer in a way that makes her the only one powerful enough to conquer them.

I have already discussed the idea of virgins getting rewarded for their wholesomeness, but the idea that they might be a reflection of the killer instead is an interesting one. Generally the killers in these horror movies are solitary, socially inept people whose manner suggests they also have a lack of sexual experience. In addition, Final Girls and killers often share vantage points throughout the films. The killer is able to watch and stalk his prey, and the Final Girl often sees more of the killer than most other characters do. Both use vision as a form of power over their enemies. None of the other characters in these films have that same power of vision and their inability to see usually leads to their ultimate demise. Perhaps they are most similar in their fight to win. The fight between the Final Girl and the killer is the last and most climactic scene in the movie; the Final Girl's determination to stay alive is paralleled by the killer's indestructibility. "This is one reason why Final Girls and psycho killers are so often virgins – their bodies are already figuratively closed. They are resistant to all forms of penetration" (MacDonald 133). There is a thought here that being a virgin provides the character with a type of supernatural power and once virginity is lost so is their invincibility.

Film is an extremely important medium when it comes to spreading messages about sex and sexuality. When it comes to depicting virgins, most films portray them as young, naïve girls with little world experience (as seen in *Grease*). Those who save their virginity are rewarded (as in *Easy A*) while those who lose it early are often punished for their sexual desires (*Fast Times at Ridgemont High*). One genre that strays from these rules a bit is the horror film genre which portrays Final Girls as having almost supernatural powers that go along with their virginity, and this allows them to survive while the sexually active women around them are destroyed. Images of virginity in film further the belief that it is unnatural for women to possess a sexuality and that disastrous events will occur if they try to act on these desires.

Works Cited

Carpenter, Laura M. "Virginity Loss in Reel/Real Life: Using Popular Movies to Navigate Sexual Initiation." *Sociological Forum*, vol. 24, no. 4, Dec. 2009. *Ebscohost*,

- eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=8dd2f0b1-12ee-49b0-b15b-ae77474ac9a7%40sessionmgr104&vid=0&hid=126. Accessed 20 Nov. 2016.
- Clover, Carol J. *Men, Women, and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film*. Princeton UP, 1993. *Amazon*, Princeton UP, www.amazon.com/Men-Women-Chain-Saws-Gender/dp/0691006202. Accessed 4 Dec. 2016.
- Easy A*. Directed by Will Gluck, Screen Gems, 2010.
- Fast Times at Ridgemont High*. Directed by Amy Heckerling, Universal Studios, 1982.
- Grease*. Directed by Randal Kleiser, Paramount Pictures, 1978.
- Kelly, C. R. *Abstinence Cinema: Virginity and the Rhetoric of Sexual Purity in Contemporary Film*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016. *Project MUSE*.
- Macey, Marie, Owen Heathcote, and Clare Beckett. *Negotiating Boundaries? Identities, Sexualities, Diversities*. Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). Web. 26 Oct. 2016.
- McDonald, Tamar Jeffers, and Muse Project. *Virgin Territory : Representing Sexual Inexperience In Film*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). Web. 26 Oct. 2016.
- Turvey-Sauron, Victoria, and Griselda Pollock. *The Sacred and the Feminine*. I.B. Tauris, 2007. New Encounters: Art, Cultures, Concepts. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wagner-ebooks/detail.action?docID=676535.
- Weaver, Angela D, et al. "Embodying the Moral Code? Thirty Years of Final Girls in Slasher Films." *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 2015, pp. 31-44. *Ebscohost*, eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=960dead9-0de8-4da5-9a57-10d149042b6f%40sessionmgr120&vid=0&hid=126. Accessed 20 Nov. 2016.

Antithetical Attestation: Layers of Gray in *Hamlet*

Madison J. Ruff (English)¹

Every author, whether he realizes it or not, creates a work that promotes certain sociological and anthropological ideas; the way in which one goes about this, however, can vary immensely. Some choose to tackle their topic head-on, so to speak, aligning the main focus of their story with the main points of their arguments; others choose to take the opposite approach, using a sort of reverse psychology—an antithetical attestation—to advocate the social acceptance of the argument’s accuracy and individual realization of its worth. Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* appears to follow the pattern of the latter; throughout the tragic tale, themes of unequivocal sexuality, inner turmoil, and mirrored characters arise, reflecting the definite duality of nature in order to emphasize, perhaps, one of the most prominent themes in the tragedy: inevitable uncertainty. It is the certainty sprung from the explicit duality of Hamlet’s invented reality that further accentuates Shakespeare’s apparent belief in the unsettled nature of the bona fide world in which we exist—an unsettled world revealed not by the play’s explicit content, but rather by its insinuations.

This duality of nature and the subsequent epistemological uncertainty are at the very heart of the tragedy as Hamlet struggles with his own understanding of truth; in seemingly bifurcated situations, the areas of gray emerge. The ghost, the murder, the guilt, the infidelity, the sanity (or lack thereof), and the melancholy all enigmatically reflect this uncertain reality.

The theme of sexuality runs rampant through the scenes of *Hamlet*, prominently seen in the characters of Gertrude, Hamlet, Ophelia, and Horatio. It is clear from the second scene of the first act that Gertrude’s sexuality is her primary characteristic: Hamlet interprets this sexuality as the chief cause of the “hasty remarriage” (Levin) following her late husband’s murder and he blames this adultery on reckless lust. Gertrude’s sexuality, whether in the late King Hamlet’s “celestial bed” (I.v.56) or King Claudius’ “couch for luxury” (I.v.83), displays not only the female’s power in the heterosexual relationship, but also the male’s response to this, thus exhibiting the tragedy’s fictitious (deceptive) essence of duality.

The character of Hamlet, though explicitly depicted as a heterosexual Prince of Denmark, brings into question the distinct, binary nature of heterosexuality through his

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Ann Hurley for EN330: *The Shakespeare Survey*.

friendship with Horatio. There are clear parallels between Romeo and Juliet's relationship and that of Hamlet and Horatio, specifically in their final moments, which lead the reader to suspect Hamlet's ambiguous bisexuality. Again, the antithetical associations between Hamlet's death and Romeo and Juliet's emphasizes any and all significance that lies therein. Hamlet is stabbed with a poisonous blade, bringing Horatio to try to kill himself by the drinking of poison, as there is "yet some liquor left" (V.ii.326). Romeo and Juliet's story, on the other hand, is so distinctly inverted that one cannot help but see the parallels between the two tales: Romeo poisons himself with drink, causing Juliet to stab herself with blade. This, in turn, highlights the effeminate nature of Hamlet. This tragic and romantic end is merely the cherry on top of a towering sundae of sexually charged conversations and interactions between Hamlet and Horatio. Given the way the endings for these two Shakespearian couples, so to speak, are so undeniably parallel, in combination with the clear sexual tension and innuendo-drenched dialogue between Hamlet and Ophelia, it is no stretch to assume that Hamlet's sexuality is, at the very least, somewhat ambiguous, if not entirely bisexual. Although the 1500's society did not live in the same perpetual homophobic paranoia as today's society, and the term "homosexual" was yet to be coined, such relationships did exist. Close relationships between men were common and, although close male friendships were not looked upon with suspicion, that does not mean that homosexual desire and tension did not, at times, spring from such relationships. Homoerotic undertones would have been interpreted in a more casual manner in Shakespeare's day and age, but that does not change the fact that gay men have existed since the dawn of time, and Hamlet (and possibly Shakespeare, himself) may have been among them. Shakespeare has created a world in which nothing is known for sure and the characters must wade through expanses of gray in a search for truth, answers, and retribution; this duality and uncertainty that defines Hamlet's sexuality antithetically contributes to this sense of malleable, uncertain reality.

This, in turn, holds a striking contrast with the unquestionable sexuality of the other major characters (namely Gertrude). Through Gertrude's explicit heterosexuality, Shakespeare attests to the fact that, in reality, sexuality is often a two-way street, as can be seen through the implicit bisexuality (at least tri-fold in nature) of the tragedy's protagonist. Sexuality, therefore, is one way in which Shakespeare uses Hamlet to assert the idea of a reality that is not naturally binary.

Furthermore, Shakespeare's complexity of actuality is emphasized through the internal struggle of Hamlet as he feigns madness throughout the majority of the tragedy. Critics have been divided for centuries as to whether the madness portrayed by Hamlet in

the tragedy is authentic or merely simulated. By examining the life of Shakespeare, Simon Augustine Blackmore sought a definitive conclusion to the question of Hamlet's sanity (or lack thereof). He discovered that the playwright, "lived [...] directly opposite a medical college near which was an insane asylum. Here, [...] he had every opportunity to draw from nature, when engaged in the creation of his mad characters" (Blackmore). It is this evidence that helps Blackmore reach the conclusion that Hamlet is, in fact, feigning his madness; the horrible ways he treats those around him only further supports this claim. Because Shakespeare studied the mentalities and actions of the mentally insane, Blackmore is able to draw the conclusion that Hamlet's sanity very well does not follow the explicit path set forth by Shakespeare when Hamlet proclaims that he will feign madness to achieve his goals. Other critics, however, are more skeptical. Theodore Lidz, for example, finds that, though Hamlet is "being affected by the deceit and hostility of those around him," he does not display the signs of one truly insane, as he is still able to admit that "[he] is but mad north-north-west; when the wind is southerly, [he] know[s] a hawk from a handsaw" (II.ii.360-61). Typically, one agreeing with Lidz would argue that a person under the influence of true dementia would be unable to admit this insanity due to its very onset. Shakespeare, through the explicit and implicit text of the tragedy, appears once again to be displaying that that which is explicitly stated cannot always be trusted. Though many critics argue over the duality Hamlet's sanity/insanity, many overlook the possibility that it may be a mix of both, as is implied in the line quoted above from act two, scene two. Hamlet, while often aware of his madness (meaning that he is in control of it and is feigning it), is sometimes unable to control that which he thinks and does in his state of true insanity. The way in which Hamlet is weighed down by melancholy, the plight of scholars and the hamartia of this particular protagonist, also contributes to this possible combination of sanity and insanity— he is undoubtedly clever enough to feign madness, as he is deeply intelligent and insightful, but this identity of intellect also makes him more liable to mental illness, specifically depression, or melancholy as it would have been referred to at the time. A mixture of the two is a valid option that is actually most heavily supported by the underlying messages within the rest of the text, and, as has already been displayed, it is these merely suggested ideas that prove to align most clearly with Shakespeare's ideas of anthropology, sociology, and epistemology. Consequently, through the binary fictitious reality of sanity and insanity, Shakespeare dramatically emphasizes the uncertain, non-binary aspects of the reality in which humanity is trapped.

This antithetical attestation can also be found in Hamlet's epistemological view that, through deceit, one can know the truth, that "through indirections [one] finds

direction out” (II.1), “that seeing unseen...[he] may frankly judge” (III.1). Each scene in the third act of the play consists of spying of some sort by someone on somebody, from Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to Polonius and Claudius. This epistemology fortifies the idea that nobody can truly come to his own decisions without the input of others. Hamlet is the prime example of this, as he spends the entire play contemplating the orders given to him by the ghost of his father rather than acting on them before finally coming to the conclusion that “from this time forth / [his] thoughts be bloody or be nothing worth” (IV.4). This theme of espionage, the act of seeing or hearing that which should not be seen or heard, is introduced before the show even begins with the *ear* into which Claudius poured poison, thus committing fratricide. At first glance, the audience might assume that Shakespeare’s outlook on espionage is that it, alone, can bring true knowledge and truth. However, upon further examination, one notices that every character involved in espionage in any way, shape, or form, ends up dead by the end of the drama. The only major character left is Horatio, the most honest character in the play. Thus, one can conclude that Shakespeare, in truth, does not think that espionage is the source of ultimate wisdom. It is through neither transparency nor deceit that one discovers truth because the very notion of “truth” implies a duality (if something is true then the opposite is *not* true). Shakespeare shatters this illusion of a concrete dual reality through the confusion and uncertainty of each character’s search for “truth”.

Finally, Shakespeare demonstrates the lack of a binary reality through the duality of the characters in this tragedy and the ways in which each acts as an antithetical mirror for the other. One of the mirrors with the sharpest and clearest anti-reflections in *Hamlet* can be seen in the characters of Hamlet and Laertes. The former is a highly-educated man of rank who is trained in philosophy—it is, perhaps, due to this that his responses are never impulsive; he only makes decisions after serious contemplation. Much of the play is defined by this perpetual delay that reflects Hamlet’s scholarly tendency towards sluggish response—for example, we are not even introduced to the protagonist till the second scene. This five-act tragedy, the longest Shakespearean play, is centered around one main action: Hamlet’s need to avenge his father by killing King Claudius. It takes Hamlet five prolonged acts to take measures in fulfilling the task set upon him by the Ghost in act one, though the opportunity to complete said task arises multiple times throughout the play—this delay in action demonstrates how Hamlet does not act with haste, to say the least. Act three depicts a scene in which Hamlet has unsheathed his sword over a praying King Claudius, ready to fulfill the command of his deceased father. Hesitation, though, causes him to miss many an opportunity. It is only in the final scene of the final act that Hamlet kills his uncle with, ironically, the same

poisoned sword that kills his foil, Laertes. Laertes also feels the need to avenge his father. Just as Hamlet needs to avenge his father by killing the murderous king, so Laertes needed to kill the murderous prince. Hamlet, having killed Polonius and, arguably, causing the suicide of Ophelia, Laertes' sister, was clearly not in Laertes' good graces. The difference between Laertes and Hamlet, however, is that it took less than half the time for the former to enact revenge. Despite the major actions taken by Laertes in the second half of the tragedy, it is noted that, "he is not much cursed with inward struggle" (Nardo 87), whereas Hamlet's inward struggle far outweighs any real action he takes throughout the extent of the plot. However, it is strange to think that from such an "impulsive" (Nardo 89) young gentleman—so seeming to strive for vengeance against Hamlet—comes to a final fight fought "more from suicidal impulse than a lust for revenge" (Nardo 89). Laertes, it appears, is driven from having seen the final state of his sister, from having been unable to save his father—ultimately by grief, not mad rage—into his frenzy of vengeance. So, again, it is in the subtleties and the insinuations in *Hamlet* where one can find Shakespeare's lack of duality in life's actuality. Explicitly, it is clear that Laertes' vengeance is drawn from a pool of angst, whereas the truth that it comes from grief is found only by looking at those things that Shakespeare subtly implies. Through Shakespeare's antithetical mirrors between the duality of the characters of Hamlet and Laertes, he further describes the lack of a black and white reality seen by the contrasts of the two characters, while he asserts the significance of the colors of the reality of actuality.

Like every playwright before and after him, Shakespeare promotes an anthropological, sociological, epistemological philosophy in his narrative. He chose to do so through the use of antithetical attestations, proving to the reader his major points, and to elegantly reflect the uncertainty at the heart of the plot. Evidence of his assertions can be found most saliently in the uncertain sexuality of Hamlet, the undetermined nature of his madness, and finally the opposing character traits of Laertes and Hamlet. Through these examples, Shakespeare conveys to the audience that the reality of the world in which we live cannot be confined to a merely dualistic nature; rather, it is full of metaphoric shades and hues that act to color mankind's relationship, personal understanding of oneself, and teleological stance.

Works Cited

Blackmore, Simon Augustine. "The Real or Assumed Madness of Hamlet." (2006).

Levin, Richard. "Gertrude's elusive libido and Shakespeare's unreliable narrators." *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 48.2 (2008): 305-326.

Lidz, Theodore. "Hamlet's Precarious Emotional Balance." *Hamlet's Enemy: Madness and Myth in Hamlet* (1975): 60-67. Rpt. In *Shakespearean Criticism*. Ed. Dana Ramel Barnes. Vol. 35. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997. *Literature Resource Center*. 2016.

Nardo, Don, ed. *Readings on Hamlet*. San Diego: Greenhaven, 1999. Print.

Shakespeare, William, Ann Thompson, David Scott. Kastan, Una Mary Ellis-Fermor, Harold Fletcher. Brooks, Harold Jenkins, and Richard Proudfoot. *The Arden Shakespeare*. London: Methuen, 1904. Print. 2016.

Oral Microbiome Diversity: The Future of Preventative Health Care, an Anthropological Perspective

Noah Wolthausen (Anthropology)¹

The purpose of this paper attempts to explore the intertwining and overlapping connections between dietary diversity, overall health status of individuals, social status, and social space. It has been established that dietary diversity has a direct impact on health status; more specifically, the more diverse diet an individual regularly consumes, the healthier they are (Eshed, Gopher, Pinhasi, & Hershkovitz, 2010). When discussing the subject of dietary diversity, it is important to identify all possible variables that have the potential to affect the types of food individuals have access to. Social status, along with social space, can greatly affect dietary diversity because certain levels of social capital that correlate to a particular status and space come with their own unique limitations (Bourdieu, 1989).

Looking at the evolution of human subsistence strategies, as societies began to become more complex, a decrease in diet diversity is demonstrated due to hunter and gatherer societies beginning to use agricultural techniques (Eshed et al., 2010). The archaeological record shows that this shift caused substantial increases in disease. Looking deeper into why dietary diversity is so important for human health, the microbes living in the human mouth, provided by the types of foods consumed by an individual, present their own unique communities that impact the onset and prevention of disease. Through the sequencing of microbial DNA in ancient calcified plaque, it is seen that an extreme lack of oral microbiome diversity in agricultural societies was present (Warinner et al., 2014). Looking at the prevalence of disease in ancient populations, linking this rise in disease to lack of dietary diversity, and troubleshooting why certain groups of people within a specific ancient population have a higher prevalence of disease than others, this research expands on this conundrum by bringing in social inequality, space, and status, identifying them as contributing factors.

A shift similar to the agriculture revolution has occurred in recent history with the advent of industrialization, resulting in high levels of food insecurity within urban populations (Feinberg, Kavanagh, Young, & Prudent, 2008). Food insecurity has been attributed to cultural shifts within cities that encourage behaviors associated with poor,

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Celeste Gagnon for AN491: *Seminar in Anthropological Theory*.

unvaried diets. Due to the connection with a lack of oral microbiome and diet diversity, and increased prevalence of disease, the food insecurity of these populations is directly linked to their lower health and social status. Innovations within preventative care, increased emphasis on diet diversity, and the implementation of urban agriculture networks have the power to alleviate the pressures of food insecurity on affected populations; this will consequently lead to the empowerment of these populations through restoring their health, and social status.

The Importance of Oral Microbiome Research

Recent research has highlighted multiple associations between human oral microbiome diversity and the manifestation of chronic disease. One particular association that has garnered much attention is the association between periodontal disease and cardiovascular disease (Slocum, Kramer, & Genco, 2016). Exploring the idea that these seemingly different syndromes are connected, one can make the assumption that there is potential for them to be treated simultaneously. Monitoring oral microbiomes in the clinical setting can lead to the diagnosing of individuals at risk for certain types of chronic disease much earlier than current avenues. Through shifting the discourse associated with the local flora and fauna that resides in the human body, it will be possible to catalyze the production, and implementation, of a multi-faceted perspective and approach to preventative care that includes a increased emphasis on consuming a diet that encourages oral microbiome diversity.

Periodontal disease can be defined as a “chronic inflammatory disorder in the oral microbiome that causes immune dysregulation and oral bone loss” (Slocum et al., 2016). The culprit of this immune dysregulation are high levels of detrimental bacteria taking up residence in the mouth. Any healthy microbiome consists of a diverse landscape of bacteria that work in unison as a self-regulating machine, promoting healthy immune responses. The direction that oral microbiome research is heading seeks to determine what changes in bacteria occur that cause their status to change from commensal to pathogenic (Avila, Ojcius, & Yilmaz, 2009). An example of this change in status is seen when certain phylas of bacteria rise in number (such as the red complex consisting of *Porphyromonas gingivalis*, *Treponema denticola* and *Tannerella forsythia* that has been linked to periodontitis) and cause sustained levels of inflammation, leading to the manifestation of disease (Warinner et al., 2014) (Slocum et al., 2016)

Although inflammation is a necessary immune response in the human body, constant inflammatory states are detrimental (Metcalf, Ursell, & Knight, 2014). Cardiovascular disease is used to describe a wide spectrum of disease, the most common one being atherosclerosis, described as the accumulation of plaque in coronary arteries. P.

gingivalis, a main causative agent of periodontal disease, has been found in copious amounts within atherosclerotic regions, further supporting the connection of the two diseases (Slocum et al., 2016). When the oral microbiome environment of an individual exhibits conditions that favor the manifestation of periodontitis, excessive amounts of antigens, endotoxins, and harmful proteins are produced that also have a propensity to contribute to cardiovascular disease (Zarco, Vess, & Ginsburg, 2012). In addition to shifts in oral microbiota contributing to a rise in cardiovascular disease, research has also proven links between other systemic diseases, such as diabetes, and arthritis. The great potential that the oral microbiome has to cause a complete dysbiosis within the body warrants increased attention and research.

A well-respected pioneer in the field of microbiome research, Dr. Christina Warinner, describes the microbiome as a separate organ in the human body. Like the kidney or liver, the proper functioning of microbiomes enable the body to perform at high levels of efficiency (Warinner, Speller, Collins, & Lewis, 2015). Any one organ in dysbiosis has the potential to wreak havoc on the entire organism. Due to microbiomes being composed of many working parts, the potential for dysbiosis to occur is high. The average amount of bacteria comprising the microbiomes of the human body is equal to two percent of the entire body, roughly the same amount of the brain (Warinner et al., 2015). Thinking of microbiomes as their own organ entity within the human body will encourage further research and exploration of their importance, while unlocking their unlimited potential to revolutionize human healthcare.

How Can Oral Microbiomes Be Better Understood?

One of the first steps needed to be taken in order to completely understand the implications of healthy and unhealthy oral microbiomes, and the requirements of an oral microbiome to be considered healthy, is to track the evolution of the human oral microbiome. Recent research has demonstrated that dental calculus, calcified dental plaque that is ubiquitous in ancient teeth, can provide insight into the oral microbiomes of individuals from different time periods. Through the extraction and sequencing of the microbial DNA present in the calculus, researchers are able to identify the types of organisms that comprised an individual's oral microbiome (Warinner et al., 2015). In analyzing calculus of individuals from various time periods, a consensus has been reached; as humans began to shift their subsistence strategies from hunting and gathering to agriculture, the diversity of oral microbiomes decreased dramatically (Adler et al., 2013). The decrease in oral microbiome diversity is directly linked to the diversity of diet being diminished as a result of this shift. Hunters and gatherers ate a variety of nuts, plants, and meat while the diet of agriculturalist societies are based on starches.

In the archaeological record it can be seen that transitioning from the Neolithic period to the practice of agriculture, disease indicators that manifest in bones experience a substantial increase (Eshed et al., 2010). Periodontal disease and dental caries were rarely seen when looking at individuals from hunter and gatherer societies (Zarco et al., 2012). As archaeologists began to compare different time periods, they saw that the societies that were characterized as an agricultural society, they exhibited more dental calculus on their teeth, and through sequencing of microbial DNA within the calculus, higher levels of harmful microbes were present (Weyrich, Dobney, & Cooper, 2015). Due to the absence of consistent oral hygiene (tooth brushing) for most of ancient history, the excess of starch granules consumed by individuals in agriculturalist societies cemented onto their teeth (Weyrich et al., 2015). An accumulation of these domesticated cereals provided the ideal environments for the commensal bacteria comprising their oral microbiomes to become pathogenic. These pieces of information support the notion that diet has played an important role in the health of individuals over time.

Dietary Diversity and Social Status

When contemplating the individual factors that are important in determining the amount of access that an individual may have to various resources, such as food, this access is greatly impacted by social status and the amount of social capital an individual may possess. A characteristic common to agricultural societies is a high prevalence of social inequality (Smith et al., 2010). This is due to the fact that the likelihood of a single individual accumulating a surplus of resources is heightened. Agriculture allows humans to manipulate their environment in a way that encourages mass production, an individual that happens to claim a plot of land that has an abundant crop yield, will progressively increase capital.

This is in contrast to hunter and gatherer societies that are characterized by being mostly egalitarian in structure, where all individuals have duties that are weighted in similar fashion (Smith et al., 2010). They also are only gathering enough resources to last short periods of time, rather than producing food for storage like agricultural societies, preventing the accumulation of resources by a small group of individuals. Extrapolating on this notion further, one can make the argument that part of the reason why agricultural societies exhibit high amounts of dental calculus containing harmful amounts of certain microbes, is because the vast majority of individuals within those societies embody a social status that is synonymous with a normal or less than normal level of social capital, correlating to limited access to resources, such as nutritious food.

Looking at the larger trend of societal evolution, it is apparent that as societies become more complex, such as indoctrinating centralized government into their political

structure, the social inequality gap widens. Resources become more concentrated at the top of society with those that have large amounts of social and economic capital, leaving less for those dwelling at the bottom half of society. Archaeological evidence shows that the prevalence of individuals who lived in medieval and early industrial periods demonstrating multiple skeletal indicators of disease and physical stress is high, with few individuals that exhibit low amounts of these indicators (Eshed et al., 2010). These individuals are most often found in extravagant graves and grave goods, indicating high social status (Robb, Bigazzi, Lazzarini, Scarsini, & Sonogo, 2001). This evidence supports the fact that complex societies contain elite populations with significantly more access to resources than the majority, which has a propensity to decrease the quality of diet in this lower status majority.

Dietary Diversity in Modern, Urban Populations

Similar to the decrease in dietary diversity that occurred as humans shifted their subsistence strategies towards agriculture, there is a modern version of this trend occurring in urban centers within the U.S. Since the advent of the industrial revolution, the working class that lived and worked in crowded cities experienced limited access to a diverse diet, contributing to a compromised health status. This has created a growing problem of food insecurity that is a reality for many disadvantaged urban populations today, bringing about various detrimental health consequences.

Food insecurity can be delineated into four different domains; uncertainty or worry about food, inadequate quality of food, inadequate quantity of food, and food acquired through socially unacceptable means (Feinberg et al., 2008). The populations that suffer most from the feeling and reality of food insecurity are the minority populations that live in urban, disadvantaged communities. First, they live in a location where it is logistically difficult to deliver nutritious food, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, and when they are available they are most often in a different part of the city and out of budget. In the Feinberg et al. (2008) study that explored maternal compensatory feeding practices, it was found that there are strategies that have been developed by mothers of inner city black households that function to combat food insecurity. These include the adding of calorie supplements, artificial sweeteners, and appetite stimulators to meals (Feinberg et al., 2008). This finding presents an interesting perspective on the reason why urban minorities tend to participate in behaviors that have been labeled as unhealthy.

As minorities, black populations in particular, were encouraged to migrate to certain areas of cities through various policy initiatives, which bred access to inferior education and job markets, food insecurity increased. Mothers of black children would

attempt to add calories to their meals, such as through the frying of foods, in an effort to prepare for the uncertainty of how the next meal would be provided (Feinberg et al., 2008). This stereotype, the association of an excess of fried foods to the diet of black populations, is usually confused with being a fundamental aspect of African-American culture. Although it has been culturally adopted, the reason for the use of frying in their daily diet is directly linked to the reality they experience within the social structure of the United States. It is a survival mechanism that has been used by caretakers of black families due to the prevalence of food insecurity.

Another food compensatory behavior that was observed in black families was the encouragement of over eating (Feinberg et al., 2008). An example of this would be a mother encouraging her child to “eat everything on your plate”. This practice is driven by food insecurity, more specifically the uncertainty of the next meal that has become a naturalized fear in urban black communities. Feinberg et al. concludes that mothers who find themselves in these types of environments often sacrifice food quality and variety in order to provide adequate calories for their children. These sacrifices, especially the variety of foods, lead to a multitude of health issues as these children grow into adulthood, serving as evidence for the important role diet plays in health, and demonstrates how social status affects one’s access to food.

The survival mechanisms that have been adopted by those who experience food insecurity demonstrates how culture evolves in order to serve human needs (White, 1943). White specifically talks about how cultural evolution is driven by the innovation of new technology. Technology is defined as anything that enables humans to do things more efficiently or satisfy new needs that arise from changes in the environment. White points out that culture and technology are inextricably linked, elaborating on this notion by claiming that when humans stop inventing new technology, cultural evolution will cease. The compensatory feeding practices of black mothers in urban, disadvantaged areas are a form of technology that has been used to provide a sufficient amount of calories to their children to combat food insecurity.

Unfortunately, the compensatory maternal feeding practices mentioned above have a significant role to play in the health issues that plague minority populations in their adult lives, especially black males (Parrinello et al., 2015). If there is nothing done to alleviate the pressures of food security on the affected populations, the overall health of these communities will continue to decline. As a consequence, culture will evolve in an effort to combat this trend, regardless of whether the way it evolves is beneficial to these populations in the long run. The frying of foods accomplishes the goal of providing sufficient calories, however, an excess of fried foods in one’s diet will contribute to a

number diseases as well as a decrease in oral microbiome diversity (Parrinello et al., 2015). The correlation between lack of oral microbiome and diet diversity, and their impact on chronic diseases, such as obesity and cardiovascular disease, is important when advocating for the monitoring of both oral microbiome and diet diversity in the clinical setting. In addition, intertwining the fact that all of those chronic diseases have higher prevalence rates within urban minority communities allows one to logically argue for an increased investment for public health initiatives that address this situation in these populations specifically. Innovation in technology that can aid in reversing the prevalence food insecurity is important because, as White highlights, culture will attempt to fix problems faced by disadvantaged populations that could have detrimental consequences.

Practicality aside and if technology would allow, a machine that is able to scan microbial activity in the human oral cavity, analyze the amounts of different organisms through a database that contained the relationships between different organisms, and alerted health care providers when certain organisms reached harmful levels should be discussed. A machine such as this would revolutionize preventative medicine. The database would be constructed through intensive research on the types of organisms that live in the human oral microbiome, allowing researchers to determine what organisms, and in what amounts, have the propensity to encourage disease. Using this technology during routine doctor visits to create patient histories could help prevent the onset of diabetes and cardiovascular disease by addressing early symptoms that may not have been measurable otherwise. White sites the inventions of the “canoe, arrow, axe, dynamo, locomotive, or any other tool or machine” as tools that enabled cultural evolution to take place (White, 1943, p. 337). Humans adapt and invent out of necessity. It is imperative that those who have the capacity to create technology, such as the one mentioned above, do so to insure that culture can evolve in a sustainable fashion.

Urban Agriculture: A Realistic Public Health Initiative

Significantly more research that further supports the importance of oral microbiome diversity in determining health status is needed to propose a technology investment such as this, and have it be implemented in the healthcare system. A more realistic public health initiative that addresses the lack of diet diversity in urban communities plagued by chronic disease is the promotion and implementation of urban agriculture networks. The concept of urban agriculture attempts to utilize “small areas within cities, such as vacant lots, gardens, verges, balconies, and containers, that are used for growing crops... for own-consumption or sale in neighborhood markets” (Poulsen, McNab, Clayton, & Neff, 2015).

The purpose of this paper is to establish the link between oral microbiome diversity, diet, and disease, while simultaneously bringing to light the plight of urban communities with high prevalence of chronic disease, proposing that it is attributed to their unvaried, nutrition lacking diet. The last portion of the paper proposes to increase investment into urban agriculture as a way to meet the need of dietary diversity in disadvantaged urban populations. Due to the connections made earlier in the paper regarding oral microbiome diversity and its negative correlation with disease (as oral microbiome diversity decreases, likelihood of disease increases), in addition to its positive correlation with diet diversity (the more diverse diet one consumes, the more diverse their oral microbiome will be), urban agriculture will directly address the issue of diet diversity because it will provide communities with limited access to fresh fruits and vegetables, an abundant supply at relatively no cost.

It has become apparent, through research into urban agriculture, specifically community gardens, that having a consistent supply of fresh fruits and vegetables available to disadvantaged urban communities can positively impact the overall health of the community if use is significant (Corrigan, 2011). What has not been explored is the possible impact oral microbiome diversity research can offer to the efficacy of community gardens. Using potential future screening methods that could give an accurate sense of oral microbiome diversity of individuals from neighborhoods with a high prevalence of chronic disease, this information could be used to construct personalized urban agriculture that contained the foods that were most likely able to either provide or combat various microbe levels in their oral microbiomes, encouraging a beneficial level of diversity. Poulsen et al. (2015) points out that “dietary diversity is not a measure of dietary quality”, which is why this paper takes community gardens a step further in advocating in the use of oral microbiome diversity research in order to bring a customizable approach to urban agriculture development.

Further research would be needed in order to establish standardized levels of microbes that proved to be the most beneficial universally, as well as what types of foods encourage certain types of microbial activity. One of the main obstacles with compiling the resources needed to accomplish a similar task is how varied and dynamic oral microbiomes are cross-culturally. In addition, due to this microbial community residing in the oral cavity, it has innumerable amounts of contact with the outside environment, causing it to change rapidly (Adler et al., 2013). Along with many other variables, the volatility of the oral microbiome poses various difficult research obstacles in the way of obtaining this particular information.

The discourse that was mentioned in the beginning of the paper about microbiomes being treated as individual organs could lead to community gardens being utilized as a prescription that would aid in bringing symbiosis back to microbiomes in dysbiosis. Using a similar database to the one above would give an idea of what sorts of food could help promote microbiome diversity. As a consequence of the current food system in the U.S., there is a discourse present that labels certain foods as an indicator of higher status. Organic, farm fresh, free range, and antibiotic-free are all words that have become associated with more expensive food. The consumption of kale has increased due to its recent adoption into the category of ‘superfoods’, causing its price to increase dramatically. Grocery stores such as Whole Foods sell foods like Kale at higher prices, attracting a clientele with higher social and economic capital. This fosters the trend of excluding certain foods, mostly foods with a high nutritional value, through discourse from disadvantaged populations. Community gardens can make these types of foods available to communities that would otherwise be unable to obtain them. Bourdieu uses the analogy, those who drink champagne are more likely to have antique furniture (Bourdieu, 1989). The way that food has been categorized and discussed has led to people being conditioned to feel excluded from consuming nutritionally dense foods; if one eats significant amounts of kale, they are less likely to be a minority living in a disadvantaged urban community.

Bourdieu also discusses how the structure of societies can create social classes and social spaces, leading to unique cultures shared by those that live in close proximity to one another. Those who live in urban, disadvantaged areas share a common culture. Unfortunately, part of this culture has evolved with certain features that function in enabling humans to survive in conditions where vast fields of power differentials exist. Physical space is a determinant of one’s ability to access resources, which then translates into power. Bourdieu outlines how ‘agents’ are “distributed in the overall social space” through two different dimensions. The first is “according to the volume of capital (cultural, social, symbolic) they possess, and in the second dimension “according to the structure of their capital”, which refers to the ratios of the different types of capital they possess. The reason that farmers markets are most often located in affluent neighborhoods is due to the fact that the food that they produce does costs more than mass crop production, a practice utilized by large agribusiness. In order to maximize their returns they go to social spaces in which they can charge higher prices, leading to those living in disadvantaged areas experiencing limited access to these types of foods. The idea that certain foods are not to be consumed by certain people becomes naturalized into

culture, both the ones in social spaces of higher and lower status, through realities such as this.

Advocating for an increased investment into technology that can monitor diversity of oral microbiomes, and the implementation of sustainable agriculture networks, is imperative to alleviate the pressures of food insecurity created by the current cultural structure in urban centers. The playing field is not level. Individuals working demanding jobs, receiving inadequate incomes, are forced to sacrifice a diverse, nutritious diet in order to survive. Mothers are filling their children with empty calories, contributing to their future compromised health status. This vicious cycle will continue to plague the cities of the U.S. until the appropriate amount of attention is invested into the type of preventative care, such as the monitoring of oral microbiomes, that can identify those at risk for chronic disease and prescribe realistic interventions to combat the progression. The technology needed to incorporate the preventative oral microbiome care mentioned in this paper is unrealistic at this point in time; however, the implementation of urban agriculture networks can function as a preemptive strategy in the halting of the diminishing health statuses of those living in disadvantaged urban communities. A diverse diet should not be a privilege; investment into the correct avenues that will foster a reverse in the culture that had made this a naturalized notion are a necessary priority.

References

- Adler, C. J., Dobney, K., Weyrich, L. S., Haak, W., Cooper, A., Kaidonis, J., ... Alt, K. W. (2013). Sequencing ancient calcified dental plaque shows changes in oral microbiota with dietary shifts of the Neolithic and Industrial revolutions. *Nature Genetics*, *45*(4), 450–455. <https://doi.org/10.1038/ng.2536>
- Avila, M., Ojcius, D. M., & Yilmaz, Ö. (2009). The Oral Microbiota: Living with a Permanent Guest. *DNA & Cell Biology*, *28*(8), 405–411. <https://doi.org/10.1089/dna.2009.0874>
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, *7*(1), 14–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/202060>
- Corrigan, M. P. (2011). Growing what you eat: Developing community gardens in Baltimore, Maryland. *Applied Geography*, *31*(4), 1232–1241. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2011.01.017>

- Eshed, V., Gopher, A., Pinhasi, R., & Hershkovitz, I. (2010). Paleopathology and the origin of agriculture in the Levant. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 143(1), 121–133. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.21301>
- Feinberg, E., Kavanagh, P. L., Young, R. L., & Prudent, N. (2008). Food Insecurity and Compensatory Feeding Practices among Urban Black Families. *Pediatrics*, 122(4), e854–e860. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2008-0831>
- Metcalf, J. L., Ursell, L. K., & Knight, R. (2014). Ancient human oral plaque preserves a wealth of biological data. *Nature Genetics*, 46(4), 321–323. <https://doi.org/10.1038/ng.2930>
- Parrinello, C. M., Rastegar, I., Godino, J. G., Miedema, M. D., Matsushita, K., & Selvin, E. (2015). Prevalence of and Racial Disparities in Risk Factor Control in Older Adults With Diabetes: The Atherosclerosis Risk in Communities Study. *Diabetes Care*, 38(7), 1290–1298. <https://doi.org/10.2337/dc15-0016>
- Poulsen, M. N., McNab, P. R., Clayton, M. L., & Neff, R. A. (2015). A systematic review of urban agriculture and food security impacts in low-income countries. *Food Policy*, 55, 131–146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2015.07.002>
- Robb, J., Bigazzi, R., Lazzarini, L., Scarsini, C., & Sonego, F. (2001). Social “status” and biological “status”: A comparison of grave goods and skeletal indicators from Pontecagnano. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 115(3), 213–222. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.1076>
- Slocum, C., Kramer, C., & Genco, C. A. (2016). Immune dysregulation mediated by the oral microbiome: potential link to chronic inflammation and atherosclerosis. *Journal of Internal Medicine*, 280(1), 114–128. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joim.12476>
- Smith, E. A., Borgerhoff Mulder, M., Bowles, S., Gurven, M., Hertz, T., & Shenk, M. K. (2010). Production Systems, Inheritance, and Inequality in Premodern Societies: Conclusions. *Current Anthropology*, 51(1), 85–94. <https://doi.org/10.1086/649029>
- Warinner, C., Rodrigues, J. F. M., Vyas, R., Trachsel, C., Shved, N., Grossmann, J., ... Barkow-Oesterreicher, S. (2014). Pathogens and host immunity in the ancient human oral cavity. *Nature Genetics*, 46(4), 336–344. <https://doi.org/10.1038/ng.2906>

- Warinner, C., Speller, C., Collins, M. J., & Lewis, C. M. (2015). Ancient human microbiomes. *Journal of Human Evolution*, *0*, 125–136.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2014.10.016>
- Weyrich, L. S., Dobney, K., & Cooper, A. (2015). Ancient DNA analysis of dental calculus. *Journal of Human Evolution*, *79*, 119–124.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2014.06.018>
- White, L. A. (1943). Energy and the Evolution of Culture. *American Anthropologist*, *45*(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1943.45.3.02a00010>
- Zarco, M., Vess, T., & Ginsburg, G. (2012). The oral microbiome in health and disease and the potential impact on personalized dental medicine. *Oral Diseases*, *18*(2), 109–120.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1601-0825.2011.01851.x>

Breaking the Way America Walks: The Unlikely Duo of Aerosmith and Run-DMC and Its Implications on Society and the Music Industry

Winona Scheff¹

The unlikely duo of Aerosmith and Run-DMC collaborated on the song “Walk This Way” in 1986, breaking racial boundaries, as well as structures of the music industry. Originally produced in 1975 by Aerosmith, “Walk This Way” was a chart topper that was known in every American household. Aerosmith, a rock band of white, androgynous men, and Run-DMC, a rap group of black, manly men, produced a song and music video that gained lots of attention and publicity. This music video was intended to revive Aerosmith’s career and to introduce Run-DMC in order to start their career, providing mutually beneficial publicity through crossing musical genres. The intention of the collaboration was solely career driven. While this collaboration did create more audience crossover, it primarily benefited white artists by providing Aerosmith with a larger fan base, including members of other races in the once-white rock world. This shows the racial divide and tensions within society. “Walk This Way” breaks racial barriers within society by eliminating music boundaries, bringing rock n’ roll and rap together as a social message for America to move towards an equal society. My analysis infers the theme of promoting equality, however the motives of the message behind this collaboration comes from market profit rather than hopes of a racially just country.

Pairing Run-DMC, a black hip-hop/rap group, with Aerosmith, a white rock n’ roll band, was a daring marketing technique. Run-DMC’s producer, Rick Rubin had the brilliant idea of bringing Aerosmith into the studio for a musical collaboration that would provide the new group a publicity spot-light. When Rubin presented this proposition to Aerosmith, the rock group willingly agreed in hopes this collaboration would revive their dwindling career (Green). While Aerosmith supported the idea, Run-DMC was hesitant about ‘singing’ other people’s words. However, Rick Rubin convinced Run-DMC that this was a wonderful opportunity to present the group to the masses of the music industry, introducing rap music to a broader spectrum of fans. This would bring rap, a ‘black’ genre, into the world of white rock n’ roll. Run-DMC introduced the image of toughness into the rap genre, but it was through their collaboration with Aerosmith that Run-DMC

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Arant for EN 291: *Race and Music in the USA*.

was able to set the stage for what rap music is to the white culture. In other words, this collaboration was solely to take an old, popular song and remix it in order to bring success to the two struggling groups. “Walk This Way” was intended to bring larger, more diverse fan bases to both groups through crossing music genres, which in turn would break the racial divide.

This is not to say that “Walk This Way” did not have a social impact through the mixing of the two genres even though the motive for collaboration derived from marketing. However, the success of the song was a message in itself (Palmer). In the 1986 music video, viewers can observe racial tensions. At the beginning, each band is seen on opposite sides of a wall, each room presenting a totally different vibe. Aerosmith, dressed rather androgynously, is playing loudly in a room with a ‘garage rock band’ look to it. Run-DMC dressed in leather jackets and dark jeans with sunglasses on, stands in a dimly lit room as they bang on the wall in attempts to get Aerosmith to lower their volume. Some might see this as simply Run-DMC wanting Aerosmith to not be as loud, but this tension represents the black rap group’s frustration with the white’s oppression and superiority, illustrating a larger social issue. Due to Aerosmith refusing to listen to those who could be considered “the Other,” Run-DMC starts rapping in retaliation. The frustration between the two sides visualizes and conceptualizes Aerosmith’s frustration with their career success diminishing while Run-DMC is frustrated of their inability to gain success. From a marketing perspective, Run-DMC needs the profile of Aerosmith while Aerosmith needs the ‘coolness’ of Run-DMC. In the music video when Aerosmith breaks through the wall that was separating the two groups, they create a new musical union. They perform together on stage in the video, representing a bond even though this bond was not carried into the real world. Regardless of the marketing intent of the song or the afterwards affects, the visual representations suggest far deeper meanings regarding race. “Walk This Way” takes two different music groups, in race, genre, and culture, and demonstrates animosity. This animosity is eventually mended over the shared interests of women and sex.

When Aerosmith rips through a poster of a sexy lady by breaking the wall that divides the two bands, they start to sing back and forth with Run-DMC in a conversational style. This portrays the actual integration of the two music groups, mixing both music styles as well as showing both races working together. Aerosmith sings the song in a different style than Run-DMC, while maintaining the many differences between the two groups. Throughout the entirety of the music video, Run-DMC and Aerosmith compete between styles of singing, styles of dancing, dress styles, and so forth. I argue that this represents the racial and societal tensions of the time period. While segregation

no longer formally existed, whites tended to stick to whites and blacks tended to stick to blacks. The life choices of the two races were presented in the music they listened to, the clothes they wore, and their many other choices of living. That is why this collaboration introducing hip-hop to the white, rock world was so groundbreaking. Race dictated how an individual would 'walk' through life one might say. In "Walk This Way", Aerosmith would instruct Run-DMC to "walk this way, talk this way". However, eventually the two groups eliminate the tension by testing out the other's dance moves and accepting the different styles when performing on stage in the video. The unity happens in the moment, but then the division of the two groups eventually returns.

"Walk This Way"'s success and ability to be interpreted and perceived was because of media. Media, especially music videos, is a huge form of communication whether it is conscious or not. What I mean by this is that whether the audience consciously acknowledges the ideas presented in music videos, those ideas are still shared and communicated regardless of the audience. A few years before "Walk This Way" was produced, MTV started "airing rock music videos 24-hours a day" (Brown). This sparked a continuation of music videos displayed on television through other channels as well. Jane D. Brown argues that "videos are distributed to these channels and programs by record companies as promotional material for the artists," ("Race and Gender in Music Videos"). When "Walk This Way" aired on MTV, it was not to cause a societal movement of racial acceptance, but rather to simply get the two bands some time in the spotlight. However, I argue that simply viewing the music video is a way of communicating ideas and messages whether that was the intention or not. In Brown and Campbell's studies, they found that teenagers listen to music not because of the lyrics, but because of the artist and sound. In "Walk This Way", the lyrics are about a sexualized female and a male. However, the plot of the music video does not follow the plot of the lyrics. The song became popular because of the performers and the extreme difference from other collaborations done before, thus gaining an immense amount of popularity. This popularity allowed the music video to represent ideas such as racial unity, sending messages to the public. Aerosmith and Run-DMC brought two music genres and races together, showing black artists to black and white viewers. Brown and Campbell suggest that blacks watch music videos more than whites because the music videos in the 1980's and early 1990's tended to be white artists with white cultured songs, thus blacks learned about the dominant white and their culture. "Walk This Way" was a collaboration that taught the Other about the Self and the Self about the Other, serving as a form of communication for social issues. Bringing two different groups together communicates to the viewers that there is a lack of true difference between the races. While seeing the

unity of the two races is a positive thing, it risks ignoring the racial disparities in society, but in this specific collaboration, the racial disparities within the music industry.

Not only are music videos a huge form of communication, but they also serve as a cultural barometer that helps see differences, structures, and issues within society. This relates to “Walk This Way” because the success of the video demonstrates social dynamics, such as the division of races, the superiority of the white race, and who truly pays attention to music videos. Robert Palmer, the journalist of “Pop Music Remains a Cultural Barometer,” writes “the rapprochement between black rap and white rock affected by the Run-D.M.C./Aerosmith hit ‘Walk This Way’ were evidence that the music can still serve as a kind of conscience for its audience, and perhaps became a catalyst for change” (Palmer). Palmer, in other words, recognizes the significance of the unintended messages of the “Walk This Way” collaboration. Music videos serve as a social message, especially in the way they are publicized. In Palmer’s article, he mentions that “underground music,” or less popular music, will continue to enliven the music scene. Run-DMC was considered to be “underground music” because the group previously had little success and their style of music was less known or valued. Putting rap/hip-hop music into a rock song introduced new styles to the mainstream music world. The popularity and success of the music video in 1986 demonstrates that color-consciousness is less of an issue amongst teenage musical tastes and that crossing racial boundaries was a coming-of-age idea. This is not to say that American music and culture is not still racially divided, but that “Walk This Way” was one of the first music videos to bridge that divide. This song was not intended to serve as racial unity, but instead was intended to bring a new genre into the light by uniting the musical differences of the two groups. MTV’s exposure of the underexposed, in this case Run-DMC and the dwindling success of Aerosmith, allows the music to be a style guide for newer things.

When MTV aired “Walk This Way,” Run-DMC set the stage for what a hip-hop and rap group looked like, providing the white music world with an introduction to the different style. Run-DMC introduced the image of toughness into the rap genre, but the collaboration is what truly presented the put-together, coolness of the rap/hip-hop group (Linden). Run-DMC became relatable to viewers as a respectable and reputable rap/hip-hop group. This rap group was not formed in the ghetto, but rather in middle-class neighborhoods of Queens. While Run-DMC was not the first rap and hip-hop group to form, they were the first ones to gain the publicity they did because of their Aerosmith collaboration. While their success and fame did not last, it is still believed that Run-DMC’s appearance is what should be the appearance of all rap and hip-hop groups today. Amy Linden, author of *Niggas with Beatitude*, wrote about Run-DMC and hip-hop music

today. “More than any other rap group had or ever would, Run-DMC entered into the public (read white) consciousness” (Linden). Linden refers to the fact that Run-DMC carried themselves in a way that would allow racial and musical crossovers. However, after personal issues within the group, other groups eclipsed their trailblazing role in the industry. An article that specifically talks about how this collaboration changed pop music says “the reputation of the entire [rap] genre was rescued by Run-DMC who, in the words of British writer Neil Kulkarni in *The Periodic Table of Hip Hop*, ‘made everything that had happened before them sound old-fashioned, too slick and smarmy’” (Price). Amy Linden believes that rap is a “state of turmoil” today, referring to the fact that the lyrics encourage bad appearances, such as the black males’ conception of drugs and the objectified and sexualized black female. The artists do not articulate values that gain them the respect that the music genre and black race need and deserve. In an interview with Amy Linden, Run of the group Run-DMC, talks about his views of modern day rap and hip-hop verses what his group strives to do. He says he wants “Run-DMC to be what good rap is, to stand for rap like Pampers stands for diapers.” This to me means that Run’s goals were to be a well-respected face of rap, but that Run-DMC’s appearance has lost its power since the rise of newer rap groups. I believe that the drive to rebel through things such as NWA’s “Fuck the Police” overpowered the respectable Run-DMC’s approach at the music genre.

Amy Linden argues that Run-DMC still holds its original vision of what rap should be like, suggesting that Run-DMC’s lack of success in comparison to Aerosmith left the music industry with a continuation of racial division and musical divide that preexisted it. However, Tricia Rose, author of *Black Noise*, says otherwise. Rose argued that rap has continued to grow, eliminating the racial and musical inequality. Tricia Rose depicts modern rap as a source of empowerment for the voices of the black community that tend to go unheard. Run-DMC became a voice for the black community because of the fascination with the group’s completely new look and sound to the white audience. However, the public lost its interest in Run-DMC when other artists such as Ice T started to emerge. The lack of Run-DMC’s success caused scholar Amy Liden to observe a racial divide in the music industry, while Tricia Rose seemed to see that rap continued to grow with different groups, much like the rest of the music industry operates. My point is not that Run-DMC did not have a huge impact, but that their impact did not provide them with the music industry success they desired. Still, the white community’s fascination with rap provided the artists’ success regardless of the lyric subject matter. I argue that Run-DMC’s “Walk This Way” opened the doors for rap artists and the genre itself, but that the appearance of rap groups are now considered not reputable because of the Self’s

lack of understanding of the lives behind the rap genre. Rose says “rap music is a black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America” (2 Rose). In essence, rap is a foundation for the voices not acknowledged by our society. It is through rap that these voices are heard. Some might say that Run-DMC was not a voice for the black community, but instead too similar to the white community. Yet it is because of Run-DMC that rap caught the eyes of the white population. Tricia Rose helps me come to the conclusion that a reason for Run-DMC’s short success is because of how racial divides and musical perspectives play a role in the continuation of the industry’s and society’s inequality.

Both Run-DMC and Aerosmith wanted fame and fortune in the 1980’s, but the collaboration primarily benefited Aerosmith in the long run. When Rick Rubin proposed the idea of collaborating with Aerosmith, Run-DMC was hesitant to portray themselves as something they were not and to sing lyrics they had not written. Through creative styles and cooperation, the two bands were content with the final product, changing only one line. Instead of “walk this way, walk this way” in the chorus, the collaborators sang “walk this way, talk this way” which plays an interesting role in the messages of the song and duo. To me it seems that this lyrical change plays into the racial dynamics, one group instructing the other to act and talk like the other. This compromise was intended to create a beneficial collaboration for both groups. It painted a desired image of rap artists in the “eyes of white-listeners” and it revived Aerosmith’s career. Once put on air, the success was in the hands of society. Aerosmith, when they agreed to work with Run-DMC, did not intend to cause Run-DMC a lack of publicity. However, Aerosmith gained a lot of popularity and a huge following of fans while Run-DMC struggled to maintain the same success on their own (Price). Originally Aerosmith’s song, “Walk This Way” with Run-DMC became a national anthem that introduced Aerosmith to a new generation since their old following had matured and moved on. While the Run-DMC track did not have Aerosmith’s name anywhere, Aerosmith gained the publicity and foundation to continue their careers even though Run-DMC was considered to be the newer, hipper, cooler group. This says a lot about the whiteness of the music industry and the balance of power, showing how the white community is in control. Simon Price writes that the collaboration “got them [Aerosmith] on to the contemporary hits radio format for the first time, and achieved a different sort of crossover: if Run-DMC’s was racial, Aerosmith’s was generational” (Price). In making this comment, Price implies that Run-DMC created a message about race by performing with a white rock band while Aerosmith became a powerhouse that would be an icon for the time being and for many years to come, proving the Self’s domination of society and the music industry.

The difference in success demonstrates the whiteness in the marketing world. White bands tended to be what was considered popular music. Many might object that there was plenty of popular artists of color, but it was the assumption behind white fans following white bands and black fans following black bands that “Walk This Way” challenged. My point here is less that we lived or live in a segregated country, but more that the forms of segregation are unconscious but still existent. Aerosmith flourished, becoming a household name in America and the United Kingdom. Run-DMC became the first rap group on the cover of the Rolling Stones, but their career started to lose power as ‘blacker’ rap groups started to form. To me, this shows that there is a constant need to see differences between races rather than choosing to recognize the relatability and similarities between genres and cultures. “Walk This Way” has lyrics that talk about women in vile ways, but the bonding over degrading and objectifying women brings the two groups together. Run-DMC raps lines that Aerosmith sang in the original version: “Backstroke lover always hidin’ ‘neath the cover/ ‘Till I talked to my daddy he say/ He said, You ain’t seen nothing/ ‘Till you’re down on a muffin/ Then you’re sure to be a-changin’ your ways”. Both bands say the same thing, sexually discussing women. While both groups sing the same lyrics, sending the same message when sexualizing women, the white band is favored over Run-DMC as Run-DMC’s entrance into the world of white, rock fans was not as successful as the revival of Aerosmith to American households.

When Aerosmith and Run-DMC collaborated, they produced music and a style that was new and exciting to society. They crossed rock n’ roll with rap, mixing a white dominated music genre with a black populated music genre. The sole intention of this dynamic duo was to bring life to the two groups’ music careers, however the rapid success created a social message that brought cultures together. Aerosmith received more fame, being the band to make a comeback, while Run-DMC introduced rap to a white audience. The effects of the collaboration prove the whiteness of the music industry and the power behind race due to the centralization of Aerosmith. Even though Run-DMC did not gain the following that would leave their group with a lifetime of fame, their collaboration with Aerosmith to produce “Walk This Way” had an undeniable impact on musical genres and racial cultures.

Works Cited

Brown, Jane D., Kenneth Campbell, and Lynn Fischer. "Race and Gender in Music Videos: The Same Beat But a Different Drummer." *ResearchGate*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, n.d. Web. 18 Oct. 2016.

Green, Andy. "Readers Poll: Best Collaborations of All Time." *Rolling Stone*. Rolling Stone Magazine, n.d. Web. 30 Oct. 2016.

Linden, Amy. "Niggas with Beatitude." *Transition*. By Joseph Simmons. N.p.: Indiana UP, 1993. 176-87. Online.

Palmer, Robert. "Pop Music Remains a Cultural Barometer". *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 27 Dec. 1986. Web. 18 Oct. 2016.

Price, Simon. "Walk This Way: How Run-DMC and Aerosmith Changed Pop." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 04 July 2016. Web. 18 Oct. 2016.

Rose, Tricia. "Voices from the Margins: Rap Music and Contemporary Black Cultural Production," *Black Nose*, Wesleyan UP, 1994, pp. 1-20.

Serpick, Evan. "Run-D.M.C. Biography." *Rolling Stone*. Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock & Roll, n.d. Web. 30 Oct. 2016

Politics in the Global Era

Michael Pardo (Government & Politics)¹

Issues?

Globalization has impacted politics on the local and national level. It has changed the structures of cities regarding banking, development, and politics. Some cities have adapted to the new reality better than others. This paper asks, what are the issues that face cities and how have political parties reacted on the local and national level? This paper answers this question by using the following cities as case examples: New York City, Liverpool, and Cape Town. National, state, and city governments have all taken different approaches to globalization. Globalization has created different obstacles for different industries and segments of the population.

Globalization Brings Change

Kantor and Savitch believe that as capitalism advances, “a new international marketplace has been forming, pulling cities into its orbit.” (International Cities, XV) Since 1970, North American and Western European industrial capacity has been replaced by high tech, services, business, and government. (International Cities, 1) In this era of globalization, it is possible for a company to be “multinational.” Companies can be based anywhere in the world and have factories and research centers on opposite sides of the world. Modern communications allow people to contact each other quickly.

Planner-type 1 and 2

“Planner-type 1 regimes are particularly adept at mobilizing an array of capacities in order to advance broad social agendas because they hold substantial steering resources.” (International Cities, 173) Planner-type 2 cities try, but are less able to realize and take advantage of the bargaining opportunities that they possess.

New York City – Koch and Giuliani

New York City mayors organize voter coalitions to maintain an alliance with business interests. (International Cities, 202) Mayor Edward Koch repaired relations with business. Under the previous administrations, relations between city government and business had collapsed. Koch believed in fiscal austerity for social services. (International

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Abraham Unger for GOV318: *Cities and Globalization*.

Cities, 203) Koch also believed that programs should subsidize business. Koch's coalition was so successful that he went on to win the nomination for both the Republican and Democratic parties.

In 1993, Rudolph Giuliani became mayor of New York City. Giuliani rebuilt the coalition that had been used during the Koch era. Giuliani reached out to the Hispanic community of New York City. (International Cities, 203) Giuliani avoided using racial rhetoric as mayor, which had proven a liability for Ed Koch. As a Republican, Giuliani was a neo-conservative on several issues.

Liverpool - Trotskyites and Militant Tendency

During the 1970's, Liverpool was led by the Liberals or a Liberal-Conservative coalition. (International Cities, 238) The liberals campaigned for rent stability and neighborhood revitalization. The Liberals understood that community politics was important. The local Labour Party in Liverpool was rebuilt by Trotskyites that were part of Militant Tendency. (International Cities, 238) Social workers went on strike over wages in 1978, as well as typists and secretaries. (International Cities, 239) The Trotskyites took advantage of the clashes to build support. In 1981, riots broke out after a police officer shot a black youth. (International Cities, 239) Michael Hestine began work on several projects, including the Merseyside Development Corporation. Hestine also began work on an enterprise zone in Speke. In May of 1983, Militant Labour won 51 of the 93 seats on the Liverpool council. (International Cities, 240) Militant Labour "resorted to creative accounting by using reverse funds to reduce the deficit and recalculating figures for inflation." (International Cities, 241)

In 1984, Militant Labour prepared a massive public-spending program and was going to go bust on the budget. (International Cities, 242) Some housing mortgages were sold to a French bank to raise much needed funds. The refusal to set a tax rate is considered an act of willful misconduct in British law. (International Cities, 243) Several of the Labour councilors were charged by the district auditor for willful misconduct.

Cape Town History

The Dutch expedition led by Jan van Riebeeck first landed in the Western Cape in 1652. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 254) Cape Town began as a trading post for the Dutch East India Company. During British rule, ghettos began to encircle the city as the need for black laborers increased. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 255) After World War II, urban employment became more competitive and rural living became much more difficult which resulted in many poor blacks moving into the ghettos. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 255) The Group Areas Act of 1950 required the relocating, segregating, and classification

of residents into certain districts. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 256) Government policy made it difficult for black townships to keep up with the demand for housing. Since it is located between the Table Mountain and Table Bay, Cape Town was vulnerable to the social crisis of apartheid. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 256) Cape Town was a key port for trade between Asia and Europe. Cape Town was home to a large Malaysian and Indian population at the time. (A Tale of Two Plaques, 256)

In 1966, the South African Government declared District Six to be for “whites-only.” (Land Restitutions’ Rights Communities, 267) Until 1986, 60,000 residents were evicted from District Six.

“The Bloomberg Way”

To avoid New York City’s growing budgetary problems, previous mayors had used questionable accounting practices. (Bloomberg’s New York, 27) Michael Bloomberg campaigned as a CEO Mayor. (Bloomberg’s New York, 28) It was clear that New York City needed to be run like a business and understand what it could and could not afford. (Bloomberg’s New York, 34) New York City is the center of transnational capitalism. (Bloomberg’s New York, 44) Bloomberg ran on a “respectable platform” and hired a team of experts. (Bloomberg’s New York, 65) Bloomberg financed his own mayoral campaign and told voters that he did not need special interests. It was argued that personal corruption would not be a problem due to his wealth. Bloomberg also campaigned on the fact that he was not beholden to any political party.

Bloomberg was a “CEO mayor” and ran New York City like a business. (Bloomberg’s New York, 75) “... Performance, understood as both the successful accomplishment of a task and communication of this success, was crucial to the figure of the charismatic CEO...” (Bloomberg’s New York, 76) During the mayoral campaign, Bloomberg has promised to strengthen the economy, fix budget issues, and repair the education system. Bloomberg’s skills as a salesman would be helpful in delivering his message to the public. Bloomberg wanted to be judged on decision-making and accountability, not on political ideology. (Bloomberg’s New York, 77)

Bloomberg believes that “transparency produces fairness.” (Bloomberg’s New York, 78) Bloomberg had the desks in his company set up in a “bullpen” layout. (Bloomberg’s New York, 78) The “bullpen” layout places all the desks in an open area and the dividers are only waist-high. It is meant to facilitate teamwork and enable bad work habits to be identified.

Bloomberg believed that New York City should have more autonomy. Bloomberg requested and received control of the education system from New York State. (Bloomberg’s New York, 79) Bloomberg would also enable Police Commissioner,

Raymond Kelly, to build an anti-terrorism unit for the city police, separate from the federal government. (Bloomberg's New York, 79) Bloomberg had always believed that customer service is a critical component of any business. As mayor, he oversaw the role out of 311, which enabled citizens to call and report issues. (Bloomberg's New York, 79) In 2001, Bloomberg set up the Citywide Accountability Program to improve performance and monitor agencies. (Bloomberg's New York, 79)

"I'm a big believer in picking good people, giving them the tools, removing barriers to cooperation, promoting and protecting them, and letting the professionals go and do what they do well ... I think I put exactly the right people in place." (Bloomberg's New York, 80) Bloomberg believed it was important that those around him, running different agencies were creative and skilled so that they could be given the space to maneuver and do what had to be done. The Bloomberg administration hired many political outsiders that came from the private sector. (Bloomberg's New York, 81) Bloomberg tried to have a balance in his administration, between those that had worked in the private and public sectors.

The Bloomberg administration appointed Daniel Doctoroff to the position of deputy mayor for economic development. (Bloomberg's New York, 83) Doctoroff had previously been part of NYC2012 and had been working on the Olympics bid. Doctoroff declined Bloomberg's offer the first two times and accepted the position on the third. (Bloomberg's New York, 83) Bloomberg said the following about Doctoroff: "I don't think in any previous government ... they ever had somebody who was a real banker, who knew how to put together things, who knew what drives the private sector economy. He's got the attitude, I'm going to get it done. I'll find a way to do it." (Bloomberg's New York, 83)

Bloomberg had positioned himself as a firm believer in "entrepreneurship" and as someone who would fit in with small business and not a Fortune 500 company. (Bloomberg's New York, 92) Bloomberg appealed to upper professionals because he was not a regular politician. The upper professionals recognized that Bloomberg and others had passed on lucrative positions in the private sector to enter city government. For some of the wealthier members of Bloomberg's administration, working for the city was a form of charity, in which they received a salary of \$1 for legal reasons. (Bloomberg's New York, 93) Bloomberg's decision to run the city like a business, resulted in several changes to the way city government functions. Different types of skills and experience was brought into the public sector by the private sector.

The Bloomberg administration would take advantage of its knowledge of the private sector and management experience to develop a strategy to be competitive.

(Bloomberg's New York, 100) New York City would become a brand that would be marketed to the world. The Bloomberg administration recognized that New York City would have to be re-branded. New York City needed a set of images to guide businesses perceptions of what New York City is. (Bloomberg's New York, 102) The Bloomberg administration would then target these businesses to invest in the vision. There had been several attempts at branding New York City before Bloomberg, the most well-known being the "I ♥ NY" campaign. (Bloomberg's New York, 104) Branding requires figuring out who your target market is, who your competitors are and what makes you the same or different from your competitor. (Bloomberg's New York, 105)

The Bloomberg administration had to figure out how to convince companies to come to New York City. Many companies such as Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs had moved to New Jersey. (Bloomberg's New York, 106) Mayor Giuliani's law and order campaign made the streets of New York City safe. (Bloomberg's New York, 106) Giuliani's economic development plans had focused on offering some tax incentives, but more needed to be done to prevent business from moving to New Jersey. The Bloomberg administration hired consultants in the spring of 2002. (Bloomberg's New York, 107) The consultants identified the "depth of the talent pool" in New York City as a strength. (Bloomberg's New York, 107)

The Bloomberg administration decided that New York City would be branded as a luxury city. (Bloomberg's New York, 110) Bloomberg explained that "If New York City is a business, it isn't Wal-Mart – it isn't trying to be the lowest-priced product in the market. It's a high-end product, maybe even a luxury product." (Bloomberg's New York, 111) Bloomberg would depend on an urban marketing campaign and a shift in the NYC tax policy to complete his vision. (Bloomberg's New York, 113)

In his 2003 State of the City address, Bloomberg described how, "We'll take advantage of our brand. New York is the best-known city on the planet. Our skyline is recognized worldwide." (Bloomberg's New York, 115) In April of 2003, the position of chief marketing officer for the City of New York was created. (Bloomberg's New York, 115) Under Joseph Perello, New York City would "take custody" of the brand it had created. (Bloomberg's New York, 116) New York City would enter into sponsorship deals with several companies, including Snapple. (Bloomberg's New York, 116) New York City would also crackdown on unlicensed goods that included city logos.

The Liberal Democrats in Liverpool

In 1998, the Liberal Democrats won 70 out of the 99 seats in Liverpool. (International Cities, 245) The Liberal Democrats understand that market forces are not

perfect, but they do “appreciate the dynamics of free enterprise.” (International Cities, 245) The Lib Dems have used objective 1 money to create business incubators. The Lib Dems also took advantage of grants from the central government to help the local community. The Lib Dems have made change in city hall a key part of the local parties’ message. A Lib Dem party leader explained, “Everyone out there is our customer, not our prisoner.” (International Cities, 245) The Lib Dems have recognized the local bureaucracy and sacked over 1,500 municipal employees. (International Cities, 245)

Cape Town/ The CCDS

The Cape Town Partnership is working on the Central City Development Strategy (CCDS). CCDS is meant to capture the public’s imagination and inspire them about what the future holds for the city of Cape Town. The CCDS is part of other processes in Cape Town. (Cape Town Central City, 4) The Cape Town Partnership has been part of the work being done in the Central City since 1999. (Cape Town Central City, 5) Over R16 billion has been invested in the Central City since 1999. (Cape Town Central City, 5) Another R28 billion is to be spent on the Central City. The CCDS is built around “five big ideas.” The plan is to have public spaces that connect to the historical role of the sea and mountains on the city. To get people to live in the Central City, improving and providing better access to public transport is important. Ensure space for future investment and growth in the Central City. Dividing the Central City into 20 neighborhoods.

The CCDS believes the tragic importance of a central city is its tax revenue, focal point, productivity, image/identity, and visitor destinations/gateways. (Cape Town Central City, 7) Tax revenue is important to maintain city services. Central Cities are where most government, employment, and logistics are located. For example, Auckland CBD accounts for 80% of the city’s insurance and legal services. (Cape Town Central City, 7) It is also accounts for 49% of financial services. Central Cities are very productive areas. Central Cities have a symbolic importance, such as being a state or national capital. The quality of the Central City can have an impact on tourism. The Central City in Cape Town is responsible for 40% of business turnover. (Cape Town Central City, 8) Over 1,000 retailers earn their living in the Central City. 20,000 students are educated in the Central City every day.

The CCDS is encouraging mixed-use spaces and making sure that these locations are open and sustainable. (Cape Town Central City, 11) CCDS is also trying to maintain a business-friendly environment. What makes Cape Town distinctive is its topography, lifestyle, and it is a well-managed major city in Africa. (Cape Town Central City, 13) The CCDS believes that stable public private partnerships are necessary for

greater business confidence in the city. The CCD would to take advantage of a popular night time economy in Cape Town, as well as helping in the recovery of property values in the city.

The CCD recognizes that some obstacles remain. Cape Town is largely cut off from the sea. (Cape Town Central City, 16) Parking is difficult and roads are congested. Many buildings in the city do not have signs and the buildings' facade is blank. Rising property values are displacing poorer communities. (Cape Town Central City, 16) Current efforts to recycle and reduce waste are not enough.

The CCDS believes that both supply-side and demand-side solutions should be considered to improve infrastructure capacity. (Cape Town Central City, 20) Part of the CCDS vision is a "Integrated Rapid Transit system", which is designed to give public transport priority status. (Cape Town Central City, 21) The IRT will have two parts, feeder routes and trunk routes. To enable buses to move quickly through traffic, bus stations will be placed in the center of the streets. (Cape Town Central City, 21) Feeder services will transport people to the feeder routes. The IRT network will be rolled out to the entire city of Cape Town in four phases over the next 10 to 12 years. (Cape Town Central City, 21) Phase 1 has a R1.3 billion budget. (Cape Town Central City, 21) The private operators will provide services and the operations. City government will specify the types of vehicles that can be used and the price range for fares. The city is in negotiations with the minibus taxi operators to join the IRT. The Cape Town New Mobility Alliance will be conducting a pilot program for 15 months. (Cape Town Central City, 22)

Cape Town Station is currently under redevelopment. The current train station was built in the 1960's and the structure reflects the apartheid era. (Cape Town Central City, 23) The train station is a hub where people can find taxis and buses to get to their final destination. (Cape Town Central City, 23) Phase 1 of the redevelopment is based around updating so that it can keep pace with changing transport requirements. SARC and Intersite are working on Phase 2, which includes several possibilities. An option currently being explored is the sinking of all or some of the current railway lines. (Cape Town Central City, 23) Sinking the lines would allow for development of land in certain areas. The space could be used for mixed-use developments, such as housing, offices, and schools. (Cape Town Central City, 23)

The mayor of Cape Town, Patricia De Lille has campaigned on stopping corruption and helping people find work. In 2011, the Democratic Alliance won 60.92% of the vote in local elections. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) Voter turnout is important because councilors are selected by proportional representation.

Mayor De Lille is proud that the performance monitoring from the South African government showed that Cape Town is the best-run city in the nation. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) Mayor De Lille explained “I set very high standards. I can’t compare Cape Town to Johannesburg or Durban. The standard we set is best practice around the world.” (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers)

A problem in Cape Town has been a lack of proper sewage and water systems in the poorer neighborhoods. Mayor De Lille has had portable flush toilets set up in areas where proper flush toilets are not installed. The city of Cape Town has provided 3,091 sanitation service points and 948 water service points. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) To make Cape Town more attractive for business and create jobs, the city has installed over 780km of fiber-optic cables. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) Mayor De Lille plans to finish installing ceilings and waterproofing the walls in the remaining RDP homes that were built during the late 1990’s. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) Cape Town will be investing R40 million in bulk infrastructure for Dido Valley. (I have set my sights on increasing the numbers) De Lille believes that affordable housing can be built in the inner city. Her plan is to sell council land to private developers.

There will not be a uniform approach with regards to the height of buildings, streetscape, and land mix use. (Cape Town Central City, 24) Each of the 20 neighborhoods that make Cape Town will be allowed to have its own interpretation. The different neighborhoods will be diverse, each with its own character. (Cape Town Central City, 24) The reason for separate neighborhoods is that CCDS does not believe that a one-size solution will fit the Central City. The 20 neighborhoods within the Central City are: Green Point Common, V&A Waterfront, Green Point, Bo-Keep, De Waterkant, Convention District, Mid City, Company’s Gardens, East Foreshore, Cape Town Station, East City, District Six, Walmer Estate, Upper Woodstock, Lower Woodstock/Salt River, Vredehoek, Lower Gardens, Upper Table Valley, Culemborg, and Port. (Cape Town Central City, 24)

The Democratic Alliance

The Democratic Alliance (DA) is led by Mmusi Maimane. (Meet the South African Politician) Maimane has vowed to fulfill the vision of a “rainbow nation.” The African National Congress (ANC) has struggled with corruption scandals, economic decline, and mismanagement issues. Many South Africans are frustrated with the ANC and are willing to give the DA a chance. In August, the DA had a strong showing in the elections. The DA won the vote in Nelson Mandela Bay. (2016 election result a tipping

point for South Africa) The DA will lead local government coalitions in Johannesburg and Tshwane.

WHERE WE GOVERN

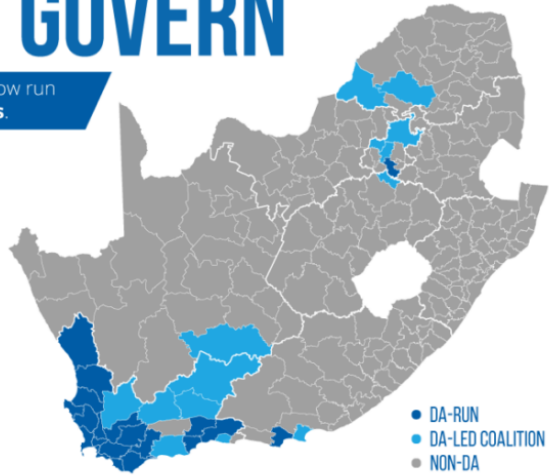
A blue wave is sweeping over SA. We now run **37 municipalities**, including **4 metros**.

New DA-run local governments:

- Cape Agulhas, Western Cape
- Cederberg, Western Cape
- Kouga, Eastern Cape
- Matzikama, Western Cape
- Oudtshoorn, Western Cape

New DA-led coalition governments:

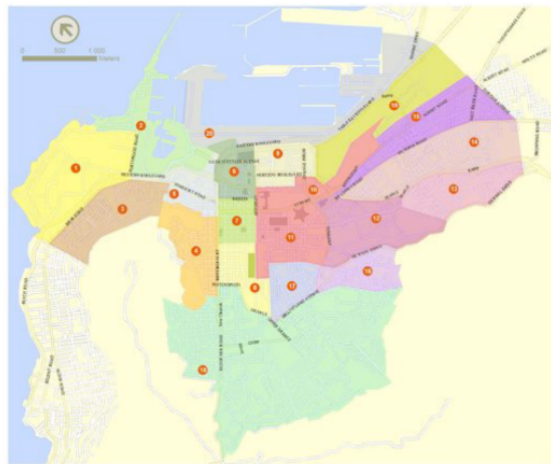
- Beaufort West, Western Cape
- Johannesburg, Gauteng
- Metsimaholo, Free State
- Modimolle/Mookgophong, Limpopo
- Mogale City, Gauteng
- Nelson Mandela Bay, Eastern Cape
- Prince Albert, Western Cape
- Thabazimbi, Limpopo
- Tshwane, Gauteng
- Ubuntu, Northern Cape



(da.org.za)

20 neighbourhoods

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Green Point Common | 11. East City |
| 2. V&A Waterfront | 12. District Six |
| 3. Green Point | 13. Walmer Estate |
| 4. Bo-Kaap | 14. Upper Woodstock |
| 5. De Waterkant | 15. Lower Woodstock / Salt River |
| 6. Convention District | 16. Vredehoek |
| 7. Mtj City | 17. Lower Gardens |
| 8. Company's Gardens | 18. Upper Table Valley |
| 9. East Foreshore | 19. Culemborg |
| 10. Cape Town Station | 20. Port |



CAPE TOWN
CENTRAL CITY
AREA

Map showing proposals for division of Central City area into twenty neighbourhoods

(Cape Town Central City, 24)

Voter Frustrations

Recently, people in different nations have begun to become frustrated with the ruling class. This led to a new coalition government being formed in the United Kingdom after the 2010 elections and the continuing rise of a populist political party called the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). The established parties understood that they needed to move quickly and offer a new direction. Voters had grown tired of the way of thinking promoted by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown during New Labour. The Conservatives and Liberal Democrats would offer a package of reforms to show voters that they were listening. The Conservatives realized that they needed to change, to keep the populist party UKIP from gaining any more traction.

The Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition

In 2010, the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats formed a coalition government in the United Kingdom. The Lib Dem party platform supported political reform. David Cameron had made a “big, open, and comprehensive” offer to the Lib Dems to begin negotiations for a coalition. (Coalition, 7) The Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats agreed to create a “radical package” to transform the political system. (Coalition, 11) Both sides agreed to redraw boundaries, reduce the number of MPs, and hold a referendum on Alternative Voting. “The Alternative Vote was a far more modest form of electoral reform, in which candidates were ranked in preference order by voters. The votes of the bottom candidates were then redistributed until one candidate had at least 50 percent of the vote.” (Coalition, 9)

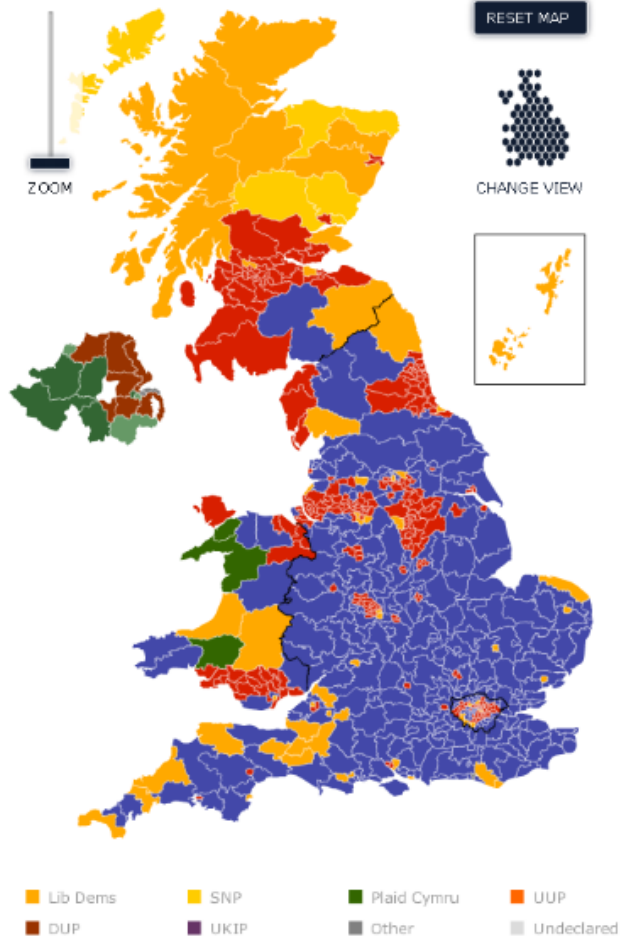
“With high unemployment in many parts of Europe, and much lower wage rates, particularly in Eastern Europe, large numbers of EU citizens came to the UK to work.” (Coalition, 239) Due to political pressure from UKIP, and members of his own party, Prime Minister Cameron began to become increasingly Eurosceptic. The Prime Minister announced net migration targets to calm populist outrage, but due to EU open-border rules, the targets could not be enforced. In July of 2012, the Lib Dems began to realize that the conservative position on the EU and a referendum was changing. Cameron informed Deputy Prime Minister Clegg that he would be writing a newspaper article that would lay out the possibility of holding a referendum on the EU. (Coalition, 240) Senior Conservatives told David Laws, “We need to come out for a EU referendum, or we will be destroyed by UKIP in the 2014 European elections, and maybe lose a lot of votes in 2015 too.” (Coalition, 242) Norman Lamb, the Lib Dem MP for North Norfolk, texted David Laws telling him that “Our complacent, uncritical, pro-EU position has once again turned so many of our supporters away.” (Coalition, 413) The Lib Dems failure to modify their positions on Europe would cost them in the 2015 election.

Establishment response

Boris Johnson expanded bike-sharing programs and green spaces as mayor of London. (If Mayors Ruled the World, 80) Unlike the Lib Dems during the 2015 election, Boris Johnson understood how to balance some populist positions and still be practical.

650 of 650 seats declared.

326 seats needed for an overall majority.



(The Telegraph - UK General Election 2010 results map)

An example of Boris understanding what the people wanted, was when he did away with bendy-buses and reinstated hop-on/hop-off buses. Boris Johnson understood that it is important to ensure that a city is safe so that people will want to visit and live in it. As mayor, Boris used the Stop and Search method to remove 10,000 knives from the street.

(If Mayors Ruled the World, 80) In many European cities, knives are the equivalent of handguns in American cities. This mixture of environmental reasonability and public safety led to him maintaining popularity during his terms as mayor.

A New (Old) Way of Thinking

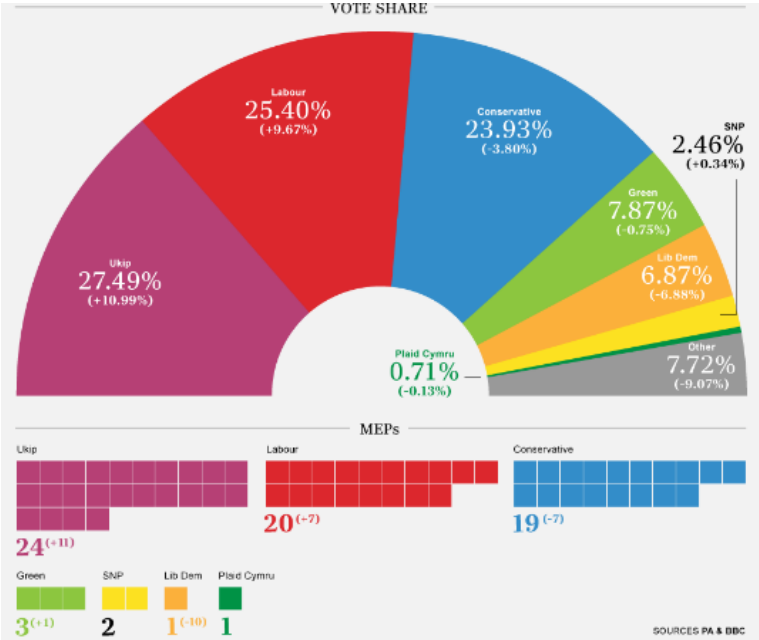
UKIP and the current Labour Party are both reactions to globalization. Voter frustrations led to UKIP in the 1990's and the selection of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leader in 2015. The parties and their leadership have very different ideas about how to react to globalization. Corbyn and his followers believe that the effects of globalization can be stopped by adopting socialist policies. As blue collar workers struggle in the era of globalization, they have turned to the populist right and hard left to find answers. These workers feel that the old parties and leadership no longer speak for them. Nigel Farage speaks often about his time in the private sector. Farage believes that many of the problems faced in the era of globalization, are caused because politicians do not have private-sector experience and do not know how to react. Farage also feels that the traditional political parties and their leadership have grown complacent after being unchallenged for so long.

UKIP – Populism Rising

Nigel Farage speaks often of his time working in the city and running Farage Futures. He has often said the following about politicians that never worked in the private sector: “This is singularly what career politicians such as Clegg, Cameron, and Miliband simply don't understand. They have never had a proper job. They went straight into being the political researcher at Conservative Party central office or they started off as a special advisor to a minister. They have never run a business. They have no grasp at all of what life is like out there.” (The Purple Revolution, 71) Farage calculated that as an MEP, due to Euro Parliament rules, he could only make 28 speeches a year and that he only had 42 minutes of speaking time. (Flying Free, 113) Farage concluded that he had best make use of the time that he has. He has spent most of his time as an MEP exposing corruption and waste within the European Union. In 1999, the EU gave the British MEP's £600 for travel expenses, the cost of travel was £99 at the time. (Flying Free, 108) In 2004, Farage exposed that the new EU transport commissioner, Jacques Barrot had funneled £2 million of French government funds to his political party's coffers. (The Purple Revolution, 133) The video of Farage's speech was uploaded to YouTube and translated into several languages. Farage and his team began to realize the role that the internet would play and the ability to bypass the traditional media sources. After the new constitution was rejected

by referendum, the EU rebranded it the Lisbon Treaty. (The Purple Revolution, 140) A EU treaty does not require a referendum. This was the moment that many euro skeptics became angered with the entire project.

Farage and his aid, Raheem Kassam, went to America to learn about voting habits so that they could improve in an upcoming by-election. (The Purple Revolution, 206) As a former employee of Breitbart, Raheem had several contacts in America. Farage met with Rand Paul during this trip. The type of politics that they both preach is that they “believe that the state is too big, too costly, too powerful, and robs the individual of inherited rights and freedoms.” (The Purple Revolution, 215)



(The Telegraph - UkIP storms European elections)

In 2014, Douglas Carswell, the Conservative MP for Clacton-on-Sea announced his defection to UKIP. (The Purple Revolution, 240) Lord Pearson has spent several years meeting with eurosceptic MPs to convince them to defect. As an MP, Carswell had clashed with the party whips before his defection. Douglas Carswell made it a point of his to understand the issues that affect the local community. Carswell was asked by a grieving mother what would he would do to tackle knife crime and the fact that the street lights were turned off at midnight due to austerity cuts. (The Purple Revolution, 264)

Carswell responded to the question and it showed that he had met with her before and was aware of the issue, not many MPs are that engaged on the ground level. Farage was impressed that Carswell was so aware of constituent concerns and how the people of Clacton responded when they saw him on the streets.

After the defection of Douglas Carswell, Conservative whips had put together a list of euro skeptic MPs and demanded an assurance that they would not defect. (The Purple Revolution, 250) Mark Reckless, the Conservative MP for Rochester & Strood defected to UKIP a month after Carswell. (The Purple Revolution, 251) UKIP had ranked Rochester & Strood as target seat 271 in internal memos. UKIP needed money and volunteers to win the by-election, since they did not have a ground game in Rochester & Strood. During his speech, Reckless said that, "People feel ignored, taken for granted, over-taxed, ripped-off and lied to. They have reason to. MPs too often are not their local representatives but agents of a political class. Instead of championing their constituents' interests in Westminster, too often they champion their party's interests in their constituencies. I will resign my seat in Parliament, trigger a by-election and stand for UKIP." (The Purple Revolution, 261)

"I can honestly state however, that no part of the journey was planned at the outset. My very movement along the way has been relative. It all started with anger and frustration at politicians' lies, and there was always been another outrage to address, another election to fight, another smirking prat to be corrected. One new challenge simply leads to another." (Flying Free, 279)

Farage is not the only party leader that would like to see a radical change in how government functions and reacts to globalization. The Current Labour leader has also found himself in a unique position and inspired a mass movement. Corbyn has managed to take over the leadership of a party after spending years on the fringes of the party. Under the leadership of Corbyn, the Party has moved away from the policies of Tony Blair.

Jeremy Corbyn – The Return of the Hard Left

Jeremy Corbyn was made the Leader of the Labour Party on September 12, 2015 at the Queen Elizabeth II Conference Center. Corbyn has always been to the far left of the Labour Party. He was one of the founders of the Stop the War coalition during Tony Blair's premiership. (Comrade Corbyn, XIV) When he was younger, Corbyn had joined the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) project and had been assigned to Jamaica. (Comrade Corbyn, 34) Colonial rule for Jamaica had only ended in 1962. Corbyn was assigned to the island five years later. The VSO gave volunteers pocket money, basic accommodations, and the opportunity to see a part of the world. During his time in

Jamaica, Corbyn was struck by the inequality that he encountered on the island. (Comrade Corbyn, 37) Corbyn described his time in the VSO as, “The most interesting experience in my life was being sent to Jamaica at the age of eighteen and being told to work with young people. I was only about two years older than most of the kids I was working with. It was hard actually, but it was wonderful. I didn’t go university, I did that instead.” (Comrade Corbyn, 37) After his time with the VSO came to an end, Corbyn would backpack through South America. He would return to the United Kingdom further to the left politically than when he had left. (Comrade Corbyn, 38)

Jeremy Corbyn had come to the attention of Tony Benn for his work with NUPE during the 1978/1979 Winter of Discontent. (Comrade Corbyn, 58) Corbyn was part of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, which was meant to get more grassroots members to participate in the party. (Comrade Corbyn, 63) In 1983, Corbyn was elected to Parliament as a member of the Labour Party. (Comrade Corbyn, 82) Jeremy Corbyn voted against the party whip on 148 occasions. (Comrade Corbyn, 141) He was the most rebellious MP between 2001 and 2005. Corbyn “once claimed that he did not vote against the party willy-nilly, only being willing to defy the whip over three types of issues: war and peace, issues of liberty, and socioeconomic policy.” (Comrade Corbyn, 141) His interviewer jokingly pointed out that those three issues made up almost everything a government could possibly do. Despite his voting record in parliament, Corbyn was loyal to the party. Corbyn considers one of his proudest moments to have been cycling home after voting for a minimum wage raise in March of 1998. (Comrade Corbyn, 144) Corbyn explained, “I’ve often been extremely frustrated with the Labour Party, particularly over Iraq and, earlier Vietnam. Then you think of what the Labour Party has achieved and that it is the electoral home to millions of people, so I’m still in it. Always have been. I remember discussing this with Tony Benn many times, and he said: You know what, comrade, we’re just in it, aren’t we?” (Comrade Corbyn, 145)

Corbyn decided to enter the leadership competition in part due to a social media campaign. (Comrade Corbyn, 224) The petition was promoted on Twitter by regular party members who wanted change. (Comrade Corbyn, 229) Corbyn needed the support of Labour MPs to get on the ballot. To keep the left at bay, many MPs voting for Corbyn claimed that they only did it so that all the voices from within the party would be heard on the debate stage. (Comrade Corbyn, 261) Corbyn’s campaign manager was fellow hard left MP, John McDonnell. (Comrade Corbyn, 263)

Closing Thoughts

“He who rides a tiger cannot dismount.” (Flying Free, 279) The winds of change due to globalization has brought about a new type of politics and changed the way that

cities function. The establishment political parties have had to come up with improved solutions to the problems that modern economies face, or risk growing support for rival populist parties. New York, Liverpool, and Cape Town have all reacted to the new reality of globalization in different ways. Each city also faces different internal difficulties. New York City for example does not have to worry about providing clean water to the greater city in the same way that Cape Town does. In both the political center, right, and populist movements, the idea that government should be run like a business has become more popular. New York City elected a “CEO mayor” and UKIP elected a leader who prides himself on his time spent in the private sector.

Bibliography

Baker, A. (2016) *Meet the South African Political Who's Been Compared to Barack Obama – But Prefers Bill Clinton* TIME.

Barber, B. (2013) *If Mayors Ruled the World*. Yale University Press

Brash, J. (2011) *Bloomberg's New York Class and Governance in the Luxury City*

Beyers, C. (2007) *Land Restitution's Rights Communities': The District Six Case*

Cape Town Partnership, *Cape Town Central City Into the Future*

Farage, N. (2010) *Flying Free*

Farage, N. (2015) *The Purple Revolution The Year That Changed Everything*

Kantor P. and Savitch H.V. (2002) *International Cities*

Kirkup, J. and Swinford, S. (2014) *Ukip storms the European Elections*. The Telegraph

Laws, D. (2016) *Coalition*

Maimane, M. *2016 election result a tipping point for South Africa*. da.org.za

Marback, R. (2004) *A Tale of Two Plaques: Rhetoric in Cape Town*

Merten, M. (2016) *DA's Patricia De Lille: "I have set my sights on increasing the numbers"*, Daily Maverick

Prince, R. (2016) *Comrade Corbyn A Very Unlikely Coup: How Jeremy Corbyn Stormed to the Labour Leadership UK General Election 2010 results map*. The Telegraph.

Links (for the web sources listed on previous page)

<http://time.com/4428312/mmusi-maimane-south-africa-elections/>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10855972/Ukip-storms-European-elections.html>

<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-07-29-das-patricia-de-lille-i-have-set-my-sights-on-increasing-the-numbers/>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/2432632/UK-General-Election-2010-political-map.html>

LGBT Museums and Redefining Alice Austen

Kimberly Landstrom (History)¹

Alice Austen (1866-1952) defied many of the gender roles of upper-class women in the Victorian era. She was unusually active in sports, often bicycling and an early tennis player. She took over 8,000 photographs in her lifetime, an activity that was seen strictly for male professionals. While she was not the first female American photographer, she is the first of her caliber. Most unconventional was her long-term romantic relationship with her partner, Gertrude Tate. Clear Comfort, Austen's home in Staten Island, New York, has become a historical landmark and a historic house museum. In the past two decades, the reinterpretation of her place in LGBT history, as a lesbian in the Victorian era, has gained momentum and generated controversy. When reclaiming LGBT historical figures, issues arise in using modern terminology. This essay examines how the Alice Austen House Museum has interpreted, is interpreting, and will interpret her work and legacy as a lesbian woman.



Alice Austen, *Trude and I* (1891):
At age 25, Alice posed with Gertrude Eccleston.

¹ This essay is an abridged version of the Senior Thesis for the History Department under the direction of Prof. Lori Weintrob, with Prof. Patricia Moynagh as second reader.

Introduction

Museums are at the forefront of a conversation about whose history matters. Too often, political history dominates classrooms in the United States, as one learns about wars and those who led the U.S. to victory. Very rarely are the stories of “the Other” presented, not least those in the LGBT community. When the past experiences of women and people of color are explored, they are nearly always placed in a narrative dominated by white men who were making a “better America.” The important push back against the “Great Men narrative” by historians and society allows for different stories to be told. It allows for people not typically interested in history to find individuals that they identify with. As diverse histories begin to emerge in mainstream media, many communities have reclaimed forgotten historical figures as an act of empowerment in their battle against oppression. To have their history told and celebrated is a goal of many activist groups. The role of shaping public conversation about these “untold” histories is given to museums. Museums are the location of public history, where so many Americans go to learn about history outside of classrooms. For LGBT history, this presents new opportunities. The experiences of LGBT individuals like Alice Austen are coming to light as role models in museums, where visitors are feeling this change first-hand.

One of the earliest female photographers in the United States, Alice Austen, broke from many of the gender norms of the Victorian era. Most active during the 1880s and 1890s, over the span of her life Alice took over 8,000 photos. She was one of the earliest photographers to go beyond studio photography. As a wealthy white woman born in 1866, photography was her hobby, not a career. Alice considered herself an “amateur” photographer, despite having various photographs of hers copyrighted. All of her photos were taken privately and were primarily intended for private use. Her photos can be divided into at least four different subject matters: Her “lark life” on Staten Island, with friends; her street photography; her family; and what was likely her muse, her home of Clear Comfort. In many of the photos, one can observe how she visually defined and defied gender norms.

Alice Austen’s story has been re-interpreted in light of her relationship with her long time partner, Gertrude Tate. Until ten years ago, the Friends of the Alice Austen House Museum, the organization tasked with running Clear Comfort as a historic house firmly maintained that she was not a lesbian and that Gertrude was just Alice’s close friend. As LGBT politics and history, and the issue of gay marriage, became more mainstream, pressure to more accurately present her sexuality as part of her identity and story mounted. For too long, Alice got a complete erasure of her LGBT identity within museum interpretation. Further, there is contention over the use of modern concepts of

sexuality and gender. While we have no written evidence that Alice herself ever identified as a lesbian, this does not mean she was not a lesbian. For Alice Austen and other ground-breaking LGBT figures, curators and educators have a responsibility to celebrate their LGBT identity and heritage regardless of the political controversies.

Ann Novotny's work on Alice Austen has been critical to highlighting her legacy. Her 1976 book, *Alice's World*, offers a wealth of information and biographical data on Alice's life.² It has been invaluable to getting a basic understanding of Alice's work. Novotny's research is a comprehensive history of Alice, but it does not include a gender critical analysis nor point to the gender defying aspects of Alice's photography. Novotny refers to her photos as transgressing Victorian norms but does not offer a deeper look on Alice's defiance against a patriarchal society. Alice's lesbianism is not discussed at all.

In contrast, Susan Ferentinos's more recent book, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (2015), offers both a general introduction and in depth historic background and case studies of LGBT sites.³ Ferentinos also explores concerns about the language of deciphering LGBT past. Language in the LGBT community has become very specific and is important to consider in writing about history. In the past 40 years, LGBT has been the most common way to refer to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans-gender community. This concept includes both sexuality and gender identity. These two are not the same and do not rely one another. A trans-gender individual can be straight, for example. The acronym, additionally, can be much longer; with letters such as Q and A (queer and asexual) being added. Non-binary individuals also fall in this spectrum. The term 'queer' also has been undergoing a revision. While in the 1980s the field of LGBT history was often called queer studies, the word is impossible to separate from its cruel use and being used as a slur. As such, many individuals within the community do not use it and would prefer it to not be used. For this paper, LGBT will generally be used in place of queer.⁴

² Ann Novotny, *Alice's World: The Life and Photography of an American Original, Alice Austen, 1866-1852* (The Chatman Press: Old Greenwich, Connecticut, 1976).

³ Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT history at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2015).

⁴ This will encompass gay cis and trans men and women as well as gay non-binary individuals; bisexual and pansexual cis and trans men, women, and non-binary individuals; asexuals who experience same gender attraction; trans men and women; non-binary individuals. Cis refers to an individual who identifies with the gender they were assigned with at birth. A person who was assigned a man at birth and identifies as such in his life is a cis man. A trans individual is a person who does not identify with the gender they were assigned to at birth. Non-binary individuals are people who identify as neither

Alice and Gertrude

Growing up in wealth, Alice was given so many opportunities in her life. Photography was among them. Alice defied gender roles, even as a child. She was athletic, passionate, and not afraid to speak her mind. She was a single woman in a world where upper-class women were expected to marry. Only about 10% of all American women remained single between 1880 and 1900.⁵ The tenets of the ideal woman, based off of the ideals of the Cult of True Womanhood, she was not submissive, pious or pure, as these terms are generally understood.⁶ Her domesticity can be seen in her attachment to her home. She followed some traditional Victorian gender roles. As an upper-class woman, she never worked a day in her life (until her later years after the 1929 stock market crash). She never had to consider photography as a means of income, despite the example of other female photographers who made a successful living off of their photos. Her photos of poor and immigrant workers in Manhattan, as well of the immigrants on the quarantine islands, were never used to help the lower class. The most telling is Alice's unwillingness to identify with homosexuality. There are multiple reasons for this, but one has to note the importance of class connotations. Conventional thought was that people who were openly homosexuals were often lower class.⁷ It is impossible to expect every other woman to have also followed the strict Victorian morals of the time, and to present Alice as such would be incorrect. However, just because other women defied gender roles, does not mean what Alice did was not important.

Gertrude Tate (1871-1962) was a kindergarten and dance teacher from Brooklyn. When Alice was 33 years old, in 1899, she met Gertrude at a resort in the Catskills known as Twilight Rest. From there, the two women would become very close and enter a relationship secretly. Alice and Gertrude would spend the next fifty years together, with Gertrude moving into Alice's home of Clear Comfort in 1917. While they presented themselves as heterosexual, single women, Alice and Gertrude were in love. For Victorians, the concepts of homosexuality and heterosexuality were emerging as new concepts that individuals could identify with.⁸ It is important to note that Alice and

male or female. Bisexual and pansexual individuals are people who experience attraction to two or more genders. Asexuals are people who do not experience sexual attraction.

⁵ Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A history of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1991), 14.

⁶ Jessica Loren Roscio, "Unpacking a Victorian Woman: Alice Austen and Photography of the Cult of Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America," Master's thesis, University of New York at Buffalo, 2005, 7.

⁷ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT history*, 25.

⁸ Roscio, "Unpacking a Victorian Woman" 6.

Gertrude were two different classes; Alice did not have to work while Gertrude did. The difference in their classes was not enough that it was a shock that these two women would spend time together, or even more in.

Gertrude was the most important woman in Alice's life and together they were in a "Boston marriage." These relationships could not only be nurturing relationships, but also equal in terms of finance, responsibilities, and decision making -- all areas in which the husband claimed precedence and advantages.⁹ Women had far more freedom, as they had direct control over areas of their life that would otherwise be controlled by their husband. They had a long life together and lived through a very intense financial burden together. By age 63, Alice lost her family fortune due the stock market crash in 1929. Alice took a mortgage out on the house; but the couple had no method of paying it off. They had no choice but to sell off Austen heirlooms and try to make an income. Gertrude taught dance classes, and they opened a tea house. In 1945, when the couple could no longer afford the home, and the bank repossessed it, Alice and Gertrude moved together into an apartment for a few years. Eventually, Gertrude moved back into her family home in Brooklyn. Alice lived in a nursing home which Gertrude would visit as often as she could. In 1950, Alice was moved into the poor house at the Staten Island Farm Colony. Even so, Gertrude would still visit. There was nothing stopping Gertrude and Alice from being together. That is, except in death. Alice passed away in 1952 and Gertrude in 1962. The two wished to be buried together, but the Tate family decided to bury her separately in a plot 15 miles away from Alice.¹⁰ To see their relationship ending like that is heartbreaking, which is why representing their relationship accurately is important.

Early Life and Clear-Comfort

It is impossible to understand Alice's work without understanding how she grew up in a home with her mother and grandparents. Both relationships and place were instrumental in how Alice developed as a person and as a photographer. Born March 17, 1886, she was baptized under the name Elizabeth Alice Munn. Her mother Alice Cornell Austen was the daughter of John Haggerty Austen and Elizabeth Townsend Austen. The Austen family was a wealthy auctioneering family who had moved from Manhattan to Staten Island in 1850. They called their home Clear Comfort. Located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, the house overlooks the Narrows near New York Harbor and the skyline of lower Manhattan. Her father, Edward Stopford Munn, was a wealthy English man. Alice

⁹ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 18.

¹⁰ Laura Peimer, "Alice's Identity Crisis," *History of Photography* 24, no 2 (2000), 176; Novotny, *Alice's World*, 197, 210-11, 217.

Cornell Austen married Edward in 1864. They lived on Staten Island about a quarter of a mile away from Clear Comfort at Woodbine Cottage. However, in 1865 or 1866, either a few months before or after Alice was born, he deserted his wife and new daughter. While it is unknown what happened to Munn, it is thought that he claimed that he was returning to England in order to pave the way for his wife and daughter to move over with him. This, of course, never happened. In 1868, when Alice was about two years old, she and her mother moved into Clear Comfort with her grandparents, her uncle, and her aunt and her husband.¹¹ Three generations lived in Clear Comfort as Alice grew up, and they had a distinct impact on her life.

Aside from her grandmother, the most influential people in Alice's life were her mother, her aunt Mary (or Minn), and her uncles Oswald and Peter. It is easy to see why Alice might identify with her aunt Minn who was more lively, extroverted, and sociable than her sister. Minn had two successful marriages, marrying Oswald Muller after the death of her first husband. Oswald was a Danish sea captain. Together, the two of them would go on trips around the world. Oswald was the man who introduced Alice to the camera. While its make and year are lost, it is known that Oswald brought Alice her first camera when she was about 10 years old from Germany. From there, he would be instrumental in helping her figuring out the mechanical care of her cameras. Her Uncle Peter was a professor of chemistry at Rutgers College, which is now Rutgers University. He was a talented man in his field, and at home, he would be important in helping how Alice develops her photos. The women in Alice's life had more of an impact on her socially and the men on a more professional level, even if Alice never took photography up professionally.

Photography

While Alice began taking photos when she was young, many of those older photos are lost. The earliest photo that has the date known of is when she was about eighteen years old. She was primarily active in photography during the 1890s, when she was in her 20s. It was her commitment to photography that was seen as a defiance of gender roles. To travel with this type of equipment showed a trait typical of lesbians at the time: independent and pride in the mastery and deployment of skills associated with masculine capabilities.¹²

¹¹ To prevent the repetition of citations, all information about Alice's life and Clear Comfort are from Novotny, *Alice's World*, 17-39.

¹² Helen Langa, "Seeing Queerly: Look for Lesbian Presence and Absence in United States Visual Art, 1890 to 1950," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 14, no 2-3, 128.

Her photos, as mentioned earlier, were taken with no intention of being seen by the public. Her glass plates and prints were intended to stay within a private sphere. The only way they were to be distributed was through Alice herself. As such, her work was very rarely used outside of this sphere. The only time Alice used her work commercially prior to being rediscovered was in when one of her friends was publishing a book on the proper etiquette and care of a bicycle. As a lover of bicycling, Alice helped her friend and took photos for it in 1895-96, without accepting pay for the use of the photos. Perhaps her reasoning for it had to do with her status as a wealthy woman. Alice had not seen her photos as anything but a hobby; there was no need to sell them when she had money. Even when she and Gertrude were in need of money during the 1930s and 40s, she did not sell them. They were personal and private to her, even if she understood and recognized the historical significance they could have. Following her eviction in 1945, her glass plates were to be moved to Richmond Historic Town.¹³ It was not until 1950, when Oliver Jensen discovered her photos, that she was discovered for her talent.

Alice took photos of anything and everything she could. Her photos can be broken down into at least four categories. This includes: her “lark life,” featuring her friends as young adults; Clear Comfort; her family; and Street-Life photography, documenting the immigrants and poor Americans in Manhattan and the quarantine islands near the Narrows. These are not the only photos, of course. She took trips to Europe quite often; and in 1893, she travelled to the Columbian World's Fair that was taking place in Chicago. She got six photos taken at the World Fair copyrighted. While all of her photos are impressive, this paper will only be looking at photos that are during her “lark life.” These are among her more intimate photographs.

Her “lark life,” as she liked to call it, captured her experiences as a young woman. The photos of these years document a carefree, fashionable and adventurous young woman and her friends in their 20s enjoying life. This includes dressing up, going to the beach, and playing sports. Alice had always been a tomboy and muscular, so her taking up sports as a young woman is not surprising. It is also among these photographs that one sees how Alice broke away from gender norms of the Victorian New York.

This photo, aptly named *Dressed up as Men*, was taken in 1891.¹⁴ This captures Alice and her two friends, Julia Martin and Julia Bredt when Alice was 25 years old. In 1951, sixty years later, Alice remarked on her youthful cross-dressing: “We look so funny with those mustaches on, I can hardly tell which is which. We did it just for fun.

¹³ Novotny, *Alice's World*, 194.

¹⁴ Alice Austen *Dressed up as Men*, 1891, Alice Austen House, New York City, <http://aliceausten.org/dressed-men>.



Alice Austen, *Dressed Up as Men* (1891): Alice is on the left, phony cigarette in hand, next to her friends Julia Martin and Julia Bredt.

Maybe we were better looking than women.” Here Alice states that she and her friends did it for fun, that there was no deeper meaning to the photo. It was just a few friends playing pretend. However, the subversion of gender norms does not have to be a conscious act. At some level, these women thought that presenting themselves as men and having each pretend to be a man would be fun. Why? It is easy to say for the amusement of oneself, but it portrays Alice in various different lights. First, it is a confirmation that Alice did not care about gender norms, that she was willing to violate social norms and even transgress the laws discussed below. This photo certainly does prove that she is willing to break conventions, although she did not originally intend that this photo be made public. Is it really that revolutionary then? Still, yes.

A common expression of gender is the clothes that we wear. Clothing is an expression of one’s identity. For many individuals, they can use society has deemed certain clothing as women’s and others as men’s. For women today, it is far easier to note what is considered “women’s clothing” than men’s attire. Clothing such as dresses, skirts,

crop tops, leggings, high heels, knee high boots are all items that “belong” to women. For men, there are fewer items that one can look at and deem off limits to women. It has become socially acceptable for women to wear men’s clothing, while the reverse is not. Women’s clothing is seen as un-masculine and men wearing these articles of clothing are at risk for harassment and violence. In the Victorian era, it was much worse.

Beginning in the 1840s, cross-dressing quickly became illegal throughout the US.¹⁵ For New York, a law was passed in 1845 stated that, “[a] person who, having his face painted, discolored, covered, or concealed, or being otherwise disguised, in a manner calculated to prevent his being identified, appears in a road or public highway.”¹⁶ These laws primarily targeted perceived men dressing as women, however as they were more visible in their “disguise” of being a woman. Under these laws, police would be able to have more freedom to dictate what people should or should not be wearing. They had the power to enforce societal standards on what Americans should look like. So, even though Alice may have not had any intention on being seen as a radical figure in this regard, her actions can be taken as such. Alice had remarked earlier on her life that men did not like her because they thought she was better than them at being masculine. To dress up and pretend to be a man is an exploration of those thoughts.¹⁷

In an exhibit in 1994 at the New York Public Library, Alice’s photos led to her being “outed” as a lesbian. Her art had signs of being read as lesbian. A prime example of this is seen in the photo at the beginning of this essay. Taken on August 6, 1891, ‘Trude & I’ shows two masked women in their undergarments that are mirror images of one another. Alice and her friend, Gertrude ‘Trude’ Eccleston, took this photo to emulate a sort of sin; Alice said in 1950, “We were hard-up that day, I guess. We had no ideas about smoking then, but we thought we were smart.”¹⁸ This piece is often displayed in lesbian art shows because of its symbolism.¹⁹ A state of undress and being mirror images of one another can be interpreted as a subversion of the Cult of True Womanhood,

¹⁵ Vern L Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 237.

¹⁶ Joseph D. Fay, *Digest of Laws of the State of New York: Comprising the Revises Statutes and Statutes of General Interest in Force on January 1, 1874* (Cambridge, MA: James Cockcroft, 1874), 117.

¹⁷ Langa, “Seeing Queerly”, 128.

¹⁸ Alice Austen, *Trude & I*, 1891, Alice Austen House, New York City, <http://aliceausten.org/trude-i>.

¹⁹ Bram Dijkstra, *Tolds of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siecle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 152-153; Amy S. Khoudari, “Looking in the Shadows: The Life and Photography of Alice Austen,” Master’s Thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 1993, 74.

rejecting the idea of pure and piety, or as a sign of exploration of unconventional and perhaps lesbian values. Once again, it does not seem certain that this was Alice's intention when posing for the photo, as she comments in her later life that it was just for fun. However, perhaps the conservative conversation around gender in the 1950s hindered Alice from coming out and admitting that what she and her friends were doing were a direct reaction and attack on the Victorian patriarchy that they had lived in. As it is, she presents it as something that her and her friend did on summer night; but it still stands that the reality of the art and interpretation can be received through a lesbian lens.

Sexuality

In 1952, the year Alice Austen passed away, the American Psychological Association (APA) published the first Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The DSM-I (and its future publication) would be most reliable source that psychologist and psychiatrists used when diagnosing patients. In the DSM-I, and until 1973, homosexuality was categorized as a mental disorder. While no mental illness is *nice*, homosexuality received a categorization that is rather scary; it was designated as a "sociopathic personality disturbance." DSM-II (1968) no longer categorized it as sociopathic. It was thought to be a mental disorder throughout the United States. This is easy to understand why homosexuality (an act which some argued had been damned by the Bible) in the still religious United States would be considered as such. While homosexuality existed in the United States long before this classification, our modern concepts of what homosexuality were developed in the Victorian era. Further, in New York, in 1881, a revised version of the criminal code was released, and sodomy's punishment was raised to 5-20 years. In 1886, the law was expanded to include basically any sexual act and made it more difficult for same-sex couples, especially men, to live together.²⁰

The Victorian era is when these concepts of sexuality as part of an identity truly began to develop.²¹ In the 1880s, sexologists (such as Karl Ulrichs, Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Gavelock Ellis) pioneered a science in which sexual preferences were analyzed and categorized and the terms of heterosexuality and homosexuality were created.²² Even as these terms gained in popularity, early concepts of homosexuality have as much to do with *gender* nonconformity as it did with sexuality.²³ This distinction is

²⁰ Painter, "The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers"

http://www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/sensibilities/new_york.htm.

²¹ Roscio, "Unpacking a Victorian Woman," 6; Holly Furneaux, "Victorian Sexualities," *Literature Compass* vol. 8 no. 10 (2011), 769; Ferentinos, 54.

²² Furneaux, "Victorian Sexualities," 769.

important to note, as in modern queer theory, gender and sexuality are two separate identities. Still, the process of accepting homosexuality as a mental disorder came from influences of 20th century, not the 19th century.

The increase resulted in the creation of an idealized role of women and men. It also created more gender divided activities. Men began to spend more time with men, and women began to spend more time exclusively with women. With being more or less placed into these stricter gender divides, it is was only natural that women and men began to find themselves finding intense, loving communities with members of their own gender. This concept became known as “romantic friendships.”²⁴ This model first originated in the 18th century and featured acts such as pledging undying devotion to your friends, proclaiming your love for them, erotic language, and even physical fondling.²⁵ These friendships were most common amongst the middle and upper class, but had a surprising amount within the working-class whites and black Americans. They were also more common among women than men. One letter, written by a free black domestic, Addie Brown, to her friend, Rebecca Primus, a black schoolteacher:

You are the first girl that I ever love so and you are the last one. Dear Rebecca, do not say anything against me loving you so, for I mean just what I say. O Rebecca, it seem I can see you now, casting those loving eyes at me, If you was a man, what would things come to? They would after come to something very quick. What do you think the matter? Don't laugh at me. I not exactly crazy yet.²⁶

To most, this letter is clearly a romantic attraction and a sign of a queer relationship. It is far more complex than that. These friendships and types of letters were perfectly acceptable within the context of 18th and 19th century lives, as there were no sexual ideas attached to this idea. With letters like these, it is possible for historians to argue for studying LGBT individuals in history. Defining and exposing queer individuals becomes a much more difficult task for historians. This is due to the fact that because this behavior was seen as an acceptable expression of emotion and friendship, that individuals who were not LGBT used to the same language. Of course, it can be interpreted that individuals who participated were LGBT. It was an expression of friendship. The issue

²³ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 25.

²⁴ Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, "Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A "Boston Marriage" On Staten Island" *Historic Home Trust* 5, no. 4 (2010), 18-19; Ferentinos, 36.

²⁵ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 36.

²⁶ Karen V. Hansen, "No Kisses Is Like Youres': An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Gender&History* 7, no. 2 (1995), 153-82. Retrieved from Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 37.

there is that the concept of romantic friendships predates modern conceptions of homo and heterosexuality. Placing modern day definitions of concepts to historical figures can be dangerous, as it may result in a misrepresentation of the figure.

As such, with these concepts of homosexuality and heterosexuality being created while Alice was a young woman, and the notion of romantic friendships it is impossible to know if these ideas of what sexuality is ever became a topic of conversation with her and her friends, or her and Gertrude. As far as LGBT historians are aware, Alice never identified as a lesbian. The true nature of her relationship with Gertrude was never revealed by either herself or Gertrude. While many early historians noted the relationship between her and Gertrude, she was never identified as anything more than a friend. Searching through various obituary records of Alice Austen shows that Gertrude is mentioned quite a few times. However, through her work, her relationship with women, and gender defying actions, historians are able to identify her as such. Ann Novotny did obtain confirmation through various sources of the exact nature of their relationship. In an undated interview with an old family friend, Pieter Vosburgh, about the relationship he said: “Gertrude and Alice were lesbians. Gertrude was the female and Alice was the male. This is so in all my experience with these two ladies. How were the two ladies alike: totally different. Gertrude was the charming lady and Alice was the he-man.”²⁷ This puts the relationship into a different perspective. Stereotypical lesbian relationships often have a butch and femme, where one assumes the role of a “man” and the other a “woman.”²⁸ Additionally, Gertrude’s sister, Winifred Tate Baker, also confirmed the nature of the relationship.²⁹ When Guy Loomis, a wealthy eligible man, proposed to Gertrude, she turned him down in favor of going abroad with Alice.³⁰ Her older sister and mother, while never openly admitting it, were very unhappy with the relationship. This disapproval can be seen at the time of Gertrude’s death as well. Alice and Gertrude requested to be buried together, and when Gertrude died in 1962, she was not buried with Alice, but rather a few miles away.

²⁷ Ann Novotny, Interview with Pieter Vosburgh, Undated, Uncataloged papers at the Friends of Alice Austen House Museum (Staten Island); retrieved from Khoudari,, 49.

²⁸ This idea is also true for gay men—that one person in the relationship is the man and the other the woman. This idea is ultimately outdated and problematic as neither of the people in same-sex relationships would fulfill these roles. This idea is among the many forms of micro aggressions faced by same-sex couples.

²⁹ Ann Novotny, Interview with Winifred Tate Baker; retrieved from Khoudari, 49.

³⁰ Interview with Elwood Tate Baker and Leonie Vosburg Baker home, Bethesda MD, March 5, 1993; retrieved from Khoudari, 50.

It is likely that Alice's attraction to women did not begin with Gertrude. She did meet Gertrude in 1899, making Alice about 33 and Gertrude 27. Alice's relationship with men was destined to be strained. After the desertion by her father, and perhaps because of her mother's bitterness and the Austen's family refusal to speak of Edward Munn, it is no shock that Alice would prefer to keep the company of women. While growing up, the easiest way to rile her up was to call Alice, "Alice Munn." She never identified with the name and made a point to refuse to be a Munn.³¹ In fact, she was so silent about her father that many Islanders thought that she had been born as an illegitimate child.³² She also declared that the reason why she never appealed to young men because she "was too good at sports, photography, and mechanics," and thus threatened their own masculinity.³³ It is impossible to confirm the nature of her relationships with her other friends, but many of the letters that had been written between Alice and her friends were romantic in nature. In some of the footnotes of her Master's thesis, Amy Khoudari writes about the some of the letters that Alice received that indicated same sex attraction from her friends, such as Julia Martin.³⁴ Her one friend, Daisy Elliot, professed her love for Austen in letters from Europe often. Being in the same class as Alice, and how these letters do not imply sexual attraction that some of her other friends had written about, this letter calls into question about her relationship with Alice. Did these women use romantic friendships to freely write about their romantic attraction to one another? As these women were close friends, and spoke in person often, the missing pieces of their relationship makes it difficult to decipher. Baker did imply that Alice and Gertrude had a circle of friends in Manhattan who were also homosexual that they kept a secret from their friends on Staten Island.³⁵ This implication does not specify which friends. Were Alice's closest friends on Staten Island privy to her attraction?

Despite all of Alice's breaking of gender norms at the time, there were still many she kept in place. Her image was among the more important ones. According to Susan Ferentinos, "the definition of homosexuality carried class connotations, in keeping

³¹ Her mother, while still remaining legally Elizabeth Cornell Munn, took up her family name once again following his desertion.

³² Novotny, *Alice's World*, 16.

³³ Novony, *Alice's World*, 60.

³⁴ Khoudari mentions that Alice had multiple mystery women. Among this was a Mexican woman named Sara de la Seina, who wrote to Alice profession "attraction and love and expressing disappointment in Alice's failure to return her interest." In some of Alice's scrapbooks, there are multiple newspaper articles dating about the murder or possible suicide of a young woman in Brooklyn, with seemingly no connection between the two other than Alice's fascination with her. Retrieved from Khoudari, 50.

³⁵ Novotny, Interview with Winifred Tate Baker; retrieved from Khoudari, 49.

with its associations with the urban underworld of vice and with the desires of more primitive (.i.e. non-European) races. Wealthier people, unconnected from this subculture, did not necessarily understand their relationships to fall under this new category of deviance.”³⁶ Many upper-class individuals would prefer to not be associated with this concept or language and often stuck to the idea of the romantic friends. Alice Austen was among those. While in many of her self-portraits and photos with her in it defying gender roles, in the public space she was more traditional than anything else. It is perhaps of her connection to these women that Alice felt the need to make sure that no one questioned her relationship with Gertrude. Historian Jonathan Ned Katz talks about the role that Sigmund Freud had with the development of sexuality perception in the United States in the 20th century.³⁷ In the early 19th century, Americans would have understood the “good” and “bad” sexuality as love and lust. For Americans exposed to Freud’s work, “good” and “bad” sexuality was now defined by heterosexuality and homosexuality.³⁸ This concept would see a legal confirmation beginning in 1939, where states began to enact sexual psychopath statues.³⁹ Romantic letters were not acting on lust, and as such not considered “bad”. Living with another woman was acceptable, but living with another woman in a homosexual relationship was not. To admit and accept that she was homosexual, even though her local community was accepting, would have been social suicide for her.

The Alice Austen House Museum

Museums are the center for public history. Whether it is art museums, museums commemorating a historical event or era, a museum dedicated to an individual, or a house museum, they all offer the opportunity for the visitor to feel more connected to the period they are observing. People can only learn from the past; they see who was and was not accepted in society. They see themes, personalities, or just admire artifacts and people. So, what does that exactly mean for LGBT history? It is difficult subject to approach. Sexuality throughout the ages has been understood differently. Words and definitions change; society reacts and accepts sexuality through different ways. People’s understandings of modern concepts of homosexuality, combined with advancements in

³⁶ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 25.

³⁷ Jonathan Katz, *Love Stories: Sex between Men before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 332-336; retrieved from Khoudari, 39.

³⁸ Katz, *Love Stories*, 39.

³⁹ Marie-Amelie George, “The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States,” *Journal of History of Sexuality* vol. 24, no. 2 (2015), 226.

contemporary gender theory, have allowed people to look at historical relationships between two individuals with the same gender and have their own interpretation on the relationship. Questions such as was the relationship romantic, or platonic, or neither, come to our heads.

Historic homes of/for LGBT individuals offer something other than what a traditional museum can offer. They are dynamic sites in representing time, familiar relationships, and domestic spaces. Despite more freedom to creating one's interpretation, historic homes can be read as conservative as well; the celebration of a family and their genealogy is heteronormative. LGBT historic homes inherently challenge heteronormativity as a result;⁴⁰ their very existence is radical in this sense. Whether controlled by private or government bodies, which can affect what narrative is being presenting, they are more likely to present the dominant discourse. They have a less deliberate approach to education, as there is less of a reliance on formal categorization of knowledge.⁴¹ Still, they offer more than just as a subversion of mainstream history. Lesbian and gay visits to LGBT homes are new and exciting. Oram calls the experience one has as "a personal connection with the historic house and its former owners might also be shared with a partner, while at the same time creating a feeling of being part of a wider trans-historical community of those who enjoyed same sex love."⁴²

It has not been an easy path, "queering the museum." Since the 1960s, Western cultures have been "throwing off the shackles of Victorian-style repression and embracing sexual and gender liberation that has been the motivating force" politically.⁴³ During the 1970s and 80s, the LGBT movement was becoming a more radicalized movement in a post-Stonewall world. At that time, finding LGBT individuals was akin to coming out, according to Oram, and a way of reclaiming a positive image.⁴⁴ While the exhibit in 1994 was the first mainstream moment Alice was called a lesbian, in 1976, two New York lesbians, Liza Cowan and Penny House, published an article in *DYKE, A Quarterly* about Alice and Gertrude. They open the article up with "Alice Austen was a Lesbian born on Staten Island in 1866."⁴⁵ As already discussed, the type of modern

⁴⁰ Oram, "Going on an Outing," 199.

⁴¹ Alison Oram, "Going on an Outing: The Historic House and Queer Public History," *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (2011), 192.

⁴² Oram, "Going on an Outing," 193.

⁴³ Robert Mills, "Theorizing the Queer Museum," *Museum & Social Issues* 3, no 1, 44.

⁴⁴ Oram, "Going on an Outing," 195.

⁴⁵ Tatum Alana Taylor, "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture: Interpreting Marginalized Heritage," Master's thesis, Columbia University, 2012, 19; Liza Cowan and Penny House, "Alice Austen—Photographs" *Dyke, A Quarterly* vol. 1 no. 3 (1976), 1.

language and identities put onto historical LGBT history is dangerous--which House and Cowan accept and understand. However, they defend it: "we called Alice a lesbian in our article because in those days, we weren't even thinking about the shifting language of categorization. We just wanted to claim her."⁴⁶ This is an understandable reaction. Gay history, especially aimed at the mass straight audience, stressed similarities between the past and present. After centuries of being erased and ignored, their history finally gets the opportunity to live. It took a while though.

It took museums much longer time to start accepting and incorporating LGBT history into mainstream media; and the suppression of LGBT identities still occurred. In the UK, it was largely due to the Local Government Act of 1988. 'Section 28' of the law prohibited local authorities spending on the promotion of homosexuality.⁴⁷ It was in the 1990s that it became more acceptable to represent their history, and it is really in the last decade or so that a strong shift has occurred. Part of it was the fear of offending a conservative audience.

The Alice Austen House Museum opened in the 1980s after years of restoration and artifact hunting. During the 1970s, the Staten Island that Alice Austen loved was being demolished. The house was no different and was threatened with demolition. The efforts of individuals like Ann Novotny, Oliver Jensen, and Margaret Buckwalker--the first executive director of the House--prevented Austen's house from being demolished. Clear Comfort would become a New York City National Landmark in the 1970s, owned by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, and a member of the Historic House Trust. It was designated a National Landmark in 1992, and a member of the distinguished Historic Artists' Homes and Studios.⁴⁸ However, these designations were not for her being LGBT.

Alice's many photos of her home allow for a detailed recreation of her home. The Austen House has two historical period rooms for the public to visit: the formal parlor and the dining room. While many of the Austen heirlooms were sold off in Alice's later life, many items or replicas have been returned. Alice's darkroom is also available for guests to go up too. Two other rooms, the middle parlor and Alice's bedroom, are contemporary exhibit spaces for the museum to use. The sunroom, attached to Alice's bedroom, doubles as a study. In here, guests can sit and flip through multiple binders' worth of Alice's photos. Various books about Alice, photography, Victorian etiquette,

<http://seesaw.typepad.com/dykequarterly/people-alice-austen/>

⁴⁶ Taylor, "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture," 20.

⁴⁷ Oram, "Going on an Outing," 192.

⁴⁸ "About the Museum," Alice Austen House, <http://aliceausten.org/organization>.

and others, are also available. The house itself is modest in size. The rest of Clear Comfort is a park for guests to enjoy, overlooking the same beautiful landscape Alice and Gertrude did many years ago, with views of New York harbor.

The Alice Austen House represents a positive change in how LGBT individuals are represented in museums. Up until about 20 years ago, the Austen House was part of this problem of denying the LGBT identities. As mentioned earlier, in a New York Public Library Exhibit in 1994, Alice was “outed.” This exhibit was celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall Riot, featured *Trude and I* (1891) and in its descriptions called Alice a lesbian. This was the first time that the Austen House would be forced to engage with this part of Alice’s life, as it was not previously part of their interpretation. This threw the house’s board and lesbian activists into disarray, even though her identity as a woman has been celebrated for decades.⁴⁹ It was an explosive controversy; LGBT groups demanded the real nature of Alice and Gertrude’s relationship be displayed.⁵⁰

The Board of the Friends of the Alice Austen House refused to acknowledge this part of Alice’s identity. In 1994, the former president of the board, James Thompson, wrote to the *Staten Island Advance* that it is “regrettable that all these rumors have been asserted without any real scholarship behind them. We believe that Alice will be remembered for her exceptional skills as a photographer and for her home which admirably reflects the Victorian era.”⁵¹ Ironically enough, in some of her letters, Ann Novotny notes that she knew Alice was a lesbian, but as mentioned before, due to *Alice’s World* being the first biography her and the relative conservative atmosphere of the majority of Americans in the 1970s, she felt that it was better to not focus on the real nature of Alice and Gertrude’s relationship.⁵² The battle both within the board and between the House and activists was harsh. It got so intense that the board threatened to close the house as the debate swelled over whether or not Alice’s lesbianism was being intentionally suppressed, or whether it was a fact irrelevant to the interpretation of the house.

In 2010, Carl Rutberg, the executive director of the Alice Austen House Museum, reflected back on this controversy:

At the core was the word “lesbian.” Either she was or she wasn’t. To me, the argument wasn’t very interesting. What fascinated me was Alice Austen, her work, and her life. And it didn’t take much research to conclude that Gertrude

⁴⁹ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 113.

⁵⁰ Peimer, “Alice’s Identity Crisis”, 175.

⁵¹ ‘Contrary to Rumors, Miss Austen wasn’t Gay,’ *Staten Island Advance* (23 June 1944).

⁵² Ann Novotny files, Alice Austen House Museum, Unorganized.

Tate was the most important person in Austen's life. This fact, supported by hundreds of photographs, is undeniable. Yet when we stopped debating the "L-word" and started to talk about what we knew of Austen, the disagreements disappeared. Today, we do not claim that Austen was a lesbian, and we do not hide Gertrude Tate. Instead, we present what we know and let the visitors make up their own minds.⁵³

Gertrude was never a secret. When Alice passed away, multiple obituaries mention Gertrude and the importance of their relationship. This, of course, is in 1951, so the interpretation of their relationship was never thought to be romantic. Still, as Rutberg said, it was very easy to see that Gertrude was the most important person in Alice's life. As such, to deny their relationship, is ahistorical and homophobic. It tells LGBT individuals that part of their identity can be up for discussion, and at the very worst, ignored and rewritten.

Today, the House accepts and celebrates Alice's sexuality and emphasizes the importance of her and Gertrude's relationship. Rutberg says that he is happy the LGBT community has embraced her.⁵⁴ The new website, launched in 2012, was a vast improvement compared to what was there before, as Alice's biography had formally made no mention of Gertrude. Today, in the "Her Life" section, her relationship with Gertrude is described as a loving romantic relationship, even though her sexual identity is not named.⁵⁵ The Austen House knows that there are gaps in its interpretation, but their embracement of their LGBT history and acceptance of it and the work it is putting in to make it a better historical location for LGBT history says far more. On April 26, 2012, the Austen House was one of the almost 40 historic sites in NYC chosen to vie for a grant from Partners in Preservation, a joint project of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Express. Rutberg asked the Gays & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) to help the House in its bid.⁵⁶ From the list, the Austen House was among the few that could successfully be interpreted as LGBT. In 2010, the Historic House Trust developed a special program in order to explore the implications of Alice's work.⁵⁷

There has also been a more active role in having the house become a community location for LGBT people, with helping host events together with the Pride Center of

⁵³ Carl Rutberg introduction for Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, "Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A "Boston Marriage"6.

⁵⁴ Taylor, "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture," 21.

⁵⁵ "Her Life." Alice Austen House. <http://aliceausten.org/her-life>

⁵⁶ Taylor, "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture," 22.

⁵⁷ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 114.

Staten Island. A musical about Alice had their relationship as an open secret was written and performed in November of 2011 on Staten Island had images from the Austen House as part of the set; another musical about Alice was performed in August of 2016.⁵⁸ The freedom that was gained from governmental support, and that the board of the house stopped arguing about the use of the “L-word” in people’s interpretations of Alice, meant that the interpretation of her history and work gained a flexibility that was not there before. Her history was no longer being maliciously suppressed by conservatives. This embracing of her identity is a positive direction, and it is exciting to see where the house goes next.

So, the Alice Austen House is among the museums leading a change. Still, there are many museums that are a bit slower in the change. Oram talks about multiple museums in the UK that are going through a similar process. At the Sissinghurst Castle and Garden, poets Vita Sackville-West and Harold West are celebrated for their artistry and gardens they have. Despite their marriage, Sackville-West and West were both gay, a fact that still confuses scholars today as to why their relationship was successful. The exhibition that has been there for at least a decade now refers to Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf’s relationship as that of literary contemporaries. This is a misrepresentation of their relationship, as they were lovers for a few years. “Their friendship lasted until Woolf’s suicide in 1941, but she never spent a night at Sissinghurst.” This type of language implies that the relationship was platonic, with ‘never spent the night’ as a slang phrase for sleeping with another. It is even more confusing when one looks at a 2008 guidebook and it states: “Harold and Vita, although both homosexual and both serially unfaithful to the other, survived the traumatic early ears...”⁵⁹ So for LGBT individuals going to this house, it is a confusing narrative. The truth about Sackville-West and West is important enough to put in supplementary information, but not into the main exhibit. This is one type of representation of problems that museums are facing.

For museums, the reorganization of objects and displays presents another major problem. The Alice Austen House has successfully been reorganizing; for traditional museums or historic homes that have not been embracing their queer past, it is far more difficult. Mills, in his work, speaks about the “importance of LGBT exhibitions in

⁵⁸ Taylor 22; Elizabeth Vincentelli, “Review: In ‘Alice in Black and White,’ a Pioneering Photojournalist” *New York Times*, August 7, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/08/theater/review-in-alice-in-black-and-white-a-pioneering-photojournalist.html>.

⁵⁹ Oram, “Going on an Outing,” 200.

challenging the implicit heteronormativity of museums spaces, but questions the projection of contemporary sexual identities onto the past, arguing that public history needs to take on the complexity of sexual subjectivity in the past by developing new ways of queering museum spaces.”⁶⁰ For one, what exactly makes an item “queer”?

LGBT historic homes challenge traditionally heteronormative spaces by its existence, but items are a different story. Angela Vanegas notes:

Certainly, objects are not alive – they have no intrinsic sexuality – however, it is probably fair to say that their users will generally be assumed to have been heterosexual unless the object are explicitly connected with lesbian and gay life, such as Gay Pride badges. The history of objects has to be recorded or their real meaning is lost.⁶¹

Often, that is what happens. Items that are organized years before the acceptance of LGBT identities are unlikely to ever see it redone. Items have to be explicitly connected with lesbian and gay life, and thus often these items are sexual in nature. Of course, LGBT identities are more than just sex; but due to individuals finding a common ground in similar sexual attraction, this is an unfortunate reality. Mills notes that “attempts to present histories of sexual activity through the objects, spaces, and bodies with which it comes into view place audiences in a relationship with the material that many regular museums still find too hot to handle.”⁶² This designation of “too hot to handle” typically means that these museums will only be accessible to 18+ years old. This is harmful; it teaches LGBT youth that their identity is and will always be sexual. It also enforces this idea that people cannot figure out their identity until they are an adult. Still, LGBT museum and exhibits continue to flourish and are celebrated. The change in narratives in museums is exciting.

Conclusion

As LGBT history becomes more mainstream and increasingly accepted in society, there is the expectation that LGBT individuals’ identity will be properly represented. Alice Austen and her museum are at the forefront of this story. Not only is she among the earliest female photographers in the United States in a time where women were supposed to be in the private sphere, she constantly challenges the gender norms of the Victorian era through dressing herself up as a man, playing sports, and generally

⁶⁰ Oram, “Going on an Outing,” 191.

⁶¹ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 112; Angela Vanegas, “Representing Lesbians and Gay Men in British Social History Museums,” in *Gender Sexuality, and Museums: A Routledge Reader*, ed. Amy K. Levin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 164.

⁶² Mills, *Theorizing the Queer Museum*, 46.

adopting more masculine traits. The discovery and acceptance of her lesbianism is an important development for her in her own house museum. Despite years of purposely suppressing her identity, the Alice Austen House has been making amends. Gertrude is part of Clear Comfort's story and Alice's identity is spoken in public. The Austen House works with local LGBT groups and hosts various events at the home. Their actions can be used for museums, specifically house museums, to interpret a "new" identity for inhabitants. Her story is a successful transition, from a board of directors unwilling to admit change, to an embracing of her identity.

Works Cited

Austen, Alice. *Trude & I*. 1891. <http://aliceausten.org/trude-i>.

Austen, Alice. *Dressed Up as Men*. 1891. <http://aliceausten.org/dressed-men>.

Baim, Tracy. "Sex, Love, and Relationships." In *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Edited by Megan E. Springate. Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016.

Bullough, Vern L. and Bonnie Bullough. *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

Cowan, Liza and Penny House. "Alice Austen—Photographs" *Dyke, A Quarterly* vol. 1 no. 3 (1976). <http://seesaw.typepad.com/dykequarterly/people-alice-austen/>

Crompton, Louis. "The Myth of Lesbian Impunity: Capital Laws from 1270 to 1791," *Journal of Homosexuality* vol. 6, no. ½ (Fall/Winter 1980-1981): 11-25.

Dijkstra Bram. *Tales of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siecle Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Faderman, Lillian and Phyllis Irwin. "Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A "Boston Marriage" On Staten Island," *Historic Home Trust* 5, no. 4 (2010), 6-9.

Faderman, Lillian. *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A history of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*. Columbia University Press: New York, 1991.

Fay, Joseph D. *Digest of Laws of the State of New York: Comprising the Revises Statutes and Statutes of General Interest in Force on January 1, 1874*. Cambridge, MA: James Cockcroft, 1874.

Ferentinos, Susan. *Interpreting LGBT History and Museums and Historic Sites*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2015.

Furneaux, Holly. "Victorian Sexualities." *Literature Compass* 8, no. 10 (October 2011): 767–75.

George, Marie-Amelie. "The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States," *Journal of History of Sexuality* vol. 24, no. 2 (2015): 225-261.

Hansen, Karen V. "No Kisses Is Like Youres': An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Gender & History* 7, no. 2 (1995), 153-82.

Katz, Jonathan. *Love Stories: Sex between Men before Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Khoudari, Amy S. "Looking in the Shadows: The Life and Photography of Alice Austen." Master's Thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 1993.

Langa, Helen. "Seeing Queerly: Looking for Lesbian Presence and Absence in United States Visual Art, 1890 to 1950." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 14, no. 2–3 (April 9, 2010): 124–39.

Mills, Robert. "Queer Is Here? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Histories and Public Culture," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 62 (2006): 253–63.

N.A. "About the Museum," Alice Austen House, <http://aliceausten.org/organization>.

N.A. "Her Life." *Alice Austen House*. <http://aliceausten.org/her-life>

N.A. 'Contrary to Rumors, Miss Austen wasn't Gay.' *Staten Island Advance*. 23 June 1944.

Novotny, Ann, and Alice Austen. *Alice's World : The Life and Photography of an American Original, Alice Austen, 1866-1952*. Old Greenwich, CT:Chatham Press, 1976.

Oram, Alison. "Going on an Outing: The Historic House and Queer Public History." *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (June 2011): 189–207. doi:10.1080/13642529.2011.564816.

Painter, George. "The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers: The History of Sodomy Laws in the United States: Introduction." Sodomy Laws.
<http://www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/sensibilities/introduction.htm>.

Painter, George. "The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers: The History of Sodomy Laws in the United States: New York." Sodomy Laws.
http://www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/sensibilities/new_york.htm.

Peimer, Laura. "Alice's Identity Crisis." *History of Photography* 24, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 175–79.

Roscio, Jessica Loren. "Unpacking a Victorian Woman: Alice Austen and Photography of the Cult of Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America." Master's thesis, University of New York at Buffalo, 2005.

Taylor, Tatum Alana. "Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture: Interpreting Marginalized Heritage," Master's thesis. Columbia University. 2012.

Vanegas, Angela. "Representing Lesbians and Gay Men in British Social History Museums." In *Gender Sexuality, and Museums: A Routledge Reader*, edited by Amy K. Levin. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Vincentelli, Elizabeth. "Review: In 'Alice in Black and White,' a Pioneering Photojournalist." *New York Times*. August 7, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/08/theater/review-in-alice-in-black-and-white-a-pioneering-photojournalist.html>.

“I think the world’s asleep”: Fairytale Expectations in *King Lear*

Bridgett Bonar (English)¹

Unlike most of Shakespeare’s plays, *King Lear* has a peculiar air, as if it were centuries older than even its playwright, as if it belongs to the oral tradition of fairytales, rather than the Elizabethan stage. Part of this comes from the pagan setting, another undoubtedly from the pervasiveness of fairytales in current culture, nevertheless, it is impossible to read through *King Lear* without any fairytale bells ringing in one’s ears. However, despite the many scenes that could easily fit in a fairytale, the tragic end deviates from what would typically be called a ‘fairytale ending,’ despite many fairytales ending with just as much bloodshed. What the ending truly deviates from is the expectations garnered from the fairytale-esque scenes and settings, an expectation garnered despite the reader’s awareness of the Shakespearian tragedy they are reading.

The Fairytale theme begins very early, in act one, scene one. A king has three daughters, and will give his kingdom to the one who can prove she loves him the most—a familiar challenge, though often played out with sons. Even though Lear, from the very beginning, intends to split his kingdom between his three daughters, it does not detract from the timelessness of the scene, or from the feeling that a reader has read a variation of this story a thousand times before. And as in many fairytales, *King Lear* begins with a father’s mistake, the fathers of Cinderella and Snow White remarry to horrible women and then promptly die, the father in *Donkeyskin* lusts after his own daughter, the father in *The Juniper Tree* turns his back on his own child in favor of his new wife, the father of Hansel and Gretel leaves his children in the woods to fend for themselves, and Lear banishes the only daughter who truly loves him, in favor of the sycophants and flatterers. As Cordelia sails across the channel, the bride of France, the vipers emerge from their rose-bush homes, the demons remove their angelic masks, and Lear’s error is revealed to him.

However, Lear’s mistake does not only function as a fairytale convention, but also as part of the tragic error of the play. The rest of the tragic error is Lear giving up his kingdom before his death, however, if Lear had given his kingdom to a daughter that cared for him over his power, he would not have had the same problems as the ones he faces in the houses of Regan and Goneril after his abdication. So, truly, his tragic error is

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Ann Hurley for EN330: *The Shakespeare Survey*.

tied to his need for validation more than his abdication, itself. Lear's need for validation causes what is the least of Shakespeare's Tragic Errors. It is hardly Hamlet's melancholy or Macbeth's ambition, the traits that cause the tragic Errors in Shakespeare's most famous tragedies. A need for validation is something that every person possesses, which makes it all the more tragic when it is the cause of Lear's downfall. However, Lear's need for validation also forces him to act in ways that distance himself from the reader, at the same time the reader emphasizes with the cause of these actions. It is Lear's need for validation that forces him to all but auction off and banish the same daughter of which he says "I lov'd her most, and thought to set my rest//On her kind nursery," (I.i. 123-124). It is Lear's need for validation that hides the true natures of his daughters from him, both the daughter that refuses to cheapen her love by publicly professing it, and the daughters who profess of love that they do not feel.

The two viperous daughters of Lear have their own fairytale counterparts, of course, the most famous of whom are the step-sisters in *Cinderella*. Although readers of *King Lear* are never told if the daughters of Lear have the same mother—in fact the play never mentions the daughters' mother at all—their relationship is quite similar. Even more similar is the relationship between Belle and her sisters, in the versions of *Beauty and the Beast* in which they exist, who often care exclusively about material things, much like *King Lear*'s Regan and Goneril. Cordelia says to her sisters, "Love well our father; //To your professed bosoms I commit him, //But yet, alas, stood I within his grace, //I would prefer him to a better place," (I.i 271-274). Cordelia, like Cinderella, knows better than anyone the true character of her sisters, and has remained unblinded by their overdetermined professions of love to their father. Cordelia then disappears—whisked off to by the King of France, like Cinderella to Prince Charming's castle or Belle to the palace of the Beast.

As previously stated, one of the reasons for the general fairytale feel of *King Lear* is the pagan setting of the play. This is not only because Christianity abhors and replaces, to some extent, the 'need' for fairytales, but also because Shakespeare mapped a specific pantheon of gods onto an area where it never existed. While the Britons would have been ruled by the Roman gods throughout most of the Roman occupation of their land, the Britons themselves would have most likely remained true to their own, if less famous or long lasting, or mixed the two. Furthermore, Briton would not have had a King during this time of occupation, and instead would have been ruled by the Emperor of Rome, and would therefore have been converted to Christianity when Emperor Constantine did, meaning that Briton would never have had a Roman-pagan king. By creating a quasi-historical space, Shakespeare creates a world where anything could

happen and removes the action of the play from the reality of its reader, further enforcing a general fairytale atmosphere of the play, as this is something fairytales, more than any other literary genre, excels at.

This fairytale atmosphere is the main reason why the line “I think the world’s asleep” (I.iv 48) evokes another story, for those who are listening. Despite the relative lack of fairytale imagery in this scene, important only in Lear realizing his Tragic Error, but upon reading this line for the first time, any reader attuned to the fairytale nature *King Lear* presents, would immediately think of a sixteen year old girl, cursed to eternal sleep upon pricking her finger on a spinning wheel, and her kingdom, which suffered the same fate in some versions, and be left to wonder if the world, or at least the Duke of Albany’s palace is, in fact, cursed with the same eternal sleep. This, of course, turns out to be untrue, and Lear goes on to discover his daughter’s viperous hearts, rather than to find them under cursed sleep. However, the actual events of the play are not what is important here, merely the expectations that Lear’s line sets in the mind of the reader—an expectation of something magical, an expectation of something more than the mundane world of the reader. Like Lear calling on his gods, readers hope for some benign magical intervention to bring the story to a more pleasant end than the one the genre and playwright promises.

With the expectation of a sleeping kingdom shattered, readers, for some time leave their fairytale expectations behind them. That is, until the storm begins. The nature of weather in fairytales differs based on the story and version, sometimes it is benevolent, hiding the escape and route of a fleeing hero/heroine, or announcing the arrival of the villain. Other times it is malevolent, halting the progress or endangering the life of the same. However, the storm is always called, by one vaguely magical source or another. Lear, it seems, calls his own storm, or perhaps it was sent by those haughty and uncaring gods whose names he keeps invoking. Either way this storm lies somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. Lear’s life is certainly threatened by it, and yet it announces the arrival of the play’s true villain—Lear’s own madness. Even further, it is only through the storm that Lear truly realizes his mistakes, and that the situation he finds himself in is as much his own fault as it is that of his daughters. Through the storm he learns to empathize, with Kent, with his Fool, “How dost my boy? Art cold” (III.ii 68), with Edgar—fallen as far as Lear, himself, a Duke’s son and now nothing more than a beggar—“Didst thou give all to thy daughters?//And art thou come to this?” (III.iv 49-50). It is only after Lear learns what he has done wrong “Poor naked wretches...O, I have ta’en//Too little care of this” (III.iv 28, 32-33), it is only after he learns empathy that the storm lessens, that Gloucester is allowed to come to the rescue. The storm is truly the

culmination, though not the final appearance, of the fairytale elements in *King Lear*, it is magic, it is moral, and it has an air of darkness—like a tale to be whispered around fireplaces to scare children from straying on the forest path.

Storms are not the only occasional fairytale convention that Shakespeare uses in *King Lear*, another is pointed out by Coppélia Kahn, in her article, “The Absent Mother in *King Lear*.” Kahn states, “there is no literal mother in *King Lear*. The earlier anonymous play that is one of Shakespeare’s main sources opens with a speech by the hero lamenting the death of his “dearest Queen.” But Shakespeare...refers only once to the passing of this queen,” (242). The absent mother, dead long before the story starts, or with similar frequency upon the first page, is one of the greatest tropes of fairytales, though even more so in nineteenth and twentieth century revisions. While this is a long time after Shakespeare, his absent mother and those belonging to fairytales serve the same purpose, to separate the maternal and ‘good women’ from the vain and ‘evil women.’ Although in *King Lear* those titles go, not to a mother and a step-mother, but to Cordelia and Goneril—and to some extent Regan—respectively, whose lack of motherly link separates further than the physical distance that exists between them for more than half of the play.

Shakespeare returns to fairytale conventions in the last scene of act IV—in Cordelia’s forgiveness. Just as the mistakes of fathers often begin a fairy tale, their children’s forgiveness often ends them. The father in *Donkeyskin* repents and seeks the forgiveness of his daughter, now happily married to a foreign prince, the father in *The Juniper Tree* is gifted by his reincarnated son with a golden chain, while the stepmother is gifted with a falling millstone, and Hansel and Gretel return home after their adventure to live happily with the same man who thrice left them alone in the woods, with one significant difference, the step-mother is gone, and Cordelia forgives a repentant and mad Lear for trusting the pretty words of his other daughters over the love Cordelia bears for him. Narratively, Cordelia’s forgiveness does something perhaps even more important, she restores his authority by calling him “my royal lord” and “your Majesty” (IV.vii 43-44), rather than “father,” and therefore removes the authority from her sisters, though not in time to save any of them from their violent ends.

This last return to fairytale conventions returns the fairytale expectations to the reader, despite knowing that there is likely only one survivor of the play—one who is only needed, only allowed, to survive in order to tell the stories of the corpses that will surround him by the end—hope reenters the hearts of the reader, perhaps only the evil will die, after all it is what they deserve, perhaps the good will be spared. Perhaps Edmund’s last minuet reversal of orders will reach the jailer in time, or else the plot will

be revealed and Cordelia and Lear will be the ones to walk, in bloodstained clothing, out of the end of the play, into eternity. And when the bodies begin to drop, the hope continues. First Regan, who, if not the evilest of the two sisters, was certainly willing enough to betray her father and husband. Then Goneril, willing to do the same and even more vile-hearted than Regan. Then Edmund, a bastard in both the literal and figurative senses, is borne away with more hope that his plot against Cordelia and Lear will be unraveled in time. That, however, is not the case. Regardless of whether or not Shakespeare intended to build up these fairytale expectations, he smashes them to pieces with hanging of Cordelia, then Lear's agony over her lifeless corpse and his own death. True to his genre, only Edgar, Albany, and Kent survive, regardless of their virtue or villainy. *King Lear* could hardly be called a tragedy, let alone a Shakespearian one, if it had ended any other way.

Laura Tosi reminds her readers that it was not until long after Shakespeare that fairytales became popular in England, "Thanks to the romantic movement and the impulse given by continental translations, the Victorians and Edwardians were exceptionally prolific fairy tale writers," (249). Obviously, this implies that not even the more ancient fairytales were translated to English until long after Shakespeare, meaning that he would have had little to no knowledge of fairytale conventions, as timeless as they seem to modern readers. More to the point, modern readers are aware of these conventions and it is the expectations drawn from them, as well as the knowledge of how all of Shakespeare's tragedies end, that drives modern readers, more than anything else, to complete the tale. It is this juxtaposition of expectations that makes this the greatest of Shakespeare's tragedies, in the regard of many.

Whether or not Shakespeare was aware of fairytale conventions, or of the stories at all, it is almost inarguable that this juxtaposition of expectations was anything but intentional, especially since Shakespeare's intended audience was even more aware of the conventions of the tragedy genre than the modern audience. Therefore he had to produce something different, something unexpected, even more especially since he was adapting a slightly earlier play which much of his audience would not only have known about, but have seen around ten years earlier—long enough in the past for just a glimmer of familiarity to shine through, but not nearly long enough to be forgotten entirely. Modern readers can map this hope onto *King Lear* through the now well-known fairytale conventions, but it is likely that the Elizabethan audiences saw the hope just as clearly. Regardless, the fairytale conventions and tropes throughout *King Lear* create expectations for the modern reader, opposite of the expectations created by the conventions of Shakespearian tragedy.

Works Cited

Kahn, Coppélla. "The Absent Mother in *King Lear*." *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers. 1986. pp. 239-262.

Shakespeare, William. *The Tragedy of King Lear*. *The Riverside Shakespeare, Second Edition*. 1997. pp. 1303-1343.

Tosi, Laura. "'But It's the Story We Like'—*King Lear* for Children: From Drama to Narrative." *Children's Literature*, vol. 42, 2014, pp. 246-343.