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Letter from the Editor

"A people without knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots." – Marcus Garvey

Perhaps this eleventh volume of *Hohonu* will encourage you to delve deep into the roots of your culture and history. Hohonu, which means "deep" or "profound" in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, lives up to its meaning for an eleventh time. This volume of *Hohonu* brings the reader out of this world, in addition to taking the reader on a journey through exciting places – realms of past and present societies and cultures.

The diversity amongst the student body of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo and Hawai'i Community College is a huge part of what makes these campuses so special. Walking around campus, you meet students with remarkable interests and skillsets that may not have crossed your radar before. Each person has a shining individuality with which they can develop and explore here.

With each year, *Hohonu* strives to showcase the unique diversity scattered amongst these campuses and its students. Reading each submission is almost like going to a honey tasting — each essay has its own piece of individual flair that makes it stand apart from the rest.

Hohonu's additional hardworking staff of 2012 – 2013 embodied the true meaning of *laulima*, working together, making it a pleasure to compose this journal: Haley Bufil, Edward Bufil, Britney Carey, Tifeni Kanoe Elvenia, Tiffany Epping, Sarah Kekauoha, Evelyn Moos, and Liberty Lauren Vilches, in addition to our bright, encouraging faculty advisor, Dr. Kirsten Mollegaard. Thank you all for your hard work and positivity throughout the process of producing this journal. I would also like to take this time to extend a big mahalo to Campus Center for their support to our organization, which includes Ellen Kusano, Lai Sha Bugado, Ivy Losh, but extends to the rest of the Campus Center ʻohana. Additionally, a great amount of gratitude goes to Susan Yugawa, Erynn Tanimoto, and the Graphics Department for not only your time, but especially your virtuous patience, during the publishing process. Of course, I would also like to extend gratitude to the Board of Student Publications for their support and guidance throughout the school year. An additional thank you goes to Evelyn Moos, for the beautiful cover art. And last but not least, I would like to thank the authors. Thank you for teaching yourselves, our editing staff, and our readers, something new.

Everyone contributed a crucial component to the final product of this journal, and if something were missing, this journal would not be complete. So *mahalo nui loa* for all your dedication, hard-work, and support.

Let's take some time now to learn something new together, whether it is something new about an idea or concept, or something new about us. We each have our own identities, but knowledge and ideas are enchanting concepts to share.

Stay gold,
Krista Aoki
Editor in Chief
kristaa@hawaii.edu

About the Cover Artwork

"Hohonu"
Watercolor with brush and India Ink with edged pen.

I have studied calligraphy, more a craft than an art, its main goal being to reproduce perfect characters from an established script. For this piece, I chose not to use a traditional script. Rather, since the theme was identity, I think it is appropriate that the edged pen adds a level of imprecision and imperfection to the letters. They are completely unique and cannot be replicated exactly, and their uniqueness is what makes them special and sets them apart from what could be accomplished with a computer font. "Hohonu" means "deep and profound" and I wanted to choose a background for this piece that expresses that depth.

—Evelyn Moos

Investigating Rate of Star Formation and Abundance in the Star-Forming Region SDSS 1803231-01000248

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Abstract

In this paper, the star formation rate, relative abundance, and metallicity in a star-forming galaxy of redshift 0.0127 imaged with the Sloan Digital Sky Survey are presented. This paper presents a reasonable value ($3.13*10^{-2} \pm 2.48*10^{-4} M_{\odot}$/yr) for the star-formation rate (hereafter SFR) of this previously unresearched galaxy. Also presented are results for the abundance of oxygen and metallicity inside the Strömgren radius of the star forming region, which could not be improved upon using the models of Kewley & Dopita (2002). The average abundance ratio of oxygen to hydrogen in this region according to the *N*2 and *O*3*N*2 indices (provided by Pettini & Pagel, 2004 and corroborated by Kewley & Dopita, 2002) is: $<12+\log(O/H)> = 8.41 \pm 0.03$. The metallicity of the extragalactic star-forming galaxy in question is: $Z = 0.32\ Z_{\odot h}$

Keywords: star-formation rate, abundance, metallicity, SDSS

1. Introduction

The paper consists of two main sections. The process I used to calculate the SFR of the chosen region is presented in Section 2. Section 3 consists of relative abundance index calculations and metallicity analysis. This Introduction section provides some data about this galaxy's star forming region. The data for this research were largely obtained from the seventh data release of the Sloan Digital Sky Survey (SDSS DR7).

SDSS's data were collected over an eight-year period on the dedicated 2.5m telescope at Apache Point Observatory, New Mexico, USA. SDSS DR7, when including sky and unidentified objects, contains over one and a half million spectra, one of which was chosen for analysis.

To obtain potential data from the SDSS DR7 spectroscopic query form, I restricted the image parameters to typical position constraints: cone of radius 10 arc minutes, right ascension from 17.5-20 hours, and declination from 1 to -1 degrees. "QSO's" were also omitted from the search results to make sure that strictly spectra of galaxies with star-forming regions would be output. This process was repeated several times for different right ascensions and declinations within these ranges.

The purpose of this iteration was to find a spectrum of a star-forming galaxy that had the necessary spectral lines for my analysis. The main criterion for a satisfactory galaxy to research was the presence of hydrogen alpha, hydrogen beta, sulfur, and nitrogen emission lines. This galaxy is typical in regards to the presence and strength of these emission lines, star formation rate, redshift, and abundance.

The hexagesimal coordinates of the star-forming galaxy are:
$\alpha = 18^h\ 03^m\ 23.1^s \qquad \delta = -01°\ 00'\ 02.48''$. The distance to the star-forming galaxy measured relative to the Galactocentric Galactic Standard of Rest, calculated using Hubble's Law and assuming an accelerating universe: $<d> = 53.63 \pm 0.21$ Mpc.
The mean color excess[1] at the star-forming region is: $<E(B-V)> = 0.0613 \pm 0.0083$.

2a. Star Formation Rate:

Figure 1 presents the spectrum of SDSS 1803231-01000248. It was plotted spectrum in IRAF and dereddened to account for the scattering of blue light by the dust of the Milky Way. This dereddened spectrum (the upper spectrum presented in Figure 1) was used to obtain nine relevant line fluxes and a large atmospheric emission spike (located in Table 1).

Table 1
Line Fluxes and Redshifts for Observed Spectral Lines

Spectral Line	λ_{rest} [Å]	$\lambda_{observed}$ [Å]	Flux [erg/s/cm²/Å]	Redshift z
Hγ	4340	4395.38	$5.128*10^{-16}$	0.01276
Hβ	4861	4922.98	$1.766*10^{-15}$	0.01275
$[OIII]_a$	4959	5022.02	$9.833*10^{-16}$	0.01271
$[OIII]_b$	5007	5070.33	$3.165*10^{-15}$	0.01265
Interference	-	5579.35	$6.833*10^{-16}$	-
$[NII]_a$	6548	6631.61	$3.837*10^{-15}$	0.01277
Hα	6563	6646.38	$7.439*10^{-15}$	0.01271
$[NII]_b$	6584	6667.07	$1.379*10^{-15}$	0.01262
$[SII]_a$	6717	6801.94	$1.652*10^{-15}$	0.01265
$[SII]_b$	6731	6816.42	$1.136*10^{-15}$	0.01269

Subscripts "a" and "b" differentiate between two recorded spectral lines with similar wavelengths.

The [SII] lines were measured with the deblend function of "splot", accessed from IRAF. The [NII] lines were measured using a Gaussian fit to the left side of the emission line. The rest of the line wavelengths and fluxes were measured using a Gaussian fit to the center of the line. Also included in the above table are the individual calculated redshifts for each emission line. I adopted an average redshift:

$$<z> = 0.0127 \pm 0.00005$$

The formula used to calculate the SFR in this paper (Kennicutt, 1998) is represented in Equation 1. In the SFR equation, L(Hα) represents the luminosity in the Hα wavelength of the region being examined, measured in units of erg/second.

Equation 1: $SFR = (7.9*10^{-42})*L(H\alpha)\ M_{\odot}$/yr

In order to calculate a SFR of a celestial object, the luminosity must be acquired first. The radius of SDSS's collection sphere is the distance to the object observed from Earth, and so it is possible to solve for the luminosity by finding and inputting the distance to the observed object and the observed Hα flux (calculated in IRAF and output in Table 1). This will output Hα luminosity, a standard value for extragalactic star formation regions. This is represented in Equation 2.

Equation 2: $L(H\alpha) = 4*\pi*d2*F(H\alpha)$ erg/sec

Having already calculated the redshift, the recession speed (which can be related to distance of the observed galaxy) can now be solved for as well using Equation 3.

Equation 3: Recession Speed $\equiv v_z = c*z$.

Inputting each value of z from Table 1 and using a constant value for the speed of light defined as c 299,792.458 km/s (National Institute of Standards, 2011), this velocity calculation can be done for each individual value of the redshift and then for the mean, giving a more precise result for the mean recession speed $\langle v_z \rangle = 3807.69 \pm 15.05$ km/s.

Calculating the distance to this galaxy is easy once we know its recession speed, and in this paper it was done via Hubble's Law, represented in Equation 4.

Equation 4: $d = v_z/H_0$

In Equation 4, v_z represents the recessional speed of the galaxy, H_0 denotes the Hubble Constant, and d is the distance to the star-forming region. The units of the recessional speed were calculated in [km/s] in order to agree with the units of the Hubble Constant which is represented here as $H_0 = 71 \pm 4$ (km/s)/Mpc (from the WMAP collaboration, 2009).

The mean distance ($\langle d \rangle = 53.63 \pm 0.21$ Mpc) was obtained by using each individual value of vz to iterate the calculation for each line and then finding the mean value. With distance calculated, all the necessary information to obtain a value for the Hα luminosity is known. Thus luminosity can be calculated and used to find a star formation rate. The mean redshift, luminosity in Hα, distance, and SFR are reported in Table 2, along with population standard deviations.

Table 2
Properties of SDSS 1803231-01000248

$\langle z \rangle$	$\langle L_{H\alpha} \rangle$ [erg/second]	$\langle d \rangle$ [Mpc]	$\langle d \rangle$ [cm]	$\langle SFR \rangle$ [$M_\odot$/year]
0.012701 ± 0.00005	$2.57*10^{39} \pm 2.03*10^{37}$	53.63 ± 0.21	$1.66*10^{26} \pm 6.55*10^{23}$	$2.03*10^{-2} \pm 1.60*10^{-4}$

2b. Recalculation Corrected for Internal Extinction:

Figure 4 presents the version of the spectrum of this galaxy after extinction due to internal galactic dust and gas. This adaptation of the spectrum was obtained by using a program to calculate the optical path based on an extinction function given by Osterbrock & Ferland (2006). This program then used the calculated optical path to solve for the intensity of observed light as a function of wavelength. The function used was based on equation 7.5 of Osterbrock & Ferland (2006).

One of the values necessary to calculate the coefficients used in Osterbrock & Ferland (2006) was the ratio of line fluxes Hα/Hβ, calculated from Table 1 to be 4.212. The ratio of line fluxes factoring in stellar absorption multiplied each line flux by twice the continuum in that respective wavelength. This value was 3.406.

From the internal extinction corrected spectrum, the process of finding the line fluxes at each of nine wavelengths was repeated, and their values are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Line Fluxes and Redshifts for Observed Spectral Lines Corrected for Internal Extinction

Spectral Line	λ_{rest} [Å]	$\lambda_{observed}$ [Å]	Flux [erg/s/cm²/Å]	Redshift z
Hγ	4340	4396.61	$1.504*10^{-15}$	0.01304
Hβ	4861	4924.35	$3.505*10^{-15}$	0.01303
$[OIII]_a$	4959	5023.42	$1.627*10^{-15}$	0.01299
$[OIII]_b$	5007	5071.74	$5.535*10^{-15}$	0.01293
Interference	-	5580.91	$1.198*10^{-15}$	-
$[NII]_a$	6548	6633.46	$5.990*10^{-16}$	0.013051
Hα	6563	6648.23	$1.100*10^{-14}$	0.01299
$[NII]_b$	6584	6668.93	$1.915*10^{-15}$	0.01290
$[SII]_a$	6717	6803.84	$2.438*10^{-15}$	0.01293
$[SII]_b$	6731	6818.43	$1.602*10^{-15}$	0.01299

From these data, and equations 1-4, the distance, luminosity, and thus SFR were recalculated and are presented in Table 4. These values, corrected for the internal dust extinction of both the Milky Way galaxy and the observed galaxy, are theoretically more accurate than those calculated without benefit of internal dust extinction correction.

Table 4
Properties of SDSS 1803231-01000248 After Internal Extinction Correction

$\langle z \rangle$	$\langle L_{H\alpha} \rangle$ [erg/second]	$\langle d \rangle$ [Mpc]	$\langle d \rangle$ [cm]	$\langle SFR \rangle$ [$M_\odot$/year]
0.012983 ± 0.00005	$3.967*10^{39} \pm 3.133*10^{37}$	54.82 ± 0.22	$1.69*10^{26} \pm 6.69*10^{23}$	$3.13*10^{-2} \pm 2.48*10^{-4}$

3. Determining Relative Abundances and Metallicity:

Once the rate of star formation is known for a celestial object, it is useful to know the relative abundances from the nebular component of the galaxy

inside the Strömgren spheres of the star-forming regions being examined. From these data, a better idea can be obtained about the relative enrichment of the interstellar medium of the galaxy in terms of heavier elements formed in stars that can indicate a galaxy's age.

For this research, abundances were calculated using methods from one paper that contained indices with more readily available emission line fluxes (Pettini & Pagel, 2004), and another more comprehensive paper that offered several techniques of calculating abundance with numerous additional indices (Kewley & Dopita, 2002). The work of Pettini & Pagel (2004) was intended primarily for applications to star forming regions of high redshift, whereas Kewley & Dopita (2002) attempted a work of much larger scale, providing a means to acquire ionization parameters and many more abundance values if the examined object emits in a few particular wavelengths.

In order to have a basis to use for the calculations of the indices provided Kewley & Dopita (2002), here first is the determination of the abundance of oxygen according to the simpler indices provided in Pettini & Pagel's calibration.

The data used by Pettini & Pagel (2004) are fit to 137 extragalactic HII regions of known abundance, originally researched by Denicoló et al. (2002). There are three equations developed by Pettini & Pagel (2004) that fit this data. These equations depend on two indices. The first index:

Equation 5: $N2 \equiv \log([\text{NII}]\ \lambda6583 / \text{H}\alpha)$

is the base-10 logarithm of the quantity of the flux of [NII]b divided by the flux at Hα in the star-forming region where abundance is to be determined.

Similarly, the second index:

Equation 6:
$O3N2 \equiv \log\{([\text{OIII}]\ \lambda5007 / \text{H}\beta) / ([\text{NII}]\ \lambda6583 / \text{H}\alpha)\}$

is the base-10 logarithm of the quantity of the flux of $[\text{OIII}]_b$ divided by the flux in Hβ, all divided by the quantity of the flux of [NII]b divided by the flux at Hα in the star forming region where abundance is to be determined. Given the formulae for these two indices, values are calculated by inputting the necessary measured fluxes relevant to the observed galaxy region. In the case of this research, the flux calculations are presented in Table 1 and Table 3, and the *N*2 and *O*3*N*2 index values are presented in Table 5 and 6.

With a rate for these two indices, the abundance of this galaxy can be determined with best-fit formulae. Equations 7-9 were produced by Pettini & Pagel (2004) for use in determining the relative abundance of oxygen, 12 + log (O/H) (hereafter "abundance"), in a star-forming region.

Equation 7: $12 + \log(\text{O/H}) = 8.90 + 0.57 * (N2)$

Equation 8:
$12 + \log(\text{O/H}) = 9.37 + 2.02 * (N2) + 1.26 * (N2)^2 + 0.32 * (N2)^3$

Equation 9: $12 + \log(\text{O/H}) = 8.73 - 0.32 * O3N2$

Using best-fit equations from Pettini & Pagel (2004), three relative abundances were determined, resulting in abundance values for each equation, presented in Table 4. Also ensuing from these data are a mean and a standard deviation for the abundance of this galaxy, as evaluated using the method of Pettini & Pagel (2004). This result is presented in Table 4.

Table 5
Index and Abundance Values Before Internal Correction

N2	*O3N2*	Abundance from Eq. 7	Abundance from Eq. 8	Abundance from Eq. 9	12+log(O/H) <Mean>
-0.73195	0.985335	8.483	8.434	8.415	8.444

The calculation of abundances from the work of Kewley & Dopita (2002) requires an initial estimate of the metallicity, Z, of the star-forming region. This initial value for Z depends on the difference in abundance between the star-forming region being observed and that of the sun, and can be represented with the relationship:

$\log(Z) = \text{Relative Abundance Difference} * Z_\odot$

Relative Abundance Difference =
$(12 + \log(\text{O/H})_{\text{observed}}) - (12 + \log(\text{O/H})_\odot)$

Using the most recent value for solar abundance of 8.9 (from the working paper of Takamiya, 2012) and the mean value of abundance, a straightforward calculation of the metallicity Z is possible:

$Z = 0.35 * Z_\odot$

The metallicity here is calculated with the intent to use it as a benchmark value for determining abundances from the paper of Kewley & Dopita (2002). Using their method, there are two reliable diagnostics for deriving the effective ionization parameter (q_{eff}) needed to calculate abundance via the various indices provided. Both of the diagnostics solve for q, which they define as the ionizing photon flux through a unit area divided by the local photon density of hydrogen atoms in the region. This relationship is displayed in Equation 10.

Equation 10: $q = S_H^0/n$

The emission lines [SIII λλ9069, 9532]- the necessary component to calculate the S_{23} index of Kewley & Dopita (2002)- were not present in the spectrum of this galaxy.

However, what is more unusual is the interference about the [OII λ3726, 3729] emission line at the low

end of the spectrum (This interference is illustrated in the Appendix, Image 3), which made it impossible to garner a reasonable flux value at this emission line.

The absence of these two important spectral lines from the spectrum of the observed galaxy makes the calculation of five of the eight indices used in the Kewley-Dopita (2002) diagnostics for abundance unachievable. Particularly, for a situation where the initial calculated metallicity Z is less than half that of Z_{sun} (without access to the S_{23} and R_{23} indices), Kewley & Dopita (2002) classified the initial metallicity value as impossible to improve upon.

Considering the value of $Z \cong 0.35$ which was calculated from the solar abundance adopted from Takamiya (2012), the obvious conclusion to be drawn upon review of Kewley & Dopita (2002) is that this estimate is unlikely to be improved upon using the methods of determination from Kewley & Dopita (2002), due to the lack of a means for identifying an ionization parameter.

Consequently, without further refinement of the abundance and metallicity through use of an effective ionization parameter, the best determined estimates for the abundance and metallicity of this star-forming region are those established by the methods of Pettini & Pagel (2004).

The abundances and metallicity values could be improved, however, once the spectrum of the galaxy was corrected for internal extinction. From Table 3, it was possible to recalculate the *N*2 and *O*3*N*2 indices (Pettini & Pagel, 2004). With these indices calculated with respect to the internal extinction corrected spectrum (Fig. 4), new values of abundance were established and are presented along with the mean value in Table 5.

Table 6
Index and Abundance Values After Internal Correction

N2	*O3N2*	Abundance from Eq. 7	Abundance from Eq. 8	Abundance from Eq. 9	12+log(O/H) <Mean>
-0.7592	1.2593	8.467	8.423	8.327	8.406

Furthermore, once the mean abundance value corrected for internal extinction had been determined, also calculable was the metallicity, determined to be $Z = 0.32 * Z_{\odot}$. Lacking an effective ionization parameter, this correction for internal extinction is the most refinement available for the calculated values of SFR, abundance and metallicity.

4. Discussion:

The calculated SFR ($3.13*10^{-2} \pm 2.48*10^{-4}$) falls well outside the accepted range of 0.68 – 1.45 $M_{\odot}$/yr for possible star formation rates that correspond with observed intragalactic star formation in the Milky Way (Robitaille, 2010), but within those ranges of a galaxy with regions of ongoing star formation (Larson & Tinsley, 1978).

Additional observation of this star-forming region in Infrared and Radio frequencies would allow for calculation of SFR using additional methods (Kennicutt & Evans, 2012), as well as calibration for measurements in the X-Ray (Colbert et al., 2004). This would help to determine the accuracy of the SFR and Z values determined using the methods of Pettini & Pagel (2004).

Additionally, this work would benefit from more observation in the 3,000-5,000 and 9,000-10,000 Angstrom wavelength ranges, as this would allow for calculation of the flux of the [OII] emission lines at [OII λ3726, 3729] and sulfur emission lines at [SIII λλ9069, 9532]. These line fluxes would allow for the calculation of the *S*23 and *R*23 indices, resulting in more abundance values for consideration.

If [OII] and [SIII] are found and their respective indices calculated from Kewley & Dopita (2002), it's possible to find an effective ionization parameter *q* directly from the calibration of log (O/H) + 12 versus log (NII/OII) (see Figure 3 in Kewley & Dopita, 2002). Therefore, it will be practical to further observe in their wavelength ranges in order to further substantiate the abundances values attained here using the methods of Pettini & Pagel (2004).

5. Conclusions:

I have established a redshift, recession velocity, star formation rate, relative abundance and metallicity for SDSS 1803231-01000248. From the values established via the method of Pettini & Pagel (2004), corroborated by the diagnoses of Kewley & Dopita (2002), it is possible to conclude that this galaxy, more than ten times further from the Milky Way than our nearest extragalactic neighbors, has an appreciably large recession velocity, a relatively small but not insignificant SFR of ($3.13*10^{-2} \pm 2.48*10^{-4}$) $M_{\odot}$/yr, and a metallicity much smaller than that of the sun at $Z = 0.35 * Z_{\odot}$.

Acknowledgements:

This research has made use of the NASA/ IPAC Infrared Science Archive and the NASA / IPAC Extragalactic Database (NED) which are operated by the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology, under contract with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

My utmost gratitude and appreciation are extended to all of those who support and operate the Sloan Digital Sky Survey, which so graciously provides spectroscopic data for students and the general public to use.

I would like to give thanks to the former Chair of Astronomy and Physics here at UH Hilo, Dr. William Heacox, without whom access to IRAF and other critical software would not have been as readily available. I also want to show sincere appreciation to Dr. Marianne

Takamiya, who taught me almost everything I know about star formation, how to operate said software and without whom this project would not have been completed or even begun. Furthermore, I want to thank the rest of the great faculty here in the Department of Physics and Astronomy at UH Hilo.

Thanks also are due to my classmates who provided me with invaluable corrections and constructive criticism of my work. I would especially like to recognize the tireless support and assistance rendered to this project by my colleagues Alya Amirah Binti Azman, the ineffable Jordan Bledsoe, Emily Peavy, my good friend Robert Pipes, and Krystal Schlechter.

Finally, my family is the reason I'm here, and I'm eternally thankful to have you supporting me. I love you all. I am extremely grateful to everyone who helped me with this research and I hope my work has made you proud.

Notes:

[1]From IRSA (Schlegel et al., 1998)

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Majority of working data, including spectra and coordinates.

Figure 1:

This image is the original spectrum plotted with a second spectrum overplotted. The original spectrum is the lower line, and the one that accounts for the dust emission of the Milky Way is above. Flux units are [erg/s/cm^2/Å].

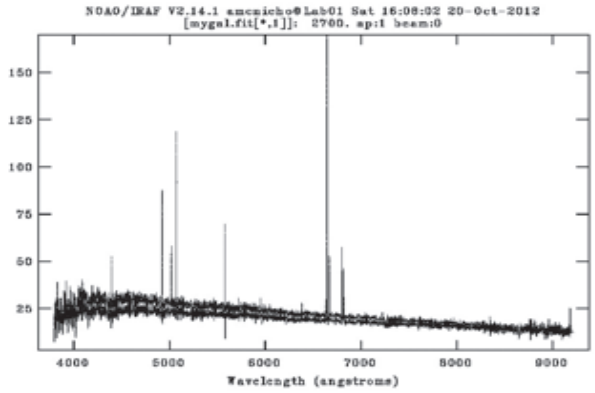


Figure 2:

This image is the dereddened spectrum of the galaxy with its y-axis units modified by a factor of 10^{-17} using the task "sarith" in IRAF. This was in order to output measured fluxes in units of [erg/s/cm^2/Å].

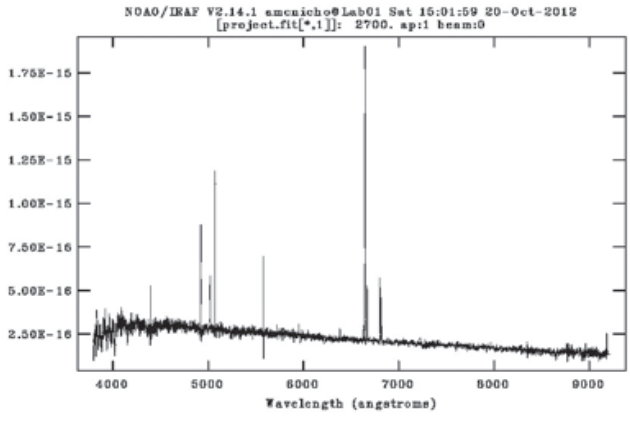


Figure 3:
This is the region (to the left of the Hβ line at 4400Å) of the spectrum where the [OII]λ3727 line would usually be present. The redshift of the galaxy moved this line out of the range of the spectrum.

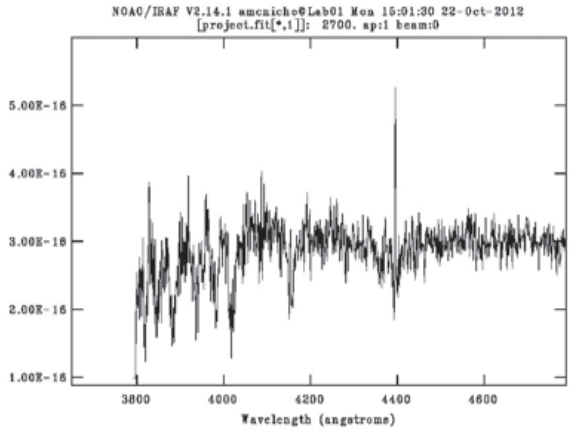
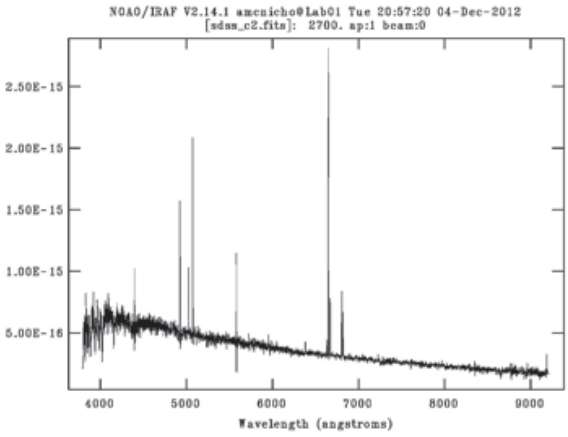


Figure 4:
This is the spectrum of the galaxy after being corrected for internal extinction.



Thrifty Genes: From Cold and Prolonged Starvation Adaptation to Obesity and Type 2 Diabetes in Polynesians

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Polynesians have been undefeated on the global ranks of obesity and Type 2 diabetes (T2D). The World Health Organization reported that in Tonga, about six in every ten people are obese, and most of these obese people have T2D. Researchers have studied the factors that possibly contribute to the prevalence of these devastating diseases in Polynesians. Some studies concluded that this huge obesity and T2D level could be associated with the long distance migration of the Polynesian ancestors (Zimmet 2001). These ancestors came through prolonged starvation, cold, and stress during their long journeys. As a result, those individuals with genes that saved energy in the form of fat had become naturally selected to survive throughout these tensions. The genetic materials or genes responsible for saving fats are believed to be the most associated factor with the enormous level of obesity and T2D in Polynesians.

Ancestors of Polynesians are thought to be originated from Taiwan about 5500 years ago and migrated through the Philippines, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Fiji, and then settled in Samoa, Tonga and other Polynesian islands about 1800 to 3200 years before present (Moodley 2009 and Gray 2009). Another theorist, Thor Heyerdahl, stated Polynesians must have originated from South America by the aid of the trade wind, which was blown from East to West. However, further studies have concluded that Polynesian voyages were first driven from Southeast Asia to South America by a trade wind that gusted from West to East. This trade wind was then reversed and gusted from East to West, which allowed Polynesians to sail back and eventually settle on Polynesian Islands (Holton 2004). The duration of all these voyages were months to years before landing. Those long journeys illustrated pictures of prolonged starvation and cold, which allowed fat storage genes to be naturally selected. These fat storage genes consist of multiple interacted genes, which were first discovered by James V. Neel associated with intermittent starvation, obesity, and T2D. He called these genes "thrifty genes" (Neel 1999).

Habermas	Lev	Lewins	Ekins	Rachlin
1. Symbiotic (Lack of Identity)	Awareness	Anxiety		Distress and Confusion
2, Egocentric (Natural Identity)	Seeking Information	Discovery	Beginning Male Femaling, Fantasying Male Femaling	Self Definition, Identifying Options
3. Sociocentric (Role Identity)	Disclosure Exploration: Identity and Self Labeling	Purging and Delay, Acceptance	Doing Male Femaling, Constituting Male Femaling	Acting to Make Changes Coping With Consequences of Transition
4.Universalisitic (Ego Identity)	Exploration: Transition Integration	Surgical Reassignment Invisibility	Consolidating Male Femaling	Removing Gender Identity as a Central Issue

Figure 1 (top right): Natural selection of thrifty genes in Polynesians. How frequency of these genes becomes elevated in all Polynesian populations. (A) It Shows that those Polynesian ancestors who did not have thrifty genes died during their long journeys from Southeast Asia and South America due to the cold and prolonged starvation. (B) Survivors of these long voyages are those with thrifty genes. (C) Intermarriages within an island or small population of survivors increase the frequency of thrifty genes. (D) Migrations between islands elevate the frequency of thrifty genes in all Polynesian islands.

Survivors of Polynesians voyages who initially settled the Polynesian Islands had been naturally selected for the thrifty genes (Figure 1 A, B). Because population of these survivors per island was very small, it most likely got favored by genetic drift or founder effect in particular (Figure 1 C). In fact, after years of intermarriages within each small population, frequency of thrifty genes became elevated. Additionally, migrations of these Polynesian ancestors in the past and their descendants on these days favor the genetic flow of thrifty genes throughout the Polynesian islands (Myles 2007) (Figure 1 D). As a result, Polynesians have become highly burdened with fat storage genes believed to be thrifty genes, thus boosting their susceptibility to obesity and T2D (Neel 1999). However, do all fat storage genes belong to thrifty genes?

Among all fat storage genes found in Polynesians, only some of them can be classified as candidates of thrifty genes. Since thrifty genes have been reported to be highly related with obesity and T2D in Polynesians, all candidates of thrifty genes should be directly or indirectly associated with obesity and T2D. Those fat storage genes, which are highly expressed in Polynesians include CNTN4 and GRM7, PPARG and ADIPOQ, PPARGC1A and LEP/LEPR genes (Cauchi 2009). This review will discuss the association between these genes leading to obesity and T2D. These genes will be closely examined to determine whether these groups of genes are mostly related with obesity and T2D in Polynesians. The genes that are associated with obesity and T2D in Polynesians should be candidates of the thrifty genes.

CNTN4 (Contactin-4) and GRM7 (Metabotropic glutamate receptor 7)

Both CNTN4 and GRM7 genes are candidates of central nervous system genes located on 3p26-25 region of chromosome 3. The variants between CNTN4, GRM7, and its neighboring genes have been found to be highly related with obesity. These genes are highly expressed in the brain and they could cause changes to the body through connecting with gene-by-environment

interactions. Stresses become common environmental factors that can strongly induce psychological changes on the brain through interacting with CNTN4 and GRM7 to cause obesity (Kraja 2012). One study reported that individuals who were promoting healthy behavior went through restricted diets and resulted in regaining of weight. This regaining of weight was due to the increase in stresses caused by restricted diets (Pankevich 2010). Therefore, CNTN4 and GRM7 genes are highly expressed in the brain and can be psychologically induced by stresses causing obesity. These genes are mostly associated with obesity in Polynesians.

PPARG (Peroxisome proliferator-activated receptor gamma) and ADIPOQ (Adiponectin)

Both PPARG and ADIPOQ genes are related with the susceptibility to obesity and T2D (Johnson 2008). PPARG is located on chromosome 3p24. This gene is divided into two types, PPARG1 and PPARG2. PPARG1 is highly expressed in adipose tissues, skeletal muscles, heart, liver, and large intestine. PPARG2 is highly expressed in adipose tissues only (Cauchi 2009). Both types of PPARG are responsible for the increasing or decreasing the transcription rate of adipose target genes like ADIPOQ. ADIPOQ is one of the adipose tissues receptors that participate in pathogenesis of insulin resistance (Vimaleswaran 2008). Thus obesity and high insulin resistance could be indicators of the overexpression of PPARG. A study from India reported a correlation between expression of PPARG2/Pro12Ala gene and the onset of obesity and T2D (Sanghera 2010). Therefore, since T2D in Polynesians is mostly mediated through obesity, the PPARGs and ADIPOQ can be the highly associated genes (Sukala 2012)

PPARGC1A (Peroxisome proliferator-activated receptor gamma coactivator 1-alpha)

PPARGC1A is a transcriptional co-activator located on chromosome 4p151. It is responsible for the regulation of genes transcription involved in adaptive thermogenesis, adipogenesis, and oxidative metabolism. The susceptibility of PPARGC1A to obesity and T2D is due to a substitution mutation occurring in its Gly482Ser region. In this region, glycine is substituted by serine at codon 482, which affects the PPARGC1A co-activator activities and leads to changes in mitochondrial functions and insulin resistance (Choi 2006). A study from China found that Gly482Ser gene is highly linked with obesity and T2D. This gene is also believed to be associated with obesity and T2D in Polynesians. A study from Australia compared obesity and T2D in Polynesian, Chinese, and Papua New Guinean people. It was reported that the frequency of obesity in Polynesians is higher than the others. This result was due to the high expression of PPARGC1A gene with frequency of 0.7 in Polynesian. Therefore, the same study concluded that PPARGC1A gene could be a candidate gene for obesity and T2D in Polynesian (Myles 2007).

Leptin / Leptin receptor gene

Leptin gene is located on chromosome 7q32.1 and it is responsible for the production of leptin hormone. This hormone is an adipocyte-derived hormone that suppresses food intake by binding and activating its receptors in the hypothalamus. There are two main leptin receptor polymorphisms involved in this mechanism: K109R and Q223R. These receptors can be resistant to leptin hormones, which leads to obesity and T2D. A study of the distribution of LEP genes and LEP receptor genes on all Pacific Islands showed a wide spread of these genes over these islands. Interestingly, the same study stated that carriers of Q223R alleles have higher body weight and BMI (BMI ≥ 30) than non-carriers. This study concluded that high obesity and T2D in all Pacific islanders must be associated with the presence of Q223R polymorphism (Furusawa 2009).

Discussion/Conclusion:

Both PPARGC1A and PPARG are directly related with fat storage in adipose tissues by expressing genes to store fats. These genes are closely related with each other, highly linked with obesity and T2D in Polynesians, and most likely candidates of thrifty genes. A study in New Zealand on Polynesian obesity and T2D genes reported that PPARGC1A was one of the known thrifty genes associated with obesity and T2D in Polynesians (Myles 2011). This result was supported by a study in Australia showing that Polynesians were more susceptible to obesity and T2D due to the heavy expression of PPARGCIA and PPARG (Myles 2007).

CNTN4 and GRM7, and LEP/LEPR genes are indirectly related with adipose tissues fat storage. This means that these genes can be classified as candidates of thrifty genes, but they have environmental factors associated with obesity and T2D in Polynesians. Both CNTN4/GRM7 and LEP/LEPR genes are expressed in the brain and passed through many pathways before affecting the adipose tissues activities. Some studies have recently reported that CNTN4/GRM7 can be linked with obesity and T2D in Polynesians due to the increase of modern life stresses (Kraja 2012). For instance, diet stresses, workplace stresses, and health stresses. LEP/LEPR genes on the other hand remain related with obesity and T2D in Polynesians through food consumption (Furusawa 2009). These genes become induced by the abundance of food intake as a result of the increased industrial foods imported into the Polynesian islands. The relationships between these genes and obesity, and T2D through environmental stresses indicate that they are most likely members of the thrifty genes

The high percentage of obesity and T2D in Polynesians is believed to be highly associated with thrifty genes. Since T2D in Polynesians is mostly mediated through obesity, candidates of thrifty genes should be directly or indirectly involved in adipose tissues fat storage. Therefore, since all these genes, CNTN4/GRM7, PPARG/ ADIPOQ, PPARGC1A, and LEP/LEPR found

directly and indirectly related with obesity, they should be members of thrifty genes. The PPARG/ADIPOQ and PPARGC1A are directly related with thrifty genes, while CNTN4/GRM7 and LEP/LEPR genes are indirectly associated with thrifty genes.

Thrifty genes in Polynesians have been hypothesized to be associated with obesity, which leads to T2D. In other words, thrifty genes cause T2D mediated through increasing of fats in adipose tissues (obesity). In fact, all candidates of thrifty genes should be directly or indirectly related with adipose tissues. Therefore, Polynesians should be one of the top carriers of thrifty genes which have been strongly associated with their elevated level of obesity and T2D.

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Easy as ABC: Should preliterate societies be given orthographies?

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Abstract. This paper attempts to look at the main social concerns in developing or promoting a writing system in preliterate societies. Literacy is often seen as a binary concept, where being "literate" is good, and "illiterate" is bad. Therefore, preliterate societies are seen as being "less than" literate societies. This paper hopes to explain some of the assumptions and problems of this way of thinking.

1. Introduction: Orthography and Literacy.

Orthography, as defined by Wikipedia[1], "is a standardized system for using a particular writing system (script) to write a particular language. It includes rules of spelling, and may also concern other elements of the written language such as punctuation and capitalization." A writing system is "a system of graphic symbols that is used to convey some amount of thought" (DeFrancis, 4). Graphic symbols can mean signs and symbols, such as the ones that are used for "slippery floor" or "no left turn," petroglyphs, pictographs, alphabets, numbers, music notation, etc. However, not all of these categories are "full" writing systems. For a writing system to be considered "full," it must be a system wherein it is possible to convey any and all thought (DeFrancis, 4-5). The way that a full writing system achieves the task of conveying thought is by representing a particular language. For example, our English writing system uses an alphabet to represent the phonemes we pronounce in spoken language.

Because spoken language predates writing systems, people see writing as a manmade extension of spoken language. Spoken language is seen as a universal and natural human development, whereas writing is seen as a landmark cultural achievement, proving the "civilized"ness of literate societies. As members of literate societies, we congratulate ourselves for our achievement, and feel concern for those who are less than literate. Today, reading and writing are the foundation for almost all formal education systems. In the United States, we pride ourselves as being one of the "most literate" societies, proclaiming that 99% of Americans can read and write by the age of 15 (The CIA World Factbook).

But how is this literacy rate calculated, and what does "literacy" include? In most places, the figure is calculated from a simple "yes" or "no" question on the census—some variant of "Can you read and write?" (Ahmed). This method of fact-gathering is clearly not very thorough, well-defined, or reliable. It would be possible to check the "yes" box without reading the question, or perhaps the respondent can recognize enough words to check the "yes" box, without clearly understanding the question, or maybe the respondent can read and understand the question, but can't write a Tweet, or read a newspaper article. Literacy is not a binary concept; there are different levels of literacy, just as there are differing uses, needs, methods, contexts, and levels of reading and writing. Furthermore, the extent to which a person may need to use or understand a writing system in his or her lifetime depends on many factors. For instance, a Linguistics major at Syracuse University will need to have thorough control of at least one language's writing system; however, a rice farmer in Vietnam probably has no need for that level of proficiency.

In the field of critical applied linguistics, it is necessary to ask questions about the assumptions we make, but it is also easy to get carried away to absurdity. For example, a train of thought could lead us from "What do we mean by 'literacy'" to "Why do we think literacy is so great, anyway?" to "What do we need to be educated for anyway?" to "Why do educated people get better jobs and elevated status?," etc. And although the author of Rethinking Writing, Roy Harris, seems to be arguing that literacy is overrated, even he must accept that without literacy, he would have no livelihood. Although his book is fascinating, few would have the stamina to listen to him recite all 242 pages of his book; thankfully it has been printed on pages in a tome that can be picked up and put down at will. While we should look at the reasons that we associate being "civilized" with literacy, I do not think it can be successfully argued that not being able to read and write is as good as being able to read and write. Just as not being able to do a cartwheel is not good as being able to do a cartwheel. The more access to knowledge and diversity we have, the better.

A note: The term "preliterate" will be used in this paper to mean a society that has not previously developed a full system of writing. While objections could be raised that the term "preliterate" can imply that a society is undeveloped, culturally or mentally lacking, or simply "less than" literate societies, the term is not meant as a comparison.

2. Cultural Issues in Literacy.

Should societies without a writing system have access to a writing system? In a word, yes. But just as is the case with language revitalization, the issue is broader than a simple, should we or shouldn't we? First of all, we must shed the view that "donating" a system of orthography is an altruistic act. In many cases, writing systems are taught as a device to spread Christian ideas. The attitude is that these illiterate, un-Christian savages must be taught to read the Bible, and we literate, Christian people will save them! With such an ethnocentric attitude, it is hard to make culturally sensitive choices. Another consideration we must make

is that, because degrees of literacy relate to occupation and geography, literacy levels are used to judge a person or group's social status. A person who is not literate, or who has a low level of literacy is seen as occupying a low social position. Likewise, a group of people with no writing system, or whose people are generally illiterate, is seen as uncivilized. Through history, particular kinds of writing systems have also endured this type of judgment. Westerners with their imagined alphabet prestige passed judgment on the Chinese system of writing, saying that no Chinese people could possibly be educated when it would take half a lifetime to learn how to read or say anything useful, and it is almost impossible to create new ideas, because of the difficult process of inventing new characters (Harris, 2000). It must also be considered that orthographic systems themselves are designed and developed by users of a certain language in order to record that language, and one society's orthographic system may not be appropriate for another society's spoken language.

Throughout history, the alphabet and literary righteous have seen fit in many cases to show mercy on the uncivilized millions by bringing them orthographic systems, and literacy programs. In Nukulaelae, a Tuvaluan Island, Samoan was the missionary language, and became the de facto language of government and legal matters. "Since the Bible is the only readily available reading material, there was until recently a strong symbolic link between literacy and the Samoan language . . . [Samoan] serving as the 'high' code" (Besnier, 54). Nukulaelae Islanders and missionaries referred to the time before Christianity and literacy as "the darkness," and to the time after receiving Christianity, literacy, and education as "the light." Illiterate people are also called by the same word that means "the darkness." "The fact that the terms . . . are borrowed from Samoan further suggests that Samoan pastors played a crucial mediating role in giving the concepts the prominence they have in contemporary Nukulaelae ideology" (Besnier, 1995). Whether their motives were good or not, the missionaries created a situation of language prestige, where speaking Samoan indicated a higher social status than speaking the indigenous Tuvaluan language.

The link among Christianity, literacy, and status goes further. In Nukulaelae, islanders were not admitted to the Church unless they could read and understand a certain number of scriptural verses in Samoan. In the 12th and 13th centuries in Great Britain, a person could earn the right to be tried in the more merciful ecclesiastical court to hopefully avoid a hanging sentence by reading Psalm 51 from the Bible (Baker, 2002). In both Nukulaelae and Great Britain, these tests of literacy often led to people simply memorizing passages and reciting them.

In the case of the Cia-Cia in Indonesia, a Christian Korean organization actually bribed a school administrator to teach pupils Hangeul. The Korean organization later learned that the pupils were already literate in Roman characters, as is the standard in Indonesia (Tae-hoon, 2010). The Cia-Cia did not need the Hangeul textbook that was compiled haphazardly by someone who spoke neither Korean nor Cia-Cia (Tae-hoon, 2010). Their motives were completely non-altruistic, and based solely on the desire to spread Korean culture and Christianity. In this situation, the Cia-Cia slyly maintained the upper hand, and their language and culture may have been for sale, but not at stake.

Their language and culture could have been at risk because every orthography necessarily contains cultural symbology and ideology, however scant or obscure. An example of how orthography can preserve ideas differently from spoken language is with spelling. In French, because consonants are often not pronounced, differences in meanings in spoken word is through context, but the differences become very clear orthographically (e.g., "les," the plural definite article, and "lait," meaning "milk"). In English, which is sort of a mutt of a language, spelling often indicates the linguistic origin of the word (Greek, Latin, Germanic, etc.). In the case of Chinese orthography, the characters generally represent the idea of a word, rather than the sound. This system actually promotes cultural and linguistic diversity because a single character can be pronounced in different ways, but have the same meaning.

Unlike Chinese, writing systems that use alphabets or syllabaries (Latin, Arabic, Hangeul, etc.) dictate pronunciation, and to some extent limit the number of sounds the user can make. While a full writing system should be capable of being used to express any possible thought in a particular language because it can be used to record every sound in a given language, it is not capable of recording every sound in any language. For example, the original Latin alphabet omitted some Greek sounds, and lacked a "w," so that it was no longer completely useful for notating Greek, and not completely equipped to notate English when it was adopted. Other famous examples are "clicks" in African languages, which we notate with non-alphabetical Roman characters such as /!/ or /|/. In Japanese there is no meaningful difference between l and r, so there is no way to distinguish them in Japanese characters.

Two writing systems can be used to represent American Sign Language (English and ASL-gloss), and neither of them is a one-to-one representation of the "spoken" language. ASL-gloss is a system of notating the flow of signs exactly, along with the handshapes and movements used. The advantages of ASL-gloss are that it uses ASL syntax and grammar, and more closely maintains the ASL flow. However, English words (along with certain non-alphabetical characters like "--->") are still used, gloss is very cumbersome and hard to learn, is not and cannot be fully standardized, and cannot be used to express every thought that a person is capable of thinking. Like music notation, it is simply a tool to record some kind of data, and not a full writing system. ASL-gloss is mostly used for those who take an academic interest in ASL, for transcription of ASL, or for interpreters. For the

users of ASL, English orthography is used. However ASL does not share the same syntax or grammar as English, and of course, because ASL is not pronounced, it cannot be said that the English orthography is a system of recording ASL "speech." In ASL, facial expressions, repetition, speed, or gregariousness of movement, handshape, etc., all add shades of meaning which are not easily or as fluidly expressed in the English language. Similar to translating a joke from Chinese to English, or a song from Samoan to German, translating ASL into English orthography means that many cultural implications and creative nuances will necessarily be omitted. In fact, the orthography bears little resemblance whatsoever to ASL, but ASL users must be fluent in English orthography in order to function in American society.

In addition to lacking the capability to record the smaller, abstract, cultural-linguistic elements, the advent of a writing system to a preliterate society also encourages the devaluation of its own oral culture. According to Coo-Gumperz and Gumperz, "In preliterate culture, one of the key ways that knowledge is transmitted is through such oral performances as the recitation of mythological folk narratives and oral genealogies" (1981). Reading and writing heralds a shift in cultural values. Goody describes the new form of education: "the whole process of removing children from the family, placing them under distinct authority, can be described as one of decontextualization" (Goody, 1977). And again, the shift away from the old values can create a social schism, as the written word gains prestige against oral tradition:

> What the oxymoron oral literature reflects is Western culture's belated and somewhat embarrassed attempt to come to terms with the realization that the production of poetry, narratives, and other verbal compositions that engage the intelligence and the imagination is not the exclusive prerogative of literate civilizations. But the downmarket label 'oral literature' makes it clear what is happening here: outsiders are being reluctantly granted a cultural status to which "literally" they are not entitled. Authors of "oral literature" are thus automatically branded as second-class citizens. (Harris, 2000)

If literacy can be said to signal the decline of the traditional culture, one must ask in what direction that culture will head towards. Arguably, if the new orthography develops in a situation like that of Nukulaelae Island, the culture will be *push*ed to emulate the culture of the original language, or the language of prestige.

3. A Brief Look at the Benefits of Writing Systems.

While the major aim of this paper is to describe the concerns which must be examined in creating or designating orthographies to preliterate societies, I cannot argue that literacy is bad, that it single-handedly kills a culture, and should not be spread. As mentioned above, reading and writing can be used as an external memory bank, and exponentially increases the amount of information we can access and use. Literacy and literacy programs also change and broaden the educational, occupational, and socioeconomic opportunities of a community. It can promote a culture, first of all because an unchanging culture is a dying culture, but a changing culture is a living culture. Secondly, literacy allows its users a broader audience through a greater range of media such as newspapers, books, emails, and letters. And thirdly, having an orthography helps linguists and anthropologists accurately record and preserve language and culture.

4. Conclusion.

Historically, the spread of literacy was usually set in motion by a colonizing force, and usually came hand in hand with new values, languages, and ideologies, and the traditional ways were lost or diminished. Even disseminated without agenda, an orthography must be developed or adapted that fits the linguistic and cultural needs of the target society. And even though literacy is highly valued in Western society, it cannot even be taken for granted that developing an orthography will have any substantial benefit for a given society. It might sound idyllic and heroic to teach every nomadic hunter-gatherer to read and write, but it also might not change their standard of living very greatly if they are not able to use it in a practical way. On that note, where literacy programs are developed, the target scope of literacy, and the capabilities of the program must be matched. For example, on Nukulaelae Island, every child's literacy is ensured, but only 4% of the people are educated past elementary school (Besnier, 1995). If these people graduate elementary school, but spend the rest of their lives on one island, with the same way of life as their ancestors, the value of literacy is not the same as it is for someone who has the option of going to Harvard. Creating false hopes of education and socioeconomic mobility can create angst and unrest.

The best hope for creating an orthography for a preliterate society is that the community must make the decision for itself. The community's involvement ensures that the level of cultural sensitivity is appropriate for that society. Hopefully it will also create a sense of pride in their society, and a sense of custody over and investment in their orthography and literacy. They can also decide the range and value of literacy, which are not concrete quantitative concepts, but changeable, subjective, context-dependent ideas.

Notes:

[1]Though readers may cringe at the use of a Wikipedia citation, the author has chosen this particular definition for two reasons. First, because definitions should reflect how a word is used by the people who use it, and Wikipedia provides somewhat of a consensus of meaning. Secondly, Wikipedia's explanation better fits the purposes of this paper, and is more thorough and less vague than dictionary definitions I looked up; for example, OED says that orthography is "the conventional spelling system of a language," which leaves out the fact that for a spelling system to exist in a language, it must also have a writing system.

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Nā ‘ono a ka ‘ai kauoha a nā kūpuna

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Honi Ana i Ke Anu o Kapālama i Ka La‘i

Wahine

Honi ana i ke anu **He Inoa No Pauahi**
O Kapālama i ka la‘i
Halehale ke aloha o ka ‘Ōlauniu
Wehi ‘ia e ka ua Kūkalahale
He pua lahilahi i ka ua lelehuna
Mohala a‘e ana ka lihilihi ‘ōpio **Hi‘iakaikapoliopele (445)**
Popohe maila i ka ahe lau makani
Kilipohe ia wehi no ka uka
‘Ōmaka maika‘i ka pua i ke anolani
He nani kau i ka maka o ka ‘ōpua
Ka pua lahilahi o Kapālama i ka la‘i

Ua haku ‘ia kēia mele no‘u iho i mea e hō‘ike ai i ko‘u pilina me Kapālama. He ma‘amau i ka Hawai‘i ka wehewehena ‘ana o ke kanaka ma o kona ‘āina hānau. ‘Ike ‘ia ka nani o ke kanaka i ka nani o ‘āina, ke kuahiwi, ke awāwa, ka makani, ka ua, ka pua, ka lau, a pēlā wale aku. ‘Oiai, ‘a‘ole ho‘i ‘o Kapālama ‘o ku‘u ‘āina hānau, pili loa au i ia wahi pana no ka mea ua noho au ma Kīna‘u Hale he ‘ehā makahiki ka lō‘ihi. Eia na‘e, he kama kēia a Kamehameha, ‘o Kapālama ku‘u ‘āina aloha a no ia kumu au i haku ai i ua wahi mele nei.

Ma nā lālani mele mua ‘ehā, ‘ike ‘ia nā hi‘ohi‘ona o Kapālama. He ‘Ōlauniu ka makani a he Kūkalahale ka ua, ‘o ia ho‘i ka ua o Honolulu kekahi. A laila, ho‘omaka ka wehewehe ‘ana o ka pua lahilahi. Ma kēia mele, ‘o au nō ka pua lahilahi no ka mea ‘ike pinepine ‘ia ma nā mo‘olelo a me nā mele ka ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana o ka wahine i ka pua, e la‘a me ka lehua a me ka mamo. I ke au ‘ana o ke mele, kupu a ulu a mōhala pono ka pua a lilo ‘o ia i wahine u‘i, ‘a‘ole i ahuwale loa ma nā lālani mele akā ‘ike na‘e ‘ia ma o ke kaona o ke mele.

Uluwehiwehi ‘o Pauoa

Kāne

Uluwehiwehi ‘o Pauoa
I ka lau o nā wehi o uka
Onaona ka hanu o ka nahele
I ke ala e moani mai nei
Lele aku ka manu ‘ō‘ō
I luna o ka waokele
Kau iho i ka lālā
Hō‘ike a‘e kona hulu, ka mālena
‘Oi kelakela kona u‘i
‘Alawa iho i kona ‘aina
‘Ike aku i ka nani o ka ‘iwa‘iwa
He hoapili o ka lau kupukupu
Kupu wale maila ka ‘ie‘ie
Nolu ehu luhe i ke Kūkalahale
‘O Pauoa ka ‘āina o ka manu hulu melemele.

Ua haku ‘ia kēia mele no ku‘u kōko‘olua. Noho ua kāne lā i Pauoa a e like me ka‘u i haku ai no ka wahine o Kapālama, pēlā nō ka‘u i haku ai no ke kāne o Pauoa. ‘Oiai, ‘o ka pua ka wahine o ia mau mele a‘u i haku ai, ‘o ka manu ke kāne. Kohu mea lā, he kāne ke ‘ano o ka nānā ‘ana o ka manu. Mali‘a paha, ‘o ia ke kumu i koho ‘ia ai ka manu ma kahi o ke kāne ma nā mele. ‘O ia ho‘i ka hana akamai o nā haku mele a me nā kākau mo‘olelo o ke au kahiko.

Wehe ‘ia kēia mele me ka ‘āina o Pauoa a laila kupu a‘e ka mana‘o o ka manu ‘ō‘ō. He waiwai a he makamae ho‘i ka hulu o ka manu ‘ō‘ō. I mea e hō‘ike ai i ka nani o ka manu me ka hō‘ike ‘ole i ka ‘ao‘ao palupalu o ka nani, ‘o ka hulu o ka manu ka nani. Ua ‘ike mua ‘ia ka nani o ka pua ma kekahi mele. Ma ia mele na‘e i ‘ike ‘ia ai ka ikaika a me ke kūlana ki‘eki‘e o ka manu. I ka manu e kau ana i kauwahi ki‘eki‘e loa, ‘alawa iho ‘o ia i ka nani o kona ‘āina, ‘o ka ‘iwa‘iwa ‘oe, ‘o ke kupukupu ‘oe, ‘o ka ‘ie‘ie ‘oe, a pēlā wale aku. Pili kēia ‘ano i ka ‘ao‘ao ‘o‘ole‘a.

Auhea ‘Oe e Ku‘u Hoa Hulu Manu

Wahine → Kāne

‘Auhea ‘oe e ku‘u hoa hulu manu
Ka manu *kilipo‘i* i ka uka o Pauoa **Kimo Alama Keaulana**
Paulehia i ka ho‘ohihi
Mao ‘ole ka ‘i‘ini a ka makemake

E ku‘u hoa o ka li‘ulā
Li‘ulā hulili i ke awakea
E naue mai e pili mai
I lei kāhiko no ku‘u kino **Lei Oleander**

‘Elua māua i ka la‘i aumoe **Ke Hone A‘e Nei**
I kolu i ke kilikilihune ua
Kauna mai ana ia‘u e moe
E moe ho‘i ē

He mele ho‘oha‘i a ho‘omalimali kēia, na ka wahine i ke kāne. Ua ho‘ohana ‘ia kekahi lālani mele mai nā mele kahiko. He nani ia ka ‘ike ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo, nā hua‘ōlelo paha, a me ka hua lekikona ma nā mele aloha. ‘O ka pololei, na ka wahine e oli i kēia mele i mea e ho‘ohihi ai i ka mana‘o o ke kāna a hihia iho i nā mākau a ka lawai‘a. ‘O ka pahuhopu, ‘o ia ke kili‘opu ‘ana i ka nu‘a palai.

I ka paukū mua, wahi a Kimo Alama Keaulana, ‘o kilipo‘i ka hua‘ōlelo i lohe nui ‘ole ‘ia no ka manu. ‘O kilipo‘i ke kīkaha ‘ana o nā manu i ka lewa lani. I ke au ‘ana o kēia mele, ‘ike ‘ia ka holo ‘ana o manawa mai ka li‘ulā o ka wana‘ao i ke awakea a i ka la‘i aumoe me ka mana‘o, kau nui ka mana‘o o ke kāne i ka no‘ono‘o o ka wahine a pō ke ao a ao ka pō. Pili ‘ole kēia mele i ke aloha, ‘o ka ho‘oipoipio wale nō ka makemake.

'Ōkala Ku'u Hulu A'a Makemake

Kāne → Wahine

'Ōkala ku'u hulu a'a makemake **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (123)**
Ho'ohihi ka mana'o, e ka pua ē

Kīlohi i ka nani i waiho kāhela
Helahela ka 'ēheu o neia manu

Kolopua ko ala i ke awakea
Ahe kolo ka makani i ka 'ili

Kāua i ka pi'ina
I ka uluwehiwehi o Pau'oa **Pauoa Hula na Kaipo Hale**

'O kāu lehua nō lā ka pua **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (49)**
O ka'u manai e kui ai

Ho'okahi nō pua, lawa ku'u lei **Ku'u Lei Hōkū**
E lei kāua i ke anu o ka ua Kūkalahale

'O 'oe a'o au i ka pō la'ila'i **Ali'ipoe na William Maka'ehu**
Hō mai ka ihu a hele a'e au **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (37)**

'O kēia ke mele ho'oha'i a ho'omalimali ho'i, na ke kāne i ka wahine. E like me ka'u i kekahi mele ho'omalimali, na ke kāne e oli aku i kēia mele i mea e ho'ohei ai ka 'i'ini o ka wahine a 'o ka pahuhopu, 'o ka ho'oipoipo pili 'ole i ke aloha. 'O ka pua ka wahine a 'o ka manu ke kāne.

Ho'opili pālua 'ia nā lālani mele ma ka mana'o o ia mau lālani. Wehe 'ia ke mele ma kekahi 'ōlelo o ka 'ōkala ka hula. 'O ka mana'o o kēia lālani, 'o ia ho'i ka pi'i 'ana o ke kuko o ke kāne i ka wahine. Kīlohi aku ke kāne i ka nani o ka wahine a ma o nā lonoa 'o ia i 'ike koke ai kona makemake e ho'oipoipo me ka wahine. Kono ke kāne i ka wahine i kona 'āina a laila ahuwale ho'i kona mana'o 'o ka ho'oipoipo.

'Ā Maila Ke Ahi 'Ena'ena o Ke Aloha Wela

Wahine ♥ Kāne

'Ā maila ke ahi 'ena'ena o ke aloha wela
me ke momoku ahi lā e hana mao 'ole **Makakēhau (5)**

Mehena ho'i ka 'ili i ka pili aumoe
Moe 'oko'a i ka manawa kūpono

'O kahi manu o uka o Pauoa
'O kahi pua o ka la'i o Kapālama

Ho'olale ihola i nā kaunu a ka waialohia **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (441)**
Nā hoa 'alo o ka ua Kūkalahale

Ku'u ana i ka loa o nā ho'ānu'unu'u
'Onou mai kēlā, 'onou aku kēia

He nani i waiho kāhela 'ia
Ka 'ono o nā kūpuna

'Ike i ka nani o Pauoa **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (363)**
Honi i ke 'ala o ka hīnalo

Mūkīkī i ka wai o ka pua lehua
Inu i ka wai ko'olihilihi

Ka'aniniau i ka wiliwai
Ho'okahi wai o ka like o ka 'eha koni **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (78)**

'Eha i ka 'eha lima 'ole a ke aloha **Hi'iakaikapoliopele (363)**

Aloha wale ia 'āina o ka lei liko lehua

Ma ia mele i 'ike mua 'ia ua mea lā 'o ka mehena o ke aloha. 'O kēia ka hopena o ka ho'omanawanui 'ana o ke kāne a ma ka wahine i ke anu. Noho ho'okahi i ka ua, i ka makani a anuanu ho'i ka mehameha. I ka manawa kūpono, kūka'i ke aloha ma nā kapa o kahi me kahi. 'O kēia hui 'ana o lāua, 'o ka mehana akula nō ia o ke kino. Ua ho'i aku au i ka nani o ka 'āina i mea e ho'onalonalo ai ka hana o ke aumoe. 'O ka wehena o ia mau mele 'elima, he 'āina. 'O ka panina, he 'āina nō ho'i. I mea e pani kūpono ai ka mana'o Hawai'i o ke kanaka, ka ho'omalimali, ka ho'oipoipo, a me ke aloha.

Ua ho'oheihei ulu māhiehie nō ho'i ka nani a me ka u'i o kahi 'ao'ao i kahi 'ao'ao. Ua kō ka ha'awina o ka 'ai kauoho o nā kūpuna a 'ike ho'i ke kāne a me ka wahine i ka nani o Pauoa. Ua ola a pa'a ka houpo i ke aloha pumehana. Ua kaunu lāua me "Heha Waipi'o i ka noe."

Exploitation of Polynesian Spiritual Imagery in the Toy Industry

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Used in ancient times as an instrument to strengthen and increase flexibility in the wrists of Māori warriors, the poi is most commonly used today as an implement for the Kapa Haka and is often seen in possession of Māori youth as a toy (Maori Weapons). Post European contact, the toy industry overseas became fascinated with all things Polynesian, taking inspiration from many native Polynesian cultures to boost their international sales with the allure of the exotic cultures in the Pacific region. Unfortunately, the Western perspective has transformed Polynesian spiritual imagery into an idealistic farce and toy companies like Lego and Mattel are exploiting the cultural and intellectual property of these indigenous peoples. Globally recognized toys that adopt aesthetics from one or more Polynesian cultures often show a lack of respect for the spiritual importance of the indigenous peoples that they "borrow" images from. These toys include Lego Bionicle, Māori Hello Kitty, and Polynesian Barbie. Unwilling to allow their cultures to be misrepresented, indigenous peoples began to take a stance against big toy companies claiming cultural authenticity. With the employment of government supported initiatives such as Aotearoa, New Zealand's Toi Iho Māori trademark and the Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, these initiatives have helped the Māori people preserve and protect their spiritual and cultural property from exploitation. Analysis of the use of spiritual imagery in the manufacture and distribution of the toy industry and the discourses associated with them will provide a basis to assess the exploitation of indigenous cultures.

In June of 1993, The First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples was held in Whakatana, New Zealand. This six-day conference hosted over 150 delegates from 14 countries, and ended when The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples was passed. This declaration emphasizes that "Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self determination and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property." The declaration also "recognise[s] that Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity provided their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community." Furthermore, United Nations Member States should "declare that all forms of discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples, indigenous knowledge and indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights must cease" (The Mataatua Declaration).

Further suggestions in this declaration include "recommendations to Indigenous Peoples to (1.1) define for themselves their own intellectual and cultural property, (1.3) develop a code of ethics which external users must observe when recording (visual, audio, written) their traditional and customary knowledge, and (1.8a) preserve and monitor the commercialism or otherwise of indigenous cultural properties in the public domain" (The Mataatua Declaration).

Figure 1. Mata Nui. Lego Bionicle™.

When Danish toy company Lego launched a new line of toys called Lego Bionicle™, they met an onslaught of complaints from the Māori people taking offense to the frivolous use of what they considered their cultural and intellectual property. In creating the alternate universe of the Bionicle saga, Lego adopted a handful of Māori names and terms for their characters and storyline. The Māori words used included toa meaning warrior, pohatu meaning stone, whenua meaning land, kanohi meaning face, and the most controversial was the use of the Māori word for priest or spiritual healer, tohunga which was the name that Lego adopted for the helpless inhabitants of the fantasy tropical island called Mata Nui. Before the Bionicle line launched in Canada and the United States the following summer, Lego faced opposition from representatives of New Zealand urging them to discontinue their use of Māori words.

Several Māori tribes took great offense to the liberal use of their native language which they considered culturally insensitive and led by New Zealand lawyer Maui Solomon, three tribes took legal action. In a letter to the Lego representatives, Solomon alleged that Bionicle's use of Māori words "was an unauthorized use of traditional names and language, and it was an inappropriate use. There had been no consultation, no prior informed consent. And it's a trivialization, especially when you are using names like Tohunga (Maori for priest). So there are cultural and moral issues" (Griggs). Solomon also alleged that the Danish toy company had intentions to trademark the names used in their Bionicle line and urged the company to suspend the sale of the

toy on account that it "infringed the Polynesian people's intellectual property rights to their language and culture" (Holloway).

Lego denied the allegations claiming that they only intended to trademark the line's name Bionicle, however, they also expressed that they had no intentions to withdraw the Bionicle line from production. In response to the demands made by Solomon, Lego sent a representative to meet with the Māori groups resulting in an agreement to change the name of the fictional inhabitants of Mata Nui from Tohunga to Matoran and to refrain from adding any known Polynesian words in the following generations of the Bionicle line. Lego Director Jette Orduna responded via e-mail, "As a direct result of our contact with the Maori representatives, we strive at not adding any new names of Maori origin to the Bionicle product line. However, it is not possible for us, due to production time, to change names already incorporated in the Bionicle universe" (Griggs).

An article in the Danish newspaper The Politiken viewed this lawsuit as a "serious threat to the Lego Group's worldwide launch of the toy universe, Bionicle," and fearing "a bitter conflict with the indigenous Maori population in New Zealand," Lego representative Eva Lykkegaard announced the company's "deep regret" at the offenses made toward the Māori people claiming the monikers as a symbol of reverence, stating that Lego "have not sought to damage the Polynesian heritage. Contrary, we have deep respect for the rich diversity of world culture" (Lambeck and La Cour).

The dispute was settled in a partial win-win solution between the Māori tribes and the Lego company with the Māori people recognizing that no harm or offense was made intentionally by the Danish toy manufacturer. Representative Roma Hippolite of the Ngati Koata Trust agreed that the Lego company did not have harmful intentions in their use of Māori spiritual ideas saying, "We have been impressed by the willingness of Lego to recognise a hurt was inadvertently made and show that in their actions" (Osborn). Lego agreed to the terms laid out by the Māori representatives by formally apologizing for the offenses made to the indigenous people of Aotearoa, New Zealand, promising that "future launches of Bionicle sets will not incorporate names from any original culture. The Lego company will seek to develop a code of conduct for cultural expressions of traditional knowledge" (Osborn). This promise falls directly in accordance with The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples article 1.3 recommending Indigenous Peoples to "Develop a code of ethics which external users must observe when recording (visual, audio, written) their traditional and customary knowledge" (The Mataatua Declaration).

In the battle of Bionicle, both the Māori and Danish people held very strong opposing discourses. In this dispute, the Lego company dodged what the Danish newspaper The Politiken referred to as a Māori "threat[...] to raise an international storm of protest," while the Māori people gained another foothold in the ongoing battle against the "offending" use of Polynesian spiritual imagery and ideas for commodification purposes. The overall feeling predominant from the Māori perspective on the issue was that of discontent, while the Danish toy company saw the impending lawsuit as a danger to their Bionicle line and the global distribution of the product as a whole. Unfortunately, what Lego saw as admiration of a culture resulted in insult to the Māori until the disagreement was formally settled.

Figure 2. Kia Ora Kitty. Artist Joseph Senior.

Unlike the corporate launch of the Lego Bionicle toy line, the image of a tattooed Hello Kitty doll seen above may be considered nothing more than the artistic expression of a local artist. Joseph Senior, an Aukland-based artist and art collector is the mastermind behind this Māori Hello Kitty doll. Contrary to original belief, this image was not sanctioned by Sanrio, the owners of the Hello Kitty image and trademark, and so they could not be held accountable for the offenses that have been made by the surfacing of this image. The controversy on this toy arose as a result of the image being uploaded to an internet website called Hello Kitty Hell in June of 2007, which generated many various comments on its public forum.

This "Kia Ora Kitty" sports the image of what is most likened to a male moko (sacred tattoo) and a pounamu (green stone) necklace with an iconic tiki design, as well as the traditional piupiu (skirt) worn by both Māori men and women. On the Hello Kitty Hell site, both Māori and non-Polynesian viewers have commented to the open online forum surrounding the image of Senior's take on the classical Hello Kitty design. Although a number of fans indicated their admiration of the artwork, the majority of discourse from Māori people expressed strong offense to the piece. The main issue cited by many commenters surrounded the culturally inappropriate use of the male moko on a female entity which showed a lack of understanding and research. Many of the complaints from Māori artists themselves, included this comment from online contributer, Marie saying "I'm Maori and an artist but I'm not offended with

it, just annoyed at your lack of research into the culture and the designs as it has come off culturally inappropriate, insensitive and ignorant" (Viklund). Others commenting on the open forum were more deeply offended by the design, as was Texican who wrote:

> "I couldn't have asked for a more perfect example of the misappropriation of our cultural heritage. The problem as many others have pointed out is your lack of understanding and research into the culture that you have 'borrowed' from. […] what concerns me most with this particular example is the lack of respect for the deep spirituality of the ta moko - as a person who has taken the moko I am greatly offended by this. A moko is not an appropriate 'adornment' for a childs toy. […] the problem is that you did not understand the meanings and complex relationships in what you have stolen…." (Viklund)

This quote describes one native Māori's personal offense caused directly by the exploitation and embezzlement of "cultural heritage" depicted on the Kia Ora Kitty and the lack of knowledge on the part of the artist Joseph Senior. The implications of the above quotation insinuate a complete disregard and theft of the cultural and intellectual property of the Māori people as well as the spirituality tied to the ta moko. The moko designs which are used for solely aesthetic purposes in the case of the Kia Ora Kitty, described as "adornments" in the above quotation have clearly affronted many people, especially those of whom have taken the moko in all of its sacrosanctity.

Despite the amount of offense taken by this image and the lack of concern for the sensitivity of its spiritual significance to the Māori people, the main plea did not aim to discourage Senior's artistry, rather to encourage him to do his research. According to Senior, "they are not meant to be racist or offensive to any culture" (Viklund). Sarah, another community member posting to the online forum, though obviously bothered by the image had this piece of advice to offer; "Get an education - anyone Maori would be pleased to give you a bit of cultural instruction" (Viklund). Several people made requests for the image to be removed from the site, but as of today, the image remains with no intention of being removed. No further comments have been posted to the forum since 2010, which would suggest that interest in the topic has since died down.

These discourses, combined with the fact that no legal actions have taken place in order to remove the image from the web or to require that the artist suffer any legal penalties would suggest that the Polynesian people, and Māori in particular are genuinely interested in nothing more than the respect and preservation of their cultural and intellectual knowledge. Had Joseph Senior intended to sell his Māori Hello Kitty image or attempt to place a trademark on the designs, he would most certainly be infringing on the preamble's final statement in The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which "Declare[s] that all forms of discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples, indigenous knowledge and indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights must cease" (The Mataatua Declaration). If Senor intended to market and distrubute, it is almost certain that his Kia Ora Kitty image would not only be removed from the web, but that the Māori people would issue a lawsuit if their grievances were not amended. The negative discourse attached to images such as Kia Ora Kitty are not prompted by the possibility of a monetary settlement from large scale companies like Lego, but rather, are in the personal interests of individuals and the value and conviction they have in their spirituality and culture.

Māori are far from the only indigenous Polynesian peoples whose culture is continuously exploited by the toy industry. Mattel Inc. is an American-based toy manufacturer responsible for the Barbie toy line, and the line Dolls of the World®. Barbie launched in March of 1959 and has since been involved in countless lawsuits and controversies mainly surrounding the doll's unrealistic body image however, there no lawsuits against Mattel address the exploitation of cultural and intellectual property. The images of the Barbies seen below have never been cited as a violation of The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples. So far, no native Hawaiian groups implored Mattel for a formal apology, nor any legal action required the company to alter the names, images, or descriptions of their Dolls of the World products.

Figure 3.1 Princess of the Pacific Islands. Barbie® Mattel Inc.
Figure 3.2 Polynesian Barbie®. Mattel Inc.
Figure 3.3 Hawaii U.S.A. Barbie®. Mattel Inc.

The Dolls of the World line includes several images of a Barbie specifically intended to represent a Polynesian or a Pacific islander. Mattel's Princess of the Pacific Islands™ Barbie®, Polynesian Barbie®, and Hawaii U.S.A. Barbie® seen above insensitively stereotype and exploit the Hawaiian culture emphasizing in the manufacturer's idea of "traditional" and employ little to no understanding and research. The descriptions of each doll are as follows;

> The Hawaiian people live on beautiful tropical islands in the Pacific Ocean. In this tropical paradise, a beautiful girl with long black hair walks along the shore saying "Aloha" to everyone she sees – this greeting means both hello and good bye. Her father is the chief of the people. The princess loves surfing known as He'e nalu or wave-sliding in old Hawaiian. The Princess of the Pacific Islands™ wears a traditional island dress known as a muu muu and a lei of "plumeria", a fragrant blossom native to the islands.

This description begins with a true enough statement on the general location of the Hawaiian islands, but quickly shifts into romanticized illustration of a "tropical paradise" where the native people are envisioned as carefree and devoid of responsibility or hardship. Obviously this kind of imagery is necessary for the profitable sale of such a toy, but the blatant ignorance of the culture for which Barbie is marketing a supposed knowledge is not only discriminatory, but falsely represents the ways of the Hawaiian people and robs their intellectual knowledge and property. For one thing, in traditional Hawaiian custom, royalty as this toy proclaims The Princess of the Pacific Islands™ to be, would not be addressed so informally with an "'Aloha' to everyone she sees." In fact, in ancient Hawai'i it was kapu (forbidden) to make direct eye contact with mō'ī (royalty) unless you had similar ranking. Other glaring inconsistencies with factual information include the "traditional island dress," which Western culture introduced to Hawai'i post European contact during the settlement of American Protestant Missionaries from New England in the 1820s (Gulick). Furthermore, plumeria is a plant native to Central and South America introduced to Hawaii (Eggli).

> *Polynesian* Barbie doll is dressed for a traditional celebration called the luau which is known for its great feasts and dancing. Barbie wears a red and white bikini top and traditional "grass" skirt. Also traditional in Polynesian culture are the flowers around her neck, called a lei, as well as the floral garland crowning her long dark hair. And in keeping with Polynesian dancing tradition, Barbie is bare foot.
>
> Aloha! Hawaii U.S.A. Barbie® doll welcomes you to the islands, ready for the next luau wearing a floral lei, colorful bikini, and traditional raffia "grass" hula skirt. Includes "passport," country stickers, sea turtle friend and brush. (Dolls of the World® Collection)

Each of these descriptions uses language that suggests an idealistic fantasy land and inaccurately perceives the cultural knowledge and intellectual property of the Hawaiian people. Descriptions presented as factual information and the excessive use of the words "traditional" and "native" to describe items that are not actually indigenous to the culture that they are claimed to be from make these toys highly offensive. As explained previously with the "traditional island dress" and "native" plumeria, neither the bikini top nor the rafia "grass" skirts are native to Hawai'i. Hula dancers, although they do appear bare footed, were also bare chested and wore skirts made from hau (hibiscus tiliacious) and lā'ī (cordyline fruticosa), neither of which plant is a "grass" as described by Mattel (University of Hawai'i).

As the Hawaiian people do not have specific laws protecting the hula as an ancient and spiritually significant art form, the sale and production of these "Polynesian" dolls continues. Unless the people can join together and stand up against Mattel citing The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the perspective that they have on the doll will be of little to no effect in the protection of the sacredness of hula. This gives rise to the question: what can the indigenous people do in order to protect their sacred art forms before they are exploited by external entities?

In New Zealand, the native Māori came up with one solution to the problem of exploitation by introducing a way to indicate authentic art made by knowledgeable practitioners of the Māori culture. Toi Iho Māori is the globally recognized and registered trademark launched in February 2002 by the New Zealand government in an effort to preserve the "authenticity and quality of Māori arts" (Toi Iho). Established by the Transition Toi Iho Foundation (TTIF) and instituted by the Toi Iho Kaitiaki Incorporated (TIKI) legal entity, the Toi Iho trademark is designed to guarantee that work produced under the trademark is high-quality and created by Māori. Deemed economically insignificant in 2009 by the National Arts Development Agency sector of the New Zealand government, Creative New Zealand, the Toi Iho trademark lost its funding. Many concerned artists feared losing the acclaim that the trademark gave them, as it is very difficult to earn the mark in the first place.

Artists seeking to apply for the Toi Iho trademark must first submit an application inclusive of several essay questions, which are then reviewed by a committee who will declare whether or not the artist is worthy of the esteemed trademark. It is also recommended that the artist have previous experience displaying their work. One of the main requirements to obtain the Toi Iho trademark is that the artist registering, must be of Māori decent. This requirement falls directly in line with The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples' motion to "insist that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge (cultural and intellectual property rights) must be the direct indigenous descendants of such knowledge," therefore, it is not seen as discrimination or racial preferential treatment (The Mataatua Declaration).

Though the Toi Iho trademark does not prevent artists around the world from utilizing indigenous Māori images, it does help to set apart those forms of art that do hold true to the value and respect of the Māori culture and traditions from those that do not.

Based on the articles and comments associated with the use of Polynesian spiritual imagery in the manufacture of Lego Bionicle and Barbie, and the image of Joseph Senior's Kia Ora Kitty, the views on whether or not the use of such images is appropriate are very polarized. In every case, the company or artist in question denied knowledge that the use of Polynesian spiritual imagery was exploitative or offensive. Although most of the indigenous people from which their culture was borrowed express feelings of offense, they are generally opposed to the lack of research and knowledge taken into account rather than the Western use or commodification of their culture. In the case of Lego Bionicle and Kia Ora Kitty, it seems to be a matter of understanding the words and images used and presenting them accurately so as not to cause offense. There are steps that can be taken by all indigenous peoples in order to protect their sacred images, language, and practices from exploitation, as long as those affected recognize their right to claim their cultural and intellectual knowledge as laid out by The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples. By no means do the Polynesian people mean to keep their culture isolated from Western society, but rather, to share their knowledge with the world in the most accurate way possible and to preserve what they consider spiritually important.

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Gender Ego: Comparative Models of Transgender Identity Acquisition

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Abstract

Since many individuals continue to explore their conceptual selves throughout their adult lives, identity acquisition is by no means a chronologically linear struggle. Though evident in the heterosexual cisgender populace, identity acquisition is a key issue for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) individuals, and especially for gender-variant individuals contending with restrictive socio-schemas. In order to normalize and demystify transgender emergence, this essay critically compares development stage models of gender-variance (Lewins, 1995; Rachlin, 1997; Ekins, 1997; Lev, 2004) with Habermas' (1979) psycho-social stages of ego development.

Introduction

Upon review of the research (Benjamin, 1966; Stoller, 1968; Green 1974, 1987; Kessler & Meckenna, 1978; Money & Erhardt, 1982), it becomes clear that medical models do not consider transgender individuals within their own developmental parameters, but as deviations from normative cisgender development (Gamson, 1995; Cole & Meyere III, 1998). The overwhelming desire to explain gender-variance as a phenomena eclipsed the research of developmental acquisition for decades to such extent that self-identified cross-dressers and sex-changers were "never explored as social constructs of reality with their own legitimacy" (Ekins, 1997).

Imposed labels attempted to differentiate Primary and Secondary as well as Classical and Non-Classical types of transsexuals based on age of development, erotic target location, autoerotic trans-genital fantasy, cross-dressing behavior, and gender envy (Docter, 1988; Blanchard, 1989; Veale et. al., 2010). While adaptive and maladaptive defense mechanisms are crucial in the development of an individual's gender identity, the ability to make sweeping inferences based on circumstantial case studies relies too heavily on the researcher's preconceived notions of gender, not to mention the poor vocabulary of the subject. In short, there are too many variables to delineate a Classical from a Non-Classical transsexual, let alone Cross-Dressers from Drag Artists, unless one subjects the trans community to a normalized, cultural standard and a static concept of gender. It is empirically possible to defend such a standard, and even infer correlations, in the same way that it is possible to statistically defend certain stereotypes, but the very subject is far too personal for universal causality.

Furthermore, an individual's transgender identity can exist as an additional construct wholly inclusive of their general identity, completely separate from their general identity, or entirely eclipsing of their general identity. In other words, the acceptance of one's gender-variance can be as trite for some as it can be wholly transformational for others and can occur either in sync or out of sync with adolescent growth.

As an umbrella term, the Transgender label encompasses a range of gender-variant types, including post-op and pre-op male-to-female (MTF) and female-to-male (FTM) transsexuals, transvestites, casual gender-queers, alternating pangender individuals, ambi-gender androgynes, and agender individuals who strive to nullify gender expression. For some, such identities may even explore cultural and spiritual realms including the Two Spirit philosophies of Native America, and indigenous third gender concepts including the Māhū in Hawai'i, the Fakaleiti in Tonga, the Fa'afafine in Samoa, the Kathoey in Thailand, and the Hijra in India (Matzner, 2001). Indeed, the trans in Transgender refers to any and all who transform, transcend or transmute gender.

However, regardless of the age of gender emergence or the cultural variations that occur, there are a few key stages gender-variant individuals experience which are as elementary as Habermas' psycho-social phases of ego development. Habermas (1979) broke the human experience into four key stages: Symbiotic, Egocentric, Sociocentric and Universalistic, and just as Minton and Mcdonald (1989) unified and compared the models of homosexual identity acquisition, it's possible to observe similarities in transgender identity acquisition amongst the works of Lewins (1995), Ekins (1997), Rachlin (1997) and Lev (2004) (See: Table 1).

Table 1
Theoretical Stages of Transgender Identity Formation Compared to Habermas' Stages of Ego Development

Habermas	Lev	Lewins	Ekins	Rachlin
1. Symbiotic (Lack of Identity)	Awareness	Anxiety		Distress and Confusio
2, Egocentric (Natural Identity)	Seeking Information	Discovery	Beginning Male Femaling, Fantasying Male Femaling	Self Definition, Identifying Options
3. Sociocentric (Role Identity)	Disclosure Exploration: Identity and Self Labeling	Purging and Delay, Acceptance	Doing Male Femaling, Constituting Male Femaling	Acting to Make Chang Coping With Consequences of Transition
4.Universalisitic (Ego Identity)	Exploration: Transition Integration	Surgical Reassignment Invisibility	Consolidating Male Femaling	Removing Gender Identity as a Central Issue

Symbiotic

In Habermas' (1979) original definition, the infantile symbiotic stage has no identity. Yet in this context one can observe the cognitive dissonance experienced by some transgender individuals prior to acquiring their identity. The question remains: at what point does one become aware of their gender-variance? The symbiotic stage does not, therefore, apply to all transgender individuals given that some report awareness of their gender as infants. Rather, the symbiotic stage is more applicable for those who first attempt a cisgender life and transition later.

This first gender identity, discarded in later development may be deemed a "false self," though the extent of this falsification is unclear and depends on the level of integration gender plays in the individual's core foundation (Winnicott, 1965). Lewin's model (1995), for example, begins with a stage of intense Anxiety echoed by Rachlin's (1997) first stage of Distress and Confusion. Likewise, Lev's (2004) initial stage of Awareness is often accompanied by a great deal of distress as the gender-variant individual copes with the very idea of who they are. If the individual remains in the symbiotic stage they may describe themselves as "weird" or "different" without knowing how or in what way. As they progress into the egocentric stage, the truth of their situation progressively reveals itself.

In MTF case studies, Ekins (1997) observed various forms of "masked" awareness, including closed, suspicious, open and pretence, depending on whether or not the individual is closed off to the idea, suspicious of some gender non-conformity, open to the idea, or wholly committed.

Egocentric

During Habermas' (1979) Egocentric stage an individual is self-oriented, implying that the individual is just beginning to formulate their understanding of self, and like a child, hasn't developed the vocabulary, understanding or social miens to fully actualize their identity. In Ekins' (1997) awkwardly phrased stage model for MTF transsexuals, the egocentric stage is marked by the process of Beginning Male Femaling, and Fantasying Male Femaling. While including Blanchard's (1989) notion of self-aroused autogynephilia, these fantasies exceed eroticism since such fantasies cover the interrelationship "between three modes of femaling—body demaling, gender femaling and erotic femaling (3MF) and the interrelations between sex, sexuality and gender (SSG)"(Ekins, 1997).

Additionally, the Egocentric stage can be clearly marked in Lewins' (1995) stage of Discovery, while Rachlin's (1997) stage begins the arduous journey of Self Definition in order to Define Options, an experience described in common by Lev's (2004) Seeking Information stage. As the gender-variant construct begins to form, the desire to Reach Out becomes even more prevalent as the individual begins to experience an increased sense of isolation (Lev, 2004).

Sociocentric

The Sociocentric stage is marked, in this context, by many levels of experimentation, disclosure and social interactions. During the Purging and Delay process, transsexuals may continue to experiment with their image, accruing clothes and makeup and styles they periodically shed in order to find their true identity (Lewins, 1995; Ekins, 1997).

Some may "come out" entirely. Others may experiment with different modes of self-labeling, including experimentation with names. It's during this stage one can readily observe the social scripts built from an individual's interaction with a hetero-normative majority. Patience, temperament, esteem, perception of self, and even vocabulary can all be influenced by both heterosexist and cisgender bias (Cox and Gallois, 1996; Mascher, 2003). Because of this, self-labeling as a tool of LGBTQ identity acquisition goes beyond simple stage models of the coming out process by including both defense mechanisms and ideological delineations in reaction to a potentially oppressive majority (Rust, 1996; Chapman & Brannock, 1987; Butler, 1990).

It's at this stage that, if they have not already done so, the individual can thoroughly explore the many variations of gender, adhering to or breaking from gender stereotypes. In 1973, Kando tried to establish a correlation between stereotypical behavior and trans-women, yet further research indicates that trans-women tend to break from traditional western gender schemas, rejecting the hyper-feminine role in favor of feminism (Bolin, 1988; Feinbloom, 1976).

For many, social experimentation is an ongoing process, especially for gender-queer and pangender individuals who may shift periodically between genders. Returning to Lev's (2004) developmental model, Transitional Exploration may include body modification, hormone regimens and a complete overhaul of the physical self. Conceptually, Lev's (2004) fifth stage may seem like a "make it or break it" point when transsexuals decide to "complete the process" or not. However, it is important to question what "completion" means to the individual, and how comfortable they are with their own anatomy.

For example, some MTFs may reject the transsexual label altogether, having always perceived themselves as women. Others, however, may identify strongly with the transsexual label, and may hold onto this identity long after their sexual reassignment surgery (SRS), or may in fact never undergo SRS at all, preferring the MTF, Ambigender, Pangender, Third Gender, or perhaps even Shemale identity construct.

Furthermore, gender-variant individuals in this stage are now capable of exploring the interrelationship of sex, gender and sexual orientation, allowing for once

heterosexual males to become lesbians, and once self-identified lesbians to become heterosexual men. In collected data, transvestites and cross-dressers primarily identified as heterosexual (Bullough & Bullough, 1997; Docter & Fleming, 2001; Docter & Prince, 1997), though one must question the validity of such research and its targeted sample population, as well as the rigidity of the terminology used.

According to Bem's (1998, 2000) Exotic Becomes Erotic model, males who associate with females and feminine activities will be "more likely to view males as exotic, and later develop a sexual orientation towards them" (Veale et al., 2010). To test this, a study performed by Taylor and Rupp (2004) found that the majority of drag performers (female impersonators) were homosexual while FTM transsexuals reported a primary attraction to women (Chivers & Bailey, 2000; Devor, 1993; Okabe et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2005). While this potentially validates certain aspects of Bem's hypothesis, the model remains fundamentally flawed since it does not account for the sexual development of homosexual boys who associate and play with boys, or homosexual girls who associate and play with girls.

To expand the sexual horizon, research performed on MTF transsexuals observed an equal division between androphiles, gynephiles, bisexuals and asexuals (Blanchard, 1989; Freund, Steiner & Chan, 1982: Johnson & Hunt, 1990; Lawrence, 2003). One could theorize that individuals who never fit in with either boys or girls, or adapted well to both simultaneously, may be equally alienated and fascinated by both sexes resulting in pangender, pansexual and bisexual identities outside the Bem's binary scope.

Universalistic

By definition, Habermas' (1979) Universalistic ego grasps how the individual's framework fits within the world. In this context, gender-variant individuals have now created their identity as a foundation and are building further to create a more dynamic sense of self.

Once again, Lewins' (1995) perspective relates the preoccupation with SRS as a remedy, after which Lewins describes a final stage of Invisibility whereby individuals may hide or even erase any history of ever being male. This invisibility could result from an adaptive release of the past or a maladaptive shame of it, though Lewins does not postulate on this nor relate the consequences of living as a gender-variant individual in a cisgender world.

Rachlin (1997) deemphasized surgery in favor of a far more personalized development of self, underlined by a strong counselor-client relationship. Rachlin's (1997) key point and final stage was not to eradicate the past, to hide the origin, or to camouflage the self, but rather to remove one's gender identity as the defining characteristic of the psyche. Many gender-variant individuals, after being consumed by the issue for so long, often feel lost towards the end of their developmental process and may require new, expressive formats to develop a truly multifaceted and well-rounded identity.

Having Constituted and Consolidated a female identity, Ekins' (1997) MTF case studies dealt with the incongruence of past and present with three adaptive techniques; Aparting from the past entirely, Substituting the story altogether, or Integrating the past into a healthy evolution.

Lev's (2004) last stage of Integration is a process similar to Cass' (1979, 1984, 1990) Identity Synthesis. Having transformed and adapted to their new physical self, perceived identity, and cognitive viewpoint, the gender-variant individual progresses back into everyday life, however that may exist for them.

For some, the final step may be to make the whole process a non-issue by letting go of the past; for others it may already be a non-issue, not by forgetting their experiences but by including themselves with the rest of the community, thereby reducing the sense of alienation. For even more still, they may maintain a positive transgender identity as a means to bolster the LGBTQ community as a whole, or merely to respect their own life journey.

Conclusion

Considering the fecundity of human behavior, not to mention our limitless imagination, the means by which people express their personal identities is limitless. Empirically, researchers can quantify the most common routes of human experience, yet when dealing with mold-breaking minorities and sub-minorities, we find ourselves amongst the wonderful outliers rarely accounted for. Diversity is not to be underestimated, and while categories are useful they must be taken lightly.

Theories regarding causal inference span epigenetic and biological factors, personal exploration, exposure, lack of exposure, as well as the empowering or oppressive use of socio-cultural norms. How powerful these variables are remains unclear, yet at some point in their life-span, gender-variant individuals begin to realize their difference from the assumed majority.

Often, individuals will seek external help to guide them through their internal dilemmas, and those in rural areas where the LGBTQ community may be sparse or absent may feel isolated, even if they are entirely accepting of themselves. Because of this it is crucial for prospective counselors, teachers, moderators and members of the community who counsel LGBTQ individuals to understand not only the nature of the developmental process, but also the diverse variety of conceptual identities one's sexuality and gender may express.

To give the American Psychological Association their due, the future of gender-variant research emphasizes the experience of gender dysphoria over the pathology of gender disorder (American Psychiatric

Association, 2011). For, in the end, our emphasis should not be on the progression of male to female, female to male, straight to gay, or even gay to straight, but rather from self to actualized self, whatever that may look like, and no more.

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Language Policy and Education in Multilingual South Africa

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Like many other African nations, The Republic of South Africa is a multilingual one. Various different languages are used in South Africa, but in the 1996 Constitution, 11 languages were made the official language of the country; in order of descending number of native speakers, they are: Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, English, Setswana, Sesotho, Xitsonga, Swati, Tshivenda, and Ndebele (Statistics South Africa 2004:8). Aside from those 11, it was estimated in 1996 that close to 25 languages were spoken regularly in the country (Kamwangamalu 2001), and that number has most likely increased in the years since, so the diversity of language in the country of South Africa is quite apparent. English seems surprisingly low on this list, as it is along with Afrikaans one of the dominant languages in the country. The dominance of the "white" or non-indigenous languages is partly due to apartheid, but post-apartheid practices have strengthened the country's smaller indigenous languages as well, to the point that a multilingual policy is present in the country's constitution. Empowering indigenous languages instead of replacing them with more dominant languages also strengthens the culture and social standing of its speakers, primarily the indigenous peoples oppressed under apartheid. However, the true test of a language's strength and power lies in education, with the languages used in teaching in schools. Part of the country's multilingual policy includes education for all 11 languages, but there is often a distinct difference between policy and actuality. While a good idea in theory, the language policy and situation in South African education may not work for the benefit of all native speakers of its multiple languages.

South Africa's history can explain much of its current language situation. The period of apartheid, from 1949-1994, segregated the country into White, Black, Coloured, and Asian races. Apartheid was only overturned fairly recently, less than 20 years ago, and the effects of its segregation are still being felt today. Furthermore, apartheid did not stop at social levels and discrimination, but affected languages as well. According to Nkonko Kamwangamalu, "Each racial group had to have its own territorial area within which to develop its unique cultural personality" (2001), in which 'cultural personality' extended to language and not only confined a language's speakers to a region but discouraged linguistic mixing. Despite efforts by the South African government to end language discrimination along with cultural and racial discrimination, it would not be unexpected to find that there are still some problems in the system. For one, the language dominance of English and Afrikaans, the white languages of power during apartheid, are somewhat stronger than in other countries, and since the nine African languages official today were only added to the mix, they are on a long, difficult road to recognition and equality. The multilingual education policy has many good and bad points, but it is difficult to estimate the success of South Africa's multilingual policy, thanks to factors such as globalization and language prestige.

One thing that makes South Africa's situation interesting is Afrikaans. Having nearly equal status with English, Afrikaans has the dubious honor of being a second white oppressor language. However, being 'nearly' equal is a point of contention for the Afrikaner people and Afrikaans speakers. Afrikaans is not really an African language, despite its name, and being a mixture of Dutch and Zulu born from white Dutch settlers, it seems like it should be rightfully classed as a creole. However, since the white Afrikaners were in power and feared to lose their position, Afrikaans was made official in the early 1900's, and this power play is the main reason it became its own language instead of a dialect of Dutch or a creole. The British presence in South Africa also tended to regard Afrikaans as 'low' Dutch or an inferior language, which is why officialization was so vital to the language's survival. It seems somewhat ironic that Afrikaans would have to suppress every other language in the country in order to keep itself alive, but it is not entirely safe yet. With the arrival of nine new official languages, Afrikaans may be threatened enough to lose its balance in the linguistic power situation of South Africa, falling below English in prestige, as already schools turn to English over Afrikaans for a language of better opportunity (Kamwangamalu 2001). This situation is interesting for several linguistic and political reasons. First, Afrikaans' status as both a weakened language in its creole identity and a strong language as one of the language of power makes it difficult to find an easy answer to this dilemma. Secondly, as Afrikaans is a language of power, but not the only language, it seems more likely to have the Afrikaners' claims dismissed as either simply trying to regain some of their former exclusive power or as something that is not a real or immediate threat due to its prominence. Even if English were to gain power over Afrikaans, it is unlikely that the language would ever lose enough of its power and prestige to fall out of use entirely. It would most likely still thrive outside of official English settings, unlike some of the smaller native languages have done. However, ignoring the claims of languages due to their high prestige does not seem like the right course of action either. Ignoring the formerly dominant language can be seen as retaliation to the oppression of Afrikaans during apartheid, which is perhaps justifiable to some but does not offer a solution to the issues of multilingualism.

South Africa has committed to keeping its multilingualism alive after the overthrow of apartheid, as it is written in the country's constitution that "[r]ecognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status

and advance the use of these languages" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993, Clause 1[6]). However, this part of the constitution is a broad and sweeping statement. The constitution also stipulates the creation of the Pan South African Language Board, which is in charge of the well-being of not only the official languages, but African languages such as the Khoisan languages, and even South African sign languages, along with maintaining those immigrant and foreign languages used significantly in the country. Despite the creation of the Board, there has been some discussion of reducing or condensing the number of official languages, such as limiting official status to English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Xhosa as the largest and most influential languages, or combining related languages. The Nguni languages of Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele are close enough to be considered dialects (Guthrie via Kamwangamalu 2001), but due to the regional factors and identity issues involved, these suggestions have not met with much enthusiasm by the speakers themselves, and were even regarded with suspicion as an attempted forced assimilation into more prominent societies. Identity and language cannot be easily separated, as according to Matthias Brenzinger, "Ethnic identities are an essential part of the societal reality in most African states, although often neglected by the governments" (88). South Africa's current acceptance and promotion of multilingualism goes against the policy of other African nations, who fear that allowing different languages and ethnicities would compromise their nation's unity, but the success, says Brenzinger, is in countries that allow a choice, "not forcing them to choose between different identities" (92). These identities would be threatened by being lumped together based on language classification rather than speaker distribution, but they are also threatened by encroaching Western languages and ideas as the dominant force, namely English.

English is not the majority language in South Africa by some degree, but it is widely spoken as a second language, so there is a high level of bilingual and multilingual people. This mix of languages presents a problem when it comes to education policy in the country, as it is not feasible to simply create fair distribution of schools for all 9 languages, and especially not one unbiased towards the dominant English language. The literacy rate in South Africa is relatively high, but currently all this means is that there are higher levels of English use. There is a large disparity between native English speakers and African students speaking English as a second language on international test scores, with only English native speakers scoring above average on reading tests of each language, and native speakers above other language speakers in English writing tests (Howie et al. 2008).

During apartheid times, each region was made responsible for its own people's education, which further separated the groups, but surprisingly enough, indigenous education was promoted and actually enforced during that period. The Bantu Education Act in 1953 stemmed partly from religion and politics and ended up with each 'mother-tongue' or native speaker forced to go to their mother-tongue schools as well as learn English and Afrikaans. The Act's influence extended to British and Dutch white children as well, as they were placed into English and Afrikaans schools, respectively. This separation created a two-fold effect: it boosted the prestige and position of white speaking children through schools and limited the opportunities of African children. Even the creator of the Bantu Education Act, Minister of Native Affairs Hendrik Verwoerd, was open about his goals in separating black and white children, with black children firmly below white on the scale with "no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor" (Verwoerd via Kamwangamalu 2001:228). While teaching in indigenous languages seems like it would strengthen and provide opportunities for speakers of those languages, in this case it was used actively against indigenous peoples, and could not continue in its former setting.

The education system understandably changed quite a bit after apartheid, and became compulsory instruction. While the system of teaching in native languages was kept, indigenous elementary school students now had a choice of which language to use in school, usually their native language, which actively promoted the use of indigenous languages in their home communities for the first years of primary education. Beyond the first few years, the language of instruction often changes to either English or Afrikaans with a choice of second language which is required for all students. In English language schools, English is learned as a first language and another of various languages is taught secondarily, whereas in Afrikaans-language schools the second language choice is usually English. The difference is that while indigenous languages speakers may enter into English schools, it is usually not the case for Afrikaans schools - they are all native speakers of Afrikaans. Therefore, they have less interest in learning an indigenous language over the more prominent English. But if a large enough number of students choose to learn an indigenous language, even if it is not their mother tongue, the school is required to offer it (Dyanati 2005).

Although African language students have the choice of being taught in their native language for the first few year, 80% of indigenous language students change their language to English or Afrikaans at grade 4 while continuing to learn their first language as well (Howie et al. 2008). This change is only among African students, as Afrikaans and English children are taught in their own languages without any pressure to be bilingual. Although it is an official policy to offer indigenous language schooling, schools are reluctant to teach indigenous languages due to lack of resources and little enforcement from the government. Even for Zulu, the most widely used language, there are little resources to teach the language for things like science

and math that are dominated by Western, English ideas and authors; and with the strong presence of English in the country it is less urgent to acquire these resources. This lack is a problem throughout the world, with English being the language of instruction and code-switching used in classroom situations between formal instruction of mathematics and informal speech (Vandeyar 2010). Although mathematics may seem language-neutral, the explanations and terminology that appear are hugely important in education, and so English is required. In a study by Vandeyar of students' tests in both English and an indigenous language, it was surprisingly reported that most English test-takers did better whether or not it was their first language. It was cited as due to students' illiteracy in their mother tongues which may have been caused by an early English focus. However, for a few students the indigenous testing was beneficial, so there may be some hope in using indigenous mathematics teaching (2010).

Many children simply go into English education without going through native-language schools first. Many parents want the best for their children and don't find indigenous languages beneficial, which can apply to both the schools and the languages themselves. English and Afrikaans (but mainly English) with their higher prestige offer better opportunities for students who are able to speak it proficiently, which goes back to the Bantu Education Act as it sabotaged the ability of many students to become proficient enough in English or Afrikaans to effectively participate in a white-dominant society. English as an international language is especially strong, as growing globalization provides English-speakers with a vastly larger amount of opportunities in modern times. These opportunities would prompt many parents to choose English schools for their children, but it is not the only reason. Stemming from apartheid era, many African language schools are simply not as good as their dominant language counterparts. Since Afrikaans and English schools were deemed more important, they received much of the Afrikaner government's benefits, and the indigenous schools have not all caught up. The schools' struggle can also be seen in the lack of resources discussed earlier. Many parents are choosing what is best for their students by sacrificing to some degree their native tongues. Indigenous languages are used in education, which makes them seem relatively safe, but they can still be classified as deprived in language use due to the continued dominance of English and Afrikaans (Bamgbose via Brenzinger 1995). This deprivation may be distressing to those concerned for indigenous languages, but at the same time "[m]any linguists... tend to forget that languages belong to their speakers, not to the language scholars" (Brenzinger 1995:88). No matter how much policy and how many good intentions go into educational language planning, given a choice, the language speakers will ultimately decide what works best.

Although the language policy in education was designed to promote indigenous languages, it could not stop their decline. Tshivenda and Xhosa actually lowered fractionally in percentage of speakers between 1996 and 2001, the period immediately following apartheid, proving that the new policy may not be doing anything good. English and Afrikaans use also decreased slightly, which discourage the argument that new accessibility to English would result in more speakers of that language, and other African languages with the exception of the majority language Zulu rose by less than 1% if at all (Statistics South Africa 8). However stagnant the situation may seem, there has been a change in recent years with another *push* to use African languages. Indigenous students often have poor English skills but also poor skills in their first language as well, so promoting language use would help support those communities that choose to send their children to English schools instead of their first language. This promotion would hopefully boost the status of the languages as well as keep them in use. According to one professor, "You can only learn other languages once you have mastered your mother tongue" (Janse van Rensberg via Dyanti 2005). Universities in South Africa are mainly English or Afrikaans, but are also starting to require students' knowledge of one indigenous language in order to comply with multilingual policy. Blade Nzimande, the Higher Education Minister of South Africa, was the main proponent of this, keeping English and Afrikaans as vital parts of education but working to prevent their use from crowding out the other official languages that are currently not used in tertiary education ("Nzimande" 2011).

South Africa's more economically prosperous status in comparison to the rest of Africa gives it more opportunity to revive its official languages, as it has been attempting to do. The educational policies, however flawed and ignored they may be, give a boost to the life expectancy of any of the 9 Bantu languages recognized by the country. As such, issues on language endangerment and death are generally focused on the more deprived parts of the continent - that is, everywhere else. In addition, it is not always an issue of minority languages as is usually the case for endangered languages, as Zulu is spoken by 23.8 percent of the population as compared to English's 8.2, with Sepedi and Xhosa between them in size as well, making at least 3 African languages the actual majority languages of the country (Statistics South Africa 12). But the 9 official Bantu languages are not the only African languages spoken in South Africa, as the Khoisan language group, unrelated to Bantu aside from lending clicks, are in more danger throughout Africa but also in South Africa where their non-official status does not give them the safety they need. Looking at the smallest Bantu language of Ndebele as an example, while it is still outnumbered by all other official languages, the number of speakers has actually grown when measured in the South African census from 1996 to 2001 (Statistics South Africa 2004). The Xiri language, on the other hand, had

only a recorded 87 speakers in 2000 (Moseley). It seems as if the South African government chose the indigenous languages that it would commit to preserving and abandoned the rest of what are truly minority languages, like Xiri. It is admirable enough that the effort is being taken to preserve so many of the indigenous languages, and some languages such as Xiri may not seem worth the effort of revitalization for so few speakers with so many other languages crowded into its peripheries. However, it could be argued that the officialization of the 9 languages changed them from endangered deprived languages to dominant oppressors, in a sense. While it should not hinder their rise in status, as they are still deprived in themselves, it is a good argument against condensing or reducing the amount of official languages. While it might reduce the tangle that is South African multilingualism, it may just doom the other languages to extinction without decent protection.

There is a huge and varied amount of information on South Africa's language situation since it came out of apartheid not too many years ago. It is difficult to get a complete picture of the situation in both education and multilingual policy, and also to look critically at the information presented. Due to the history of apartheid, South African languages are in a touchy situation, and that may be why it is so interesting a study, not just for its oppression but for its turnaround. It seems the most important that choice is offered in education and language use, but if that choice is the dominant language, what can be done for indigenous and minority languages? From looking at all sides of the issues and the concerns of all, it does look like a solution cannot be reached, but there are things that could help. For instance, having more available and more modernly relevant resources available for indigenous language schools could help keep indigenous language education thriving without any use of force. Recognizing English and Afrikaans' relationship to indigenous languages and also to each other is essential to keep a balance in status, without one language dominating the rest and also without intentionally depriving a language in order to advance another, which was a concern of Afrikaans. The last issue is what should change and what will change. Concerns about Afrikaans will most likely be addressed faster and given priority over those of indigenous languages, and so on down the list of languages in power, such as Zulu over Tshivenda.

South Africa has done much to overcome its history of apartheid and linguistic oppression. However, despite good intentions and pretty constitutional statements, English and Afrikaans continue to dominate schools and society in the country due to their higher prestige and global potential, even though most South Africans are not native English speakers. Indigenous languages are spoken by the vast majority, nearly all South Africans, and it is their languages that are being deprived as the gap between educational language policies and actualities result in higher illiteracy rates among indigenous language speakers and smaller numbers of non-English teaching schools. Lack of interest in indigenous languages prevents educational advancement, but lack of resources is also a real problem, one that probably has the best solution for balancing the power and opportunity of educational languages. Even with changes and reforms in language policies and practice in education, it is not enough to grant a language or languages equal status; it needs the ability to provide for its speakers in a global world.

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The Beauty of the Beast: The Seductive Role of Beast Characters in Contemporary Fairy Tales

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In various traditional fairy tales, furry, feathered, clawed, and even deadly characters maintain beast-like qualities in addition to human ones. While not all beasts may be ferocious and fearful, women usually characterized by delicate and stereotypically feminine forms, animalistic men tend to be grotesque and frightful. These male characters often exist as current or future husbands to the heroines of the stories, representing the fears and anxieties women might have felt before a marriage. However, in contemporary fairy tales, beasts are represented in a different way. Instead of symbolizing unsatisfactory husbands, they are being depicted in a more positive fashion. The traditional fear that heroines associate with beastly characters has transformed into a fascination with them, portraying them in a more idealized light, some women even acquiring animalistic characteristic themselves. Even though traditionally similar beastly husbands exist in contemporary stories, the representation and meaning of beasts has been altered.

In traditional tales, beasts were to be feared. Whether their beastly qualities were literal, such as in Madame de Beaumont's "Beauty and the Beast," or figurative, as in Charles Perrault's "Bluebeard," they were not ideal traits for men, or husbands for that matter (Tatar, The Classic Fairy Tales 27-28). A suspected purpose of these stories was to convey the feelings and emotions a woman might have before marrying an unknown husband. Arranged marriages were common and often caused feelings of anxiety and fear. Stories that include animal-groom characters likely provided an outlet for women to express their emotions. As Maria Tatar states, "many an arranged marriage must have seemed like a marriage to a beast and the telling of stories…may have furnished women with a socially acceptable channel for providing therapeutic advice, comfort, and consolation" (27). Beast figures were meant to represent terror and fear, whether through their exterior appearance, interior character, or even both, such as in the case of Giovanni Francesco Straparola's "The Pig King", a sixteenth century Italian fairy tale. In "The Pig King", the prince of a kingdom is born a pig and grows up in want of a wife. Not only is he described as "dirty and ill-savored" by his own mother, but he also ends up murdering the women that he marries (Straparola 44). A murderous pig-man is not a desirable husband. The use of this character therefore represents women's anxieties about acquiring an equally unsatisfying husband. While not all traditional beasts are defined by horrifying personality traits, their exterior appearance still makes them fearful creatures. For example, in de Beaumont's "Beauty and the Beast", even though Beast is described as being a "horrible figure" and a "monster", a more tender and human side of him is shown through his actions around Beauty. These positive features of Beast can be exemplified through Beauty's own thoughts of him: "each day Beauty discovered new good qualities in the monster…far from fearing his arrival, she often looked at her watch to see if it was nine o'clock yet" (Beaumont 39). Nevertheless, even though Beast does have kind qualities, they are humanistic traits, not animal ones. His beastly characteristics are unfavorable, even if he is not portrayed in a completely negative light as a whole.

Beast characters continue to be found in contemporary fairy tales; however the reaction that heroines have to them differs from original versions. The traditional fear of beasts is often replaced with fascination and curiosity. Instead of being repelled by the characters, the women, or girls, are drawn to them. Marina Warner further emphasizes this point through her statement, "the attraction of the wild, and of the wild brother in twentieth-century culture, cannot be overestimated" (Warner, qtd. in Tatar, The Classic Fairy Tales 29). The girls are not repelled by the savage and dangerous beasts, instead finding their wild ferocity appealing. Angela Carter's "The Company of Wolves" demonstrates how typically terrifying characters can be found enticing. In the story, the were-wolf is unquestionably a beastly character, shown though his ability to take on the form of a wolf and his display of murderous tendencies. Carter illustrates his beastly qualities through the desciription, "his feral muzzle is sharp as a knife…his matted hair streams down his white shirt…with darkness tangled in his hair", portraying intimidating and animal-like characteristics (Carter 116). However, despite this description, which would have likely caused terror in traditional fairy tale heroines, the girl in "The Company of Wolves" shows no fear. Even when she realizes that he has eaten her grandmother and that she is in danger, she is not repelled by the wolf (117). The girl's indifference is also apparent when the wolf threatens to eat her, and she responds in the following way: "the girl burst out and laughed; she knew she was nobody's meat. She laughed at him full in the face" (118). There is no fear triggered by the beast character, instead, she is attracted to the were-wolf, despite knowing what dangers he is capable of. She even ends up sleeping peacefully in her dead grandmother's bed "between the paws of the tender wolf" (118), showing how, to the girl, the ferocious animalistic world is more appealing than the civilized human one.

Helen Oyeyemi also shows how female characters can find allure in beasts in her novel, Mr. Fox. The character of Mr. Fox, while not an entirely traditional one, is a beast character. The fact that he kills off all the women in his stories, coupled with his name, alluding to Joseph Jacob's "Mr. Fox", establishes him as a Bluebeard-like character. Additionally, while he may not take on

an animal appearance or actually portray murderous tendencies himself, he still displays a particular characteristic that was central to traditional beast characters: the inability to serve as a sufficient husband. Jack Zipes explains that "the instinctual desire to select a male who will be the best provider and caretaker of the female's offspring" is crucial to women (Zipes Why Fairy Tales Stick 140). Traditional beast characters, through their animalistic qualities, served as male figures that did not fit this ideal. While most do not have to worry about arranged marriages, contemporary Western women do still have fears about their husbands. One of these concerns is the fear that a man will leave his wife for another woman, Mr. Fox evoking these worries in his wife, Daphne, through his questionable relationship with Mary Foxe. Oyeyemi's Mr. Fox is, therefore, a culturally relevant beast character for modern women's worries. However, even though Daphne is concerned about his relationship with Mary, she continues to be drawn to him. Instead of confronting him about Mary or being repelled by his behavior, she is unable to stop herself from rummaging through his office in seek of insight into his behavior (Oyeyemi 231). Despite his negative characteristics, both Mary and Daphne continue to be attracted to Mr. Fox.

The fascination with contemporary beast characters relates to the theme of pleasure being coupled with pain. While pain is usually associated with negative feelings, it can also be coupled with positive ones. It is possible "that one may be attracted to something while at the same time experiencing negative emotions, such as disgust and anxiety" (Goldstein 4). This theme is relevant to beasts of contemporary fairy tales as, though their characteristics do elicit negative feelings, they are coupled with excitement and satisfaction. Take, for example, Carter's "The Erl-King", where a female character is captivated by a forest dwelling being. Although it is stated that the Erl-King is dangerous, she is attracted to him. At one point, she is even physically harmed by him: "and now – ach! I feel your sharp teeth in the subaqueous depths of your kisses. The equinoctial gales seize the bare elms and make them whizz and whirl like dervishes; you sink your teeth into my throat and make me scream" (Carter 88). Even though the Erl-King is painfully sinking his teeth into the girl's neck, there is still a sexual and pleasurable feel to the action. These emotions are also evoked shortly after when he strips her naked. Despite the pain he causes and the danger he presents, she still speaks of him in a positive way, daydreaming of them waltzing together or speaking of how she gets lost in his green eyes (89-90). While she eventually realizes what harm he intends to inflict upon her, for most of the story, despite what the Erl-king does, she describes her experience as a positive one.

There is a certain excitement that accompanies breaking rules and entering forbidden and dangerous situations, like having a relationship with a beast. In many fairy tales, contemporary and traditional, there are warnings given that, instead averting characters, entices them. While one would normally associate a murderous husband with fear and find a quiet, normal life more appealing, this typical view is not portrayed in Carter's "The Bloody Chamber". The heroine of the story seems much more excited and appeased when she is married to the murderous marquis, versus the flat and dull description of her life after he is defeated. Tatar states that "the contents of the bloody chamber may have been buried or burned and its door may have been sealed, but its Gothic horrors stubbornly remain the real source of narrative pleasure" (Tatar, Secrets beyond the Door 118). Beasts offer a surreal excitement that contemporary heroines are aware of. Instead of finding dangerous and savage beasts fearful, they are almost more appealing than humans.

This fascination with beasts and the way that characters are drawn to them places the animalistic figures in a more positive light than in traditional stories. There are less negative traits associated with them and, in many cases, being a beast is idealized over being human. Often times, the civilized world is less glorified than the savage one, characters preferring to break free from domestic constraints and join in with wild freedom. This is shown in Carter's "Tiger's Bride" where, rather than the beast turning into a human, the human turns into a beast (Carter 67). This transformation is a stark contrast to traditional beast stories where, if anyone takes on a different form, it is the beast turning into a human. As "The Tiger's Bride" demonstrates, this is not always the case in contemporary tales and, instead, "Beauty stands in need of the Beast rather than vice versa" (Warner, qtd. in Tatar, The Classic Fairy Tales 29). There is a positive emphasis placed on uncivilized beasts as human characters give into the savage world. Carter provides another story where this is demonstrated: "The Company of Wolves". After the girl strips naked and throws her clothes into the fire, it is stated that she "will lay his [the wolf's] fearful head on her lap and she will pick out the lice from his pelt and perhaps she will put the lice into her mouth and eat them, as he will bid her, as she would do in a savage marriage ceremony" (Carter 118). By removing her clothes and committing animalistic acts, she not only accepts the wolf's wild ferocity but takes on beast-like characteristics herself. As Tatar explains, "while eighteenth- and nineteenth-century versions of the tale celebrated the civilizing power of feminine virtue and its triumph over crude animal desire, our own culture hails Beast's heroic defiance of civilization, with all its discontents" (Tatar, The Classic Fairy Tales 29). Beasts are no longer something to be feared but something to aspire to be.

In contemporary fairy tales, female characters are not only fascinated and attracted to beasts but also exist as these characters themselves. Female beasts are not only portrayed in a soft and delicate manner like in traditional tales. Instead, they adopt many typically masculine beast-like characteristics. For example, in Margaret Atwood's

The Robber Bride, the character of Zenia represents a very ferocious female beast character. While she may not have supernatural beast-characteristics, she does cause great fear and anxiety in Tony, Roz, and Charis' lives. Her ruthless qualities are evident in the following quote: "it's the mix of domestic image and mass-bloodshed…that would have been appreciated by Zenia, who enjoyed such turbulence, such violent contradictions. More than enjoyed: created" (Atwood 3). The use of words like "mass-bloodshed," "turbulence," and "violent," as well as her enjoyment of creating turmoil, establish her as a beast character from the very beginning pages. It does not matter that Zenia is a woman, she goes against traditional fairy tale convention and assumes the role of a beast. This can also be shown in another modern Bluebeard story, John Updike's "Bluebeard in Ireland". Even though the Bluebeard character is male, dreaming up ways of how to kill his wife, his spouse almost seems to be more of a beast than he is (Updike 405). She is portrayed in a negative fashion, being over reactive, controlling, and even unattractive to him. Although he does harbor negative traits of his own, her personality is more unpleasant than his. Women do not only serve as beasts of stories, but also offer ferocious qualities of their own to match male beast characters . For instance, in Carter's "The Bloody Chamber", the girl's mother does not take on a stereotypically feminine docile and gentle role, but instead saves her daughter from death in a description that makes her seem just as fearful as Bluebeard himself: "you never saw such a wild thing as my mother, her hat seized by the winds and blown out to sea so that her hair was a white mane, her black lisle legs exposed to the thigh, her skirts tucked round her waist, one hand on the reins of the rearing horse while the other clasped my father's service revolver" (Carter 40). While she may not be a beast character, she does present equally ferocious characteristics. By embrassing beast-like traits of their own, female characters in contemporary fairy tales are able to maintain more dominant roles than ones traditionally given to women. Zipes specifies that, "one of the qualitatively distinguishing features of the fairy tale in America during the past twenty-five years has been the manner in which it has questioned gender roles and critiqued the patriarchal code that has been so dominant in both folk and fairy tales" (Zipes, "Recent Trends in the Contemporary American Fairy Tale" 3). Women are no longer always portrayed as being stereotypically feminine, delicate, and even submissive characters, instead taking on stronger, ferocious, and even terrifying roles. In some sense, the beast-like characteristics they represent serve as an example of strength for other women to adopt and to be able to match the beasts in their lives with their own ferocious qualities.

While contemporary fairy tales include beast characters, like in traditional ones, they are integrated in the stories in a very different manner. While these figures possess terrifying traits, modern heroines find this fascinating and even pleasurable rather than fearful. Furthermore, women themselves encompass beast-like traits as well, serving as female forms of monsters and ferocious animals that are not typical of original tales. Fairy tales are reflective of their cultures and therefore expected to change and transform to fit new ideas and perspectives. While the beast characters in contemporary fairy tales may not express women's worry of arranged marriages, like in traditional ones, they do serve the same core purpose: to express feelings and ideas that are culturally relevant of the time.

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What Price, the Soul?: Examining Consumerism Through Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics

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In today's consumer society, we often seem to equate freedom with the ability to choose from a range of products, each of which promises to satisfy some desire. The Cold War is over, and freedom has triumphed. The spread of democracy is celebrated as new markets open up. The vanguards of capitalism claim fresh territory: a McDonald's restaurant opens in Beijing, a KFC in Moscow. At long last the people of the world are free to take part in the important decisions that rule our daily lives: Coke or Pepsi? Nike or Adidas? Burger King or Pizza Hut?

On the edges of civilization, however, lone voices still question the orders of the day. Not content to follow fads, to leap after bargains and shop their blues away, these mad souls mutter amongst themselves: Surely there must be more to freedom than this mad rush to consume, this mindless, ruthless competition for baubles and trinkets. They turn away from the bright lights of the shopping malls, the flickering screens of the home shopping networks and the all-you-can-eat buffets of the endless, bustling marketplace. No, they whisper to the throngs of endless, unheeding buyers. You are not free. You are slaves, all of you: slaves to your desires.

Yet if these voices are right, and our way of life is not the expression of a truly free society – if there is more to freedom than simply this "pursuit of happiness," as acted out in the struggle for wealth and the exercise of purchasing power – what then? Might there be some other form that freedom could take, and some other means of dealing with our multitudinous desires? Perhaps, in such a rapidly changing world, it may be worth our while to take a step back, and to investigate some older notions about freedom, human nature and, particularly, desire. This paper will use the writings of some ancient Greek and Roman philosophers as a lens through which to examine these modern problems of consumerism and desire.

The Factions of the Soul

In the Republic, Plato seeks to uncover the true nature of the human soul, that he might know what makes us virtuous or just. Plato describes the soul as being composed of three parts or elements: the reason, the appetite, and the spirit. The reason is "the element in the soul with which it calculates," the appetite is that "with which it feels passion, hungers, thirsts, and is stirred by other appetites," while the spirited element is that "with which we feel anger" (439d-e). In this light, when we look at the ways consumer culture entices us to act, it seems to be largely through appeals to the appetite. Fast food restaurants and vending machines stocked with empty calories offer instant gratification of our sensations of hunger and thirst, and advertisers appeal to our desires for sex and love to sell us everything from sports cars to body spray, from deodorant to lingerie.

Plato describes an internal struggle between these elements for control of our souls, and thence our behavior. Plato notes that "some people are thirsty sometimes, yet unwilling to drink," citing this as evidence that "there is an element in their soul urging them to drink, and also one stopping them – something different that masters the one doing the urging" (439c). Our appetites may tempt us to eat unhealthy foods, enticing us with the pleasurable sensations of sweet tastes and rich textures. Our reason, however, may remind us of the eventual negative consequences of such indulgences. Each time we overcome our gluttonous urges, then, it represents a victory for reason in the struggle for our souls.

Plato sees the proper role of the spirit as giving assistance to the reason, helping it overcome our appetites. He notes that "when appetite forces someone contrary to his rational calculation, he reproaches himself and feels anger at the thing in him that is doing the forcing; and just as if there were two warring factions, such a person's spirit becomes the ally of his reason" (440b). Thus our feelings of guilt when we succumb to the temptation to indulge in junk food, or to purchase luxuries we can't afford, can be seen as manifestations of this spirited element in our souls. Although the reason is calculating and unemotional, we sometimes experience our emotions exhorting us to heed the conclusions of reason. This regulative urge, Plato suggests, is the voice of the spirit, rushing to the aid of the reason.

Plato seems to hold that this spirited element always allies itself with reason in this way: "But spirit partnering with the appetites to do what reason has decided should not be done – I do not imagine you would say you had ever seen that, either in yourself or anyone else" (440 b). If we were to view the spirit as simply the emotional aspect of our personalities, it would be easy to disagree with this statement, as consumerism often plays on our emotions to sell its products against our better judgment. Sentimentality may prompt us to buy exorbitantly priced jewelry. Irrational hope sells millions of lottery tickets every year. Fear is a particularly powerful sales tool: After the 9/11 attacks, panicked consumers cleared the stores of duct-tape and plastic sheets to seal off windows against poison gas – an irrational response to be sure, but one which consumer culture was quick to exploit.

However, such an easy identification of "spirit" with "emotion" would be a misreading of Plato's intent. Importantly, Plato does not simply bundle all of our emotions into the spirited element. "Passion," for instance, is named as part of the appetitive element. It is only anger that Plato specifically identifies with spirit. Guilt and shame, then, might be seen as a form of self-directed anger, and a means of controlling our appetites.

This account of the spirit, which sets anger apart from passion and the other appetites, would almost seem to make anger uniquely free from outside influence, although subject to our inner reason.

However, even if anger is not partnered to other appetites, neither is it always necessarily allied to reason. Certainly, we are all capable of behaving irrationally in the grip of anger, and doing things that we later regret. Even if the spirit exists as a separate category from hunger, thirst, sadness, joy, and other feelings, it must still have a certain independence from the reason. Thus, this "spirited element" may also be susceptible to manipulation, becoming a means of controlling us and channeling our impulses into consumptive desires. Violent movies and video games are some examples of products which appeal to sensations of anger. Albums of aggressive music might be another. Indeed, even underground cultures such as punk rock, born out of a sense of alienation and anger, can quickly become products to be packaged and sold, with spike bracelets and brightly colored hair dyes being sold at shopping malls. In such cases, the spirit seems to be led astray from that which Plato saw as its proper function. Rather than an ally of reason against the temptation of the appetite, the spirit becomes simply one more competing desire among many, clamoring to be fulfilled through consumer purchases, with reason left alone and unaided to mediate and choose between them.

Lifestyles of the Reasonable & Temperate

For Plato, the healthy soul is one in which the reason reigns supreme, with the spirit acting as its loyal lackey to dominate the appetites. Such a rational and wise soul, Plato believed, would be best equipped to choose the proper pleasures for a healthy and well-balanced life. Plato held that only a few people, those who are both well-educated and born with naturally rational souls, could ever achieve this type of life, saying that "the pleasures, pains, and appetites that are simple and moderate, the ones that are led by rational calculation with the aid of understanding and correct belief, you would find in those few people who are born with the best natures and receive the best education" (431d).

Plato describes the life of such a wise person as one in which the reason, rather than the appetites, rules our decisions. Rather than "surrendering rule over himself to whatever desire comes along" (561b), the wise person should live a life of temperance: "As for the appetitive element, he neither starves nor overfeeds it, so it will slumber and not disturb the best element with its pleasure or pain but will leave it alone, just by itself and pure, to investigate and reach out for the perception of something... that it does not know." Because the reason is the best part of the soul, Plato teaches, and the pursuit of knowledge is the best activity, we should pander to our desires just enough to quiet them. In our modern society, perhaps this calmness could be sought by using reason to evaluate the claims advertisers make about their products and seeking out those offers which can quickly and efficiently soothe our clamoring appetites. Then, with these appetites no longer competing with our reason for control of the soul, we can engage in the truly good life of philosophical contemplation.

Our consumer society, however, seems geared not towards this quiet satisfaction, but instead encourages us to seek out ever more desires to satisfy. The greater the range of products available to us, the more desires we are able to pander to, the higher our standard of living is said to be. Consumer culture, with its multitude of products and experiences for sale, seems designed to cater to that which Plato called the "democratic soul." Of the person possessed of such a soul, he wrote:

> He lives from day to day, gratifying the appetite of the moment. Sometimes he drinks heavily while listening to the flute, while at others he drinks only water and is on a diet. Sometimes he goes in for physical training, while there are others where he is idle and neglects everything... There is neither order nor necessity in his life, yet he calls it pleasant, free, and blessedly happy, and follows it throughout his entire life (561c-d).

To put it in modern terms, sometimes he signs up for a gym membership, other times he pigs out on Twinkies. Of course, if such a "democratic soul" is happy, then it seems hard to see why the life of reason would be preferable. Why not surrender to the siren song of consumerism, simply allowing our reason to guide our selections while living in service to the desire of the moment?

Desire is the Mover of the Soul

Aristotle believed that the human soul was composed of various abilities or "potentialities," with desire existing as one of these parts of the soul. In De Anima, his examination of the human soul, Aristotle divides the soul into a number of these potentialities, such as "nutrition, perception, desire, locomotion and understanding" (414a 30), with reason serving as a sort of culmination of the highly developed soul: "Finally and most rarely, some have reasoning and understanding. For perishable things that have reasoning also have all the other parts of the soul; but not all of those that have each of the other parts also have reasoning" (415a 10).

In examining what motivates human actions, however, Aristotle found that it was not this most highly developed and uniquely human aspect of our souls that causes our behavior, but rather our desire. Aristotle acknowledged that, at first glance, we may sometimes seem to act based on pure reason: "There are apparently two parts that move us – both intellect and desire" (433a). Here he separates the intellect or reason into two parts, that which "reasons for some goal and is concerned with action," which is distinguished from the "theoretical intellect" by this concern for a goal (433a 15). While the theoretical intellect may be content to

simply contemplate abstract knowledge, the other part of the intellect, which contemplates objects of desire, demands action. Thus it may seem that there are several elements of the soul involved in moving us to act: "Hence it is reasonable to regard these two things – desire, and thought concerned with action – as the movers. For the object of desire moves us, and thought moves us because its starting point is the object of desire" (433a 20).

However, Aristotle concludes that it is only through its connection to desire that our intellect actually moves us to act: "And so there is one mover, the desiring part… [I]ntellect evidently does not move anything without desire, since wish is a form of desire, and any motion in accordance with reasoning is in accordance with wish; desire, on the other hand, also moves us against reasoning, since appetite is a kind of desire" (433a 20). The fact that we are able to want things despite our reason telling us not to, like junk food and cigarettes, is evidence that desire can exist in us independent of reason. However, whenever our reason leads us toward a goal, even one which runs contrary to our appetites, we find ourselves wishing for the attainment of the goal. Thus Aristotle finds that the part of our intellect that produces action cannot function autonomously from the desiring part of our soul. Ultimately, our every action must begin with our soul's potential for desire.

Aristotle writes that "in every case the mover is the object of desire, but the object of desire is either the good or the apparent good" (433a 25) and, furthermore, that "intellect is always correct, but desire and appearance may be correct or incorrect" (433a 25). This statement certainly sounds promising; if the intellect is always correct, might this mean that our "thought concerned with action" can lead us unfailingly to the good, regardless of consumer culture's attempts to manipulate our appetites and emotions? Unfortunately, Aristotle says not. The "intellect" he refers to here seems to be the theoretical part of the understanding, that which deals with purely abstract knowledge, as he says elsewhere that "in the case of things without matter, the understanding part and the object are one, since actual knowledge and its object are one" (430a 5). Appearance, on the other hand, as "that in virtue of which some object appears to us" (428a), is that part of the understanding which draws conclusions about objects in the world – things with matter. An "incorrect" appearance, then, would be a conclusion, drawn from a perception, that does not properly represent the thing it is a perception of. Thus, if we are presented incorrect appearances, such as deceptive advertisements or false promises about the effects its wares might have on our lives, then consumerism may lead us to have "incorrect desires" by misleading our understanding.

Aristotle refers to the ultimate object of our desires as being an "unmoved mover." He writes: "There are two types of movers: the unmoved mover and the moved mover. The unmoved mover is the good achievable in action, and the moved mover is the desiring part; for the thing that is moved is moved insofar as it desires, and desire, insofar as it is actual, is a sort of motion" (433b 15). The "good," as the object of our desire, is unaffected and unchanged by our desire for it. We, on the other hand, including that part of our soul which desires, are altered and moved by our desires. Thus that which we desire has power over us, and is able to move us. We, however, at least in Aristotle's conception, seem powerless to affect our desires.

This conclusion makes consumerism's seeming ability to shape our desires profoundly unsettling. If our every act is motivated by our desires, then control over our desires confers control over our lives, and even our very souls. If consumer culture really does control our desires, then it would have the potential to rule us completely; we would be all but defenseless against it and entirely at its mercy. Surely, it would be meaningless to speak of freedom when our every action is determined by something we are powerless to affect. And yet, might it be able to use this power for good? If consumer culture can truly lead us to our heart's desire, perhaps we should surrender ourselves to this despotic ruler, and allow its control over our lives to go uncontested.

People Just Want to be Happy

In his Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle addresses the question of how people ought to live by examining "the good," the common object of all of our desires. Aristotle identifies this good with happiness, noting that, while we may sometimes be guided by other motivations as well, this desire to be happy is always present: "Honor, pleasure, understanding and every virtue we certainly choose because of themselves, since we would choose each of them even if it had no further result, but we also choose them for the sake of happiness, supposing that through them we shall be happy" (1097b). When we do something because it is honorable, it is because we think that honor will bring us happiness; when we do something because it is pleasurable, it is because we think that physical pleasure makes us happy. This desire for happiness, then, is at the center of what it means to be human.

Consumer culture promises to provide us with this elusive happiness, so long as we can afford to pay. Advertising is filled with images of smiling, happy people. *Buy this product*, the voice of the culture whispers, *and you can be this happy too*. Yet even the wealthy, conspicuous consumers, who can afford the most sumptuous lifestyles, the widest array of products, and the highest rates of consumption, still seem to be plagued with unhappiness. Alongside the purchases of designer handbags and expensive wines, their credit card bills list antidepressants and visits to therapists.

Where, then, have these unhappy winners of the social competition gone wrong? Aristotle writes that "happiness is the activity of the soul expressing complete virtue" (1100a 5). This happiness, as an activity, is not simply the fleeting and momentary joy that we get from an individual purchase or experience: "For one swallow

does not make a spring, nor does one day; nor similarly does one day or a short time make us blessed and happy" (1098a 20). Likewise, it is not a goal that, once obtained, can be held onto: "[Happiness] is not a state. For if it were, someone might have it and yet be asleep for his whole life, living the life of a plant, or suffer the greatest misfortunes" (1176a). The truly happy person, Aristotle believes, is the person whose virtuous soul leads them, time and time again, to the correct behavior – the virtuous path – regarding every pleasure and pain. This virtuous path is a sort of middle road, a correct indulgence which guides us in choosing rationally just how much to indulge ourselves: "Virtue, then, is a state that decides... the mean relative to us, which is defined relative to reason... It is a mean between two vices, one of excess and one of deficiency" (1107a).

Thus, when consumer culture offers to satisfy our desires, perhaps our proper response would be to calculate just how much indulgence is reasonable in each case. Faced with our modern culture's arsenal of competing desires, Aristotle's mean might have us act as responsible consumers, planning our budgets carefully, counting our calories and saving up for unassuming package-deal vacations. This rationing of desire still leaves us at the mercy of consumerism, however. Reason determines how far we go down any path, but our desires determine our direction. We are left like train engineers, perhaps able to control the speed of our lives,but unable to travel outside of the tracks which our desires lay down for us. Is this life of thrift, spent in pursuit of the virtuous mean, neither too much nor too little, and ultimately determined by something outside us, really the best we can hope for?

Freedom From Desire

For the Stoic philosophers, desire was something to be avoided, a distraction which interfered with our living a good life. The best way of life, they believed, was one which is free of internal strife, a goal best achieved by living in harmony with our basic natures. The Roman historian Diogenes Laertius wrote of the Stoics: "They say that an animal's first [or primary] impulse is to preserve itself, because nature made it congenial to itself from the beginning, as Chrysippus says in book one of On Goals, stating that for every animal its first [sense of] congeniality is to its own constitution and the reflective awareness of this" (Reeve 369). Where Aristotle felt that humans' primary drive was to be happy, the Stoics instead found the instinct towards simple self-preservation to be more fundamental. Diogenes continued, "The Stoics claim that what some people say is false, viz. That the primary [or first] impulse of animals is to pleasure. For they say that pleasure is, if anything, a byproduct that supervenes when nature itself, on its own, seeks out and acquires what is suitable to [the animal's] constitution" (369). Thus our pleasure is a result of our desire to persist and thrive. Our hunger leads us to eat, and our thirst to drink, simply because these are necessary to our continued survival.

Like Aristotle and Plato, the Stoics recognized the human capacity for rational thought as setting us apart from other animals. As Diogenes writes, "[w]hen reason has been given to rational animals as a more perfect governor [of life], then for them the life according to reason properly becomes what is natural for them" (370). Because this ability to reason is an important aspect of our human nature, it becomes an important factor in determining our proper course in life: "Therefore the goal becomes to "live consistently with nature", i.e., according to one's own nature and that of the universe, doing nothing which is forbidden by the common law, which is right reason, penetrating all things... And this itself is the virtue of the happy man and a smooth flow of life" (370).

Of course, in both Plato's and Aristotle's view, desire and appetite were part and parcel of our basic natures, albeit parts which should properly be subjugated to the reason. To the Stoics, however, the very presence of certain desires were seen as corruptions of the soul: "As there are said to be ailments in the body, such as gout and arthritis, so too in the soul there are love of reputation and love of pleasure and the like. For an ailment is a disease coupled with weakness and a disease is a strong opinion about something which seems to be worth choosing" (371). Interestingly, these are two tendencies which consumerism seems particularly adept at manipulating: love of reputation drives us to spend money beyond our means on expensive status symbols, while love of pleasure leads us to neglect our health in favor of bad food, alcohol, cigarettes and other guilty pleasures. Thus the Stoic attitude suggests that consumerism's appeals speak loudest to unhealthy souls. A healthy soul, on the other hand, would be better able to resist such appeals.

The Stoic attitude also rejects the materialism which pervades consumer culture, in which we identify our success in life with the quality of our possessions. In his work The Handbook, the Roman Stoic philosopher Epictetus cautions us: "Do not be joyful about any superiority that is not your own. If the horse were to say joyfully, "I am beautiful," one could almost put up with it. But certainly you, when you say joyfully, "I have a beautiful horse," are joyful about the good of the horse (6). To a Stoic, when we think we are 'cool' because we drive a cool car or wear cool clothes, we are mistaken. Any 'coolness' present in a car remains a property of the car, not the owner, and it is futile to think that such a property might 'rub off' onto a person's true self, their soul.

For a Stoic, the proper path through life is one which rejects desire and denies the appetites. Epictetus cautions us against the negative consequences of desire: "Remember, what a desire proposes is that you gain what you desire, and what an aversion proposes is that you not fall into what you are averse to. Someone who fails to get what he desires in unfortunate... for the time being eliminate desire completely, since if you desire something that is not up to us, you are bound to be

unfortunate, and at the same time none of the things that are up to us, which it would be good to desire, will be available to you" (2). The only reason we ever encounter bad fortune, Epictetus tells us, is that we desire things which we then fail to obtain. If we refuse to play the game, we will never lose; by ridding ourselves of desire, we also rid ourselves of all disappointment and sense of failure. To paraphrase Epictetus' position with a few modern cliches, we should step out of the rat race, stop trying to keep up with the Joneses, and make lemonade out of whatever lemons life gives us.

In his writings on the Greek Stoics, Diogenes tells us that "They say the wise man is also free of passions, because he is not disposed to them.... And they say that all virtuous men are austere because they do not consort with pleasure nor do they tolerate hedonistic [actions and attitudes] from others" (Reeve 371). By refusing to succumb to the temptations of pleasure, a wise person becomes free to live in accord with their own rational nature: "He alone is free, and the base men are slaves, for freedom is the authority to act on one's own, while slavery is the privation of [the ability] to act on one's own" (372). Once we are no longer controlled by our desires, then the external control exerted on us by the objects of our desires can be replaced with true self-control, making us the masters of our own destinies.

The Liberation of Desire

For Plato, the proper course of action when confronted with desire is to "neither starve nor overfeed it," but to seek out simple and moderate pleasures with which to placate our appetites, letting us get on with our intellectual pursuits. Similarly, for Aristotle, the ideal path is to find the "golden mean" which separates virtue from vice, indulging in any pleasures to the extent that our reason tells us we are neither "deficient" nor "excessive." In both these interpretations, it may be possible to live a good life in a consumer society which manufactures desires, so long as the reason is free to guide us in a limited indulgence. Of course, such a course may be difficult, with our appetites constantly being tempted and thus threatening to overwhelm our reason.

For the Stoics, however, our best course of action would be non-participation in consumer society. Our desires, the Stoics feel, can only enslave us and lead us astray. It even seems likely that today's consumer society, by seeking to fulfill every desire and pander to every appetite, would be considered horribly misguided by the Stoic philosopher. The Stoic, rejecting "love of reputation," would probably not seek to convince the rest of us to join in this austere lifestyle, but would rather opt out of society in general, perhaps observing silently, judging us and suppressing their pity for our lost and decadent souls. However, this freedom to sit on the sidelines seems a hollow sort of freedom: merely a freedom to do nothing at all. Meanwhile, consumer culture remains the only game in town.

What all three of these ancient philosophies share is a concept of human nature that is fixed and unchanging. In my view, this is a limitation which ultimately prevents any of them from being truly useful in envisioning a way of living that might allow us to move beyond our current consumer society. What is needed today is not simply a conception of desire as an inevitable evil, to be dominated by the reason or rejected outright. Rather, what is needed is a way to redefine our desires on our own terms.

There is a conception of freedom that is not merely the ability to act or to choose, but to be self-determined. If we are to be truly free, to control our own lives and determine for ourselves whether or not we will be happy, and what that happiness will entail, then we must seize control of that which controls us. We must learn to move the unmoved mover. Rather than accepting the "good" for which we strive as some fixed point, determined by nature, to which we can only relate as passive subjects, we must learn to freely decide just what it is we wish to strive for – not merely in terms of competing products, but in terms of the very values which make us strive. Instead of simply satisfying or denying our externally conditioned desires, we should seek to decide for ourselves what constitutes a worthwhile desire, and what the aim of our lives should be. When we fail to take responsibility for our desires in this way, we leave ourselves open to be defined by the desires of others, be they advertisers or ideologues.

By redefining our desires, we may even be able to redefine ourselves. Instead of simply settling for the reasonable consumption of goods, perhaps we can begin to reshape ourselves into our own conception of the good. This task, however, seems to be one which lies outside the realm of ancient philosophy. Such a task will require new tools, and a new way of viewing human nature: not as predetermined, but as raw material, ours to be shaped. Of course, such a project is necessarily open-ended, and it is difficult to say where it might lead. However, one thing is clear: such a liberation requires a conception of the good life that does not center on the mere purchase of objects. The freedom to control our own desires, and thereby our own lives, can never spring from a mindless compulsion to consume. Rather, we must set out guided by a different, equally fundamental desire: the ever-present human need to create.

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Germany's Rocket Development in World War II

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Many important technological innovations came about during World War II as a consequence of each side trying to gain an advantage over the other. Examples of this include radar, sonar, the atomic bomb, and ballistic missiles. These missiles in the form of *the German V2* were first deployed on September 7, 1944. This paper will explain the events that led up to the deployment of this new weapon system. This paper will be largely a literature review as my research has relied primarily on Michael Neufeld's *The Rocket and the Reich*; it covers in detail many aspects of my research. In my assessment, rockets were originally conceived as a replacement for, and improvement on, long-range artillery. Their proponents hoped that the sudden deployment of these rockets could so demoralize the enemy as to bring about a quick victory. In the end, however, the V2s were much too inefficient a weapon to have any appreciable impact on the war.

During the few good years of the late 1920s, the Weimar Republic was in the midst of a spaceflight obsession. This fascination is described by Michael Neufeld in *The Rocket and the Reich*. In 1929, a movie about a voyage to the moon, *Frau im Mond* (The Woman in the Moon), was playing in Berlin. Newspapers were announcing the imminent launch of a high-altitude rocket that was planned as a publicity stunt for the movie. In the preceding years, various somewhat bizarre and dangerous demonstrations with black powder rockets attached to bicycles, automobiles, and even a railroad car were performed. Particularly headline grabbing were racecar stunts performed by the heir to the Opel car company fortune, Fritz von Opel. The catalyst for this fad had been the publication, in 1923, of the book *Die Rakete zu den Planetenräumen* (The Rocket into Interplanetary Space) by Hermann Oberth, a German living in Transylvania. In this book, Oberth had described various methods for achieving manned spaceflight. Of particular significance was his mathematical demonstration that a liquid fuel rocket using liquid oxygen and alcohol would be much more powerful than the conventional black powder rockets. Only after this work was discovered by Max Valier, an Austrian writer and supposed astronomer, did it receive any widespread attention. Valier began what can only be described as an aggressive public relations tour. He wrote numerous articles and delivered speeches in which he touted the ideas of Oberth. It should be noted that Oberth's ideas were not unique to him. The American Robert Goddard and the Russian Konstantin Tsiolkovsky had also come to many of the same conclusions. However, their work was hard to get access to; either being hidden in obscure publications or else written in rather ambiguous fashion. Unbeknownst to most people at the time, Goddard had successfully launched a liquid fueled rocket in 1926. By the late 1920s, space travel had ceased to be a crazy idea on the fringes of society. The rigorous theoretical work of Oberth together with the boisterous attention grabbing of Valier had made the concept acceptable to the German public.[1] All of the speculation and excitement about rocketry did not remain merely a phenomenon of popular culture.

Lieutenant Colonel Karl Becker of the German Army Ordnance Office had taken an interest in rockets. In particular, he was interested in the possibility of using solid fuel rockets as a delivery method for chemical weapons on the battlefield.[2] It is interesting to note that this idea had actually been discussed by Oberth in the 1929 version of his book. However, his delivery system consisted of a large intercontinental ballistic missile powered by liquid fuel. For his part, he felt that it would be impractical, because of the difficulty of targeting the missiles, for at least two decades.[3] There is some debate among historians as to whether the omission of rockets in the Versailles Treaty made the German army particularly interested in their use as weapons. Walter Dornberger, the head of the rocket development group from its inception, makes this argument in his article *The German V2*.[4] Neufeld argues that this was of secondary importance to the Treaty's prohibition on heavy artillery. He points to Becker's idea of using rockets in chemical warfare, which was prohibited by the Versailles treaty, as evidence that legality was not particularly important to him. In addition, he notes that the German army was conducting secret research into all sorts of banned weapons in Germany and other countries like the Soviet Union. It was thought that sufficiently powerful rockets could replace long-range and short-range artillery.[5]

According to Neufeld, Becker received permission to start a small research project into solid fuel rockets in late 1929. Many of his assistants on the project came out of a program for training officers in engineering that Becker had founded. He had established the program in response to what he felt was an anti-technology spirit in the German Imperial Army Officer Corps. The new leadership of the Army after World War I helped make this program possible. Becker had received his doctorate from the applied physics institute at the Technical University of Berlin. This institute had formerly been the artillery laboratory of the Prussian army, but had metamorphosed to remain legal under the Versailles Treaty. The institute basically functioned as a master's degree program in mechanical engineering, not surprisingly with a focus on artillery. Three products of this program; Walter Dornberger, Leo Zanssen, and Erich Schneider, were important figures in the beginning of this research.[6] The eventual outcome of this solid rocket research was the introduction of the so-called *Nebelwerfer*. It was basically a system that launched multiple rockets to bombard an area, similar to the Russian Katyusha. It would appear that the name *Nebelwerfer* (fog thrower) was intended to disguise the true nature of the weapon to circumvent

Versailles' restrictions.

While the army was conducting early research into solid fuel rockets, amateur rocket groups were doing their own research into the liquid fueled variety. Neufeld describes their activities. Oberth and Valier had attempted quite early to find a source of funding for research to convert the theoretical knowledge into practical use. They expected to be able to find a corporation or a wealthy benefactor who would be interested in furthering spaceflight. Neufeld argues that these men had the romantic image of the independent inventors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in mind. They really had not comprehended the enormous costs that came with research into such revolutionary technology. The author makes an important observation that only a government-backed military industrial complex has the resources to finance such an undertaking. Despite these miscalculations, however, amateur groups did play a role in early developments.[7]

In the early 1930s, the most noteworthy of these groups was the *Raketenflugplatz* (rocket launch site) *Berlin*, whose origins lie with the rocket launch planned to coincide with the premier of *Frau im Mond*. Oberth, who was acting as science advisor for the film, came up with the idea which was to be financed by the movie studio. In attempting to make up for his lack of engineering experience, Oberth joined up with Rudolph Nebel. Neufeld describes Nebel as a con artist rather than a proper engineer. The effort was a failure, which ended with Oberth returning home to Romania after a nervous breakdown. Nebel, together with the remaining members of another group, the *Verein für Raumschiffahrt* (Society for Space Travel), decided to start a group for liquid fueled rocketry as a way to continue Oberth's work. The starting materials were, in fact, the parts for the rocket that never flew. Nebel managed to secure workshop space and potential certification for the rocket from the Reich Institution for Chemical Technology. The Army Ordnance Office also provided the equivalent of $1, 200 for the rocket launch; a precursor of their future role. Oberth returned from Romania and the group succeeded in launching a small, 7 kg thrust rocket. After the successful launch on July 23, 1930, Nebel received permission from the Defense Ministry to use an ammunition dump to conduct further tests. The *Raketenflugplatz* officially opened on September 27, 1930. Karl Becker's office had actually helped to arrange a three-year lease on the location. However, this relationship with the Army Ordnance Office only lasted for about six months.[8] They could not tolerate Nebel's ceaseless fundraising attempts which consisted of writing what were described as "sensationalistic articles in newspapers and magazines." because this publicity conflicted with their desire for secrecy.[9] The *Raketenflugplatz* successfully launched many other rockets and even demonstrated a 50 kg thrust rocket engine.[10] While these developments were under way, the Army Ordnance Office had themselves begun more serious research into liquid fuel rockets.

Becker and others had, by this point, developed a longer term plan for liquid fueled rockets. According to Walter Dornberger the idea was to improve upon the Paris Gun. This extremely large artillery piece was the pinnacle of artillery technology. It was capable of launching an approximately 100 kg shell roughly 80 miles.[11] However, it was very inaccurate and was extremely hard to maneuver due to its immense weight.[12] Neufeld adds that this gun only launched 320 shells before its specially built barrels wore out. Rockets would be better because they did not require barrels and all the other support equipment. Becker, as Neufeld relates, hoped that the surprise deployment of these weapons could potentially lead to a collapse of enemy morale and, consequently, a quick victory. The fact that the planned rockets would be more powerful and based on a previously unseen technology would increase that shock value. However, they would have to be developed in absolute secrecy.[13]

The Army Ordnance Office had left liquid fueled rocketry on the back burner after their short-lived relationship with the *Raketenflugplatz*. On October 16, 1931, Karl Becker wrote to the Heylandt Company inquiring about their liquid fuel rocket motors. These rockets had come into existence from experiments by Max Valier who attached liquid fuel rockets to race cars. Valier had actually died in one of these failed experiments. Despite this deadly accident, Arthur Rudolph, the future chief engineer of the factory at the Peenemünde research facility, continued these experiments despite the wishes of his superiors. They eventually produced a rocket with 160 kg of thrust. Instead of purchasing this rocket car combination for research by the Ordnance Department, as he originally intended, he decided on a study contract with the company to figure out the proper shape for a rocket exhaust nozzle. For the first time, the Army Ordnance Office had begun systematic research. The study, completed in April 1932, showed that the current shape of the nozzle, based on the assumption that long and narrow was best, was inefficient. A second contract was agreed upon in October, 1932, for the construction of a 20 kg rocket fueled by liquid oxygen and alcohol.[14] Despite these new approaches to research, the Army Ordnance Office had not given up on amateur groups.

On April 23, 1932, Karl Becker wrote to Nebel with an offer. Nebel would receive 1,397 marks if he could successfully launch a rocket that would deploy a parachute and a flare at the height of its flight. The test was to take place in secret at the Army Ordnance testing ground at Kummersdorf near Berlin. This testing ground had only recently come into existence. Nebel began to make claims far in excess of what had been requested. However, by the time of the test on June 22, these estimates had been cut in half. The attempt was a failure; the rocket managed to take off but quickly turned to flying horizontally and subsequently crashed less than a mile away. The Army observers were not impressed. The report on the launch states that further work with Nebel is impossible because he makes promises despite knowing

better. Nebel's attempts to convince the Army Ordnance Office that the test was not a failure were fruitless.[15] This would be the final time the Army would attempt to work with him. However, the failure of this test had a positive outcome for the Army's rocket research. It was at around this time that members of the *Raketenflugplatz* began to work in the Army's research program.

Arguably the most famous of the German rocket scientists, Wernher von Braun, visited with Karl Becker shortly after the failed test. Von Braun would go on to become technical director of the rocket research effort. During this visit, Becker offered von Braun the opportunity to continue research for the Army, albeit in secrecy. This offer sparked intense debate among the members of the *Raketenflugplatz*. Some didn't want to do it because it conflicted with their idealistic view of spaceflight. Others, like Nebel, didn't like the idea of having to do research in secrecy. In contrast, von Braun did not have any of these qualms. Michael Neufeld argues that this willingness was due to his conservative, aristocratic upbringing. Because of this upbringing, von Braun had no problems with working inside the military. For him, military funding was a necessary step on the road to space travel. Von Braun became a doctoral student under a physicist who ran a program in the Ordnance Office; his doctoral thesis was on liquid fueled rocketry. At the same time, on December 1, 1932 he began working at the Kummersdorf weapons range.[16]

When the Nazis came to power in January 1933, the situation began to change for the rocket program. Their budget was able to steadily increase with the government's renewed focus on armaments. This budget inflation only intensified when Germany's rearmament became public in 1935. Because they were the development branch of the largest armed service, the budget of Army Ordnance increased rapidly. However, this new environment also came with new pressure. In order to have a new, large share of the military budget, they were going to have to prove that the rocket was militarily useful. But, doing so did not come without consequences. A meeting intended to get this point across was met with great enthusiasm. Some officers wanted to immediately weaponize the rockets that the Army had developed. The leaders of Army Ordnance did not like the idea. Their plan was to develop a large ballistic missile for sudden deployment; unleashing the technology too early would diminish its shock value. Von Braun was able to convince the others that the rockets were not quite ready for military use. Army Ordnance continued with its development and received a budget of a half-million marks to expand their weapons range at Kummersdorf. Even this expanded weapons range would be inadequate, because of ideas for joint projects with the Luftwaffe.[17] The prime motivation was to combine rocket engines and aircraft. People in the German aircraft community knew that propeller aircraft were reaching their theoretical limits. It was also predicted that contemporary anti-aircraft artillery and aircraft would be unable to defend against high altitude, high speed bombers which necessitated a high-speed interceptor. At the time, rockets were the only technology capable of powering such an interceptor.[18] Various agreements were made for the Luftwaffe and the Army to participate in these developments. This partnership led to the idea of a joint "experimental research establishment".[19] In early January 1936, it was decided how the center would be structured. On April 1, the center received approval and the land was purchased the next day. The selected site near the small community of Peenemünde on an island on the Baltic coast had been suggested by von Braun's mother.[20] Von Braun, at age 25, became the head of the Army's part of the site when it opened in May 1937. Most of the operations were moved to the new location within a year.[21]

When World War II began, things once again changed for the rocket program. They now came up against shortages of vital materials and labor. These shortages were compounded by a confusingly organized war economy that led to conflict between various branches over all sorts of issues. The result of this disorganization was that Hitler himself had to get involved to sort out questions of priority. One consequence of Hitler's involvement was that Army Ordnance started to promise that the missiles would be mass-produced very soon and help affect the outcome of the war.[22] In the attempt to bring these ideas to fruition, planning began for the construction of a production facility for ballistic missiles. Dornberger had already had the idea of a production facility at the end of 1937. Von Braun and other engineers tried to talk him out of it because the technology was not yet ready for mass production. The rocket he wanted to build, the A4, barely even existed on paper. Only in late 1938, after the successful launch of unguided A5s, did the Army Commander-In-Chief Walther von Brauchitsch authorize the purchase of land to expand Peenemünde because it was "particularly urgent for national defense."[23] The A5 itself was a variant of the rocket designed to test guidance systems.[24] But, building the facility in Peenemünde came with all sorts of problems. Its location on a sandy island meant that aboveground bunkers, which were more expensive, would have to be built. The sandy soil coupled with the fact that saltwater seeped into the freshwater would make water and sewage systems problematic. All these problems were compounded by the remote location of the island.[25] Dornberger would run into more serious problems than this less than ideal location. Getting the needed resources, both in terms of labor and material, meant getting involved in Nazi bureaucracy.

Before discussing how Nazi bureaucracy affected the rocket program specifically, a more general description of Nazi bureaucracy is necessary. Michael Neufeld characterizes Nazi bureaucracy very eloquently, calling it a "collection of warring bureaucratic empires".[26] For starters, there was no clear protocol for establishing priority of projects. There were numerous people who

were in some way responsible for the economy, but few were actually effective. Hermann Göring was the head of the four-year plan, supposedly responsible for the whole German economy. However, as head of the Luftwaffe he didn't really have the time or the expertise to fulfill that responsibility. The actual economics minister, Walther Funk, who was responsible for the civilian economy, was himself beholden to Göring. The man officially in charge of military production and priority questions was General Georg Thomas, head of the Economics Office of the Armed Forces High Command (OKW). To this long list of personalities should be added General Wilhelm Keitel, head of the OKW. The closest thing to a priority list was a document signed by Göring which gave construction projects for the Navy's U-boats, the Army's rocket program, and the Luftwaffe's airplane production top priority.[27] More important, for a short while at least, was rationing of coal and steel resources. Only on July 18, 1940, did Göring attempt to create a better system. The system was essentially a combination of the rationing and his construction list. At first, there were two priority levels, I and II. A month later the top level was split into two, 1A and 1B. On August 20, Hitler personally added a "special level S" for projects related to Operation Sealion. Early 41 saw the birth of a fifth priority level "special level SS", no relation to the organization. By February, all levels below the special levels were eliminated. So, after six months of constant reorganization, the priority level system had come to exactly where it started with only two tiers. Neufeld sums up this evolution of priority levels as "priority inflation". The various branches attempted to crowd their projects into the highest priority until they were not enough resources to go around. This political maneuvering created absolute chaos. Because the OKW did not have the ability to rein in the various branches and Hitler didn't want to make tough decisions, new priority levels were simply created. But, that never solved the problem for very long.[28]

This changing priority system profoundly influenced the rocket project. When the new priority system was established in July 1940, the Peenemünde project was not even mentioned. Only after two weeks was it again at the top priority. After two months of changing priority lists, the program found itself in the third tier. Dornberger was able to have it moved up one level in two weeks. In February 1941, when the priority level system had stabilized, the development side of the program was put in first place, the production plant in second place.[29]

On top of the chaos of these priority levels, the war economy was also subjected to Hitler's strategic whims. Both he and Göring seemed to think the economy could be reoriented as quickly as their military plans. In 1939, Hitler gave priority to the Navy's "Plan Z" for a large battle fleet against the British.[30] During the Battle of Britain, emphasis was given to the Luftwaffe. Long before that was even over, emphasis went to the Army and Panzer divisions for the Russian campaign.[31] Very shortly before Operation Barbarossa, Hitler, brimming with confidence of an early victory, again shifted emphasis to the Luftwaffe and Navy for use against the British.[32]

Adding to all this chaos was the frequently used tactic of referring to "Führer orders"; whether these orders were real or not was completely irrelevant. Officials would often concoct these orders based on a favorable comment made by Hitler.[33] Not surprisingly, no one dared to question the validity of Hitler's "orders".

The main effect of the chaotic bureaucracy on the missile program was in terms of acquiring the necessary resources. Dornberger responded to each new threat to the program with a mixture of warnings and promises. The first obstacle that had to be overcome was the tremendous expense for the development plant, 180 million marks. In return for this investment, the military was to receive 1,500 A4's per year. In an attempt to secure the funding and other resources, Dornberger tried to convince Hitler of the usefulness of the rockets. However, Hitler was not very impressed with what he saw during his visit to Kummersdorf in March, 1939; Hitler would never visit Peenemünde.[34] Neufeld repeats a comment by Albert Speer that Hitler only understood technology from World War I.[35] In *The German V2*, Dornberger writes that Hitler could remember tremendous details concerning weapons but he did not follow the rocket developments very well.[36] When the war broke out, the Army Commander-In-Chief Walther von Brauchitsch issued an order that the program should continue with all means. However, this protection came with strings attached. Production of the missiles was to start in late 1941 instead of 1943. This accelerated schedule meant that the program had to deal with unrealistic timelines in addition to all the other problems.[37] A more significant problem was that all programs were subject to steel quotas. The new deadline for production meant that the program needed more steel to build the factory. The Army Commander-In-Chief tried to give the program steel from his own supply in addition to what they were already getting. However, Keitel, head of the OKW, wanted to get Hitler's permission for this allocation which was denied. The presentation to Hitler by Dornberger on November 20 did not change this decision. Hitler would not agree to an early expansion of the program. Dornberger's response was to fervently argue for the production plant. Most importantly, he pointed out that, compared to his plan, production of missiles would be severely cut and delayed. If production was somehow still able to start in September 1941, they would only be able to produce roughly one thousand per year. He also tried to argue that there was an international missile race taking place that Germany should not lose. None of these arguments helped; in March they were informed that they would only receive 80% of their steel quotas for the next quarter.[38] In the midst of all this chaos, Karl Becker committed suicide on April 8, 1940 due to the stress.[39]

In late June 1941, a memo by Dornberger, written in response to a renewed attempt to curtail Army

construction, presented a new argument. Essentially, because there was no defense against the missile, it would be an effective psychological weapon against London and other cities. On August 20, 1941, in a meeting with Hitler organized by von Brauchitsch, Dornberger finally succeeded in getting the Führer's support for the rocket program. As a result of this, both the development and the production sides of the program were given top priority.[40] However, with Hitler's support, the program became a lucrative target for power-hungry officials. Difficulties arose when Speer's Armaments Ministry tried to rapidly begin production of the rockets. More ominously, the program became involved with Himmler's SS through the use of slave labor.

Michael Neufeld devotes more than a chapter to the issue of slave labor. The rocket program had always had problems getting a workforce. The original idea of having everything done at Peenemünde had been replaced with the facility assembling parts from other suppliers. This change meant that more unskilled workers could be used. By April 1943, about three thousand foreign workers were working at Peenemünde. Prior to this date, their use has been restricted due to the secrecy of the project. In 1943, the plan was to use Russian forced labor in production, which was in keeping with the general trend in German industry. In early April, it was suggested that Peenemünde should use concentration camp labor in production. Arthur Rudolph visited the Heinkel aircraft factory which was using such labor and wrote a memo saying how well the idea works. On June 2, a formal request for concentration camp labor was made and two weeks later the first inmates arrived at Peenemünde.[41] It should be noted that on July 7, Hitler actually ordered that no foreign workers should work on the missile project for secrecy reasons. It is quite interesting that this order was essentially ignored. It was expected that missile production would start at Peenemünde in August.[42] But, the war would change that plan and the whole missile program. On August 22, 1943, the British conducted a major air raid on Peenemunde.[43] In response, Himmler convinced Hitler that missile production should be moved to underground locations with an accompanying increase in the use of concentration camp labor. On August 26, a series of tunnels near the city of Nordhausen in Thuringia in central Germany were selected as the main production site for the A4s. These tunnels had originally been built for underground fuel and chemical weapons storage. The first concentration camp inmates arrived at the site, soon to be known as Mittelwerk, two days later. The first task of these prisoners was to blast the tunnels deeper into the mountain.[44] By November, there were about eight thousand prisoners living in the tunnels.[45] Within a year, the total population of the facility was 13,500.[46] In October, the Mittelwerk Company was finally given a contract to produce 12,000 missiles at 40,000 marks each for a total of 480 million marks. The conditions for the laborers were horrendous. Even the construction of rudimentary facilities typical of a concentration camp was delayed. The tunnels never got warmer than 69°F, the constant noise of blasting made sleep impossible, and there were no toilet facilities to speak of. As a result, there were epidemics of dysentery, tuberculosis, and pneumonia. Between December 1943 and March 1944 about 2,500 inmates died; between twenty to twenty five per day. Under these conditions, the first A4s were produced at the end of December, although they were all so poorly built as to be unusable.[47] In total, a bit fewer than six thousand missiles were built in Mittelwerk.[48]

3,200 A4's were launched between September 7, 1944, and March 27, 1945. Most of them were fired against Antwerp, and, to a lesser extent, London. After the missiles were deployed for the first time, they were given the name V2, which stands for vengeance weapon two, by the Nazi propaganda ministry. However, the missiles had an almost negligible impact on the war. Michael Neufeld very clearly demonstrates this fact by pointing out that more people died producing the weapons than were killed by them. Only five thousand people were actually killed by the weapon. More civilians were killed in individual raids on Dresden and Hamburg. Why did the missile not have the strategic effect hoped for? To begin with, the missiles were too inaccurate to hit any specific target.[49] The one metric ton warhead could therefore not be utilized efficiently. Compounding the inefficiency were the very insensitive proximity fuses. The low sensitivity was a compromise decision to deal with the tendency of the missiles to explode during descent; using such fuses would ensure that an explosion did not set off the warhead prematurity. However, this compromise meant that, exactly as Hitler had predicted, the missile "thr[e]w up a lot of dirt".[50] Even if the missiles could have been accurately targeted, the combined explosive power of all the warheads was less than a single air raid. In terms of the effect on the enemy psychology, the V1s were actually more effective because of the noise they made. They also diverted more military resources because they could actually be stopped.[51]

As my paper demonstrates, the technological developments that transformed rockets from small experiments to large military missiles obscure the fact that these weapons were not going to be able to affect the war. If missiles cannot hit a specific target, they are not cost effective. Poorly guided, conventionally armed ballistic missiles are ineffective, as has been demonstrated throughout the military history, most recently during the Gulf War. To illustrate a contrast with precision weapons, the laser guided missiles used by the Americans in 1991 were able to deliver their payloads to a specific building with few unintended deaths. Conducting a large-scale strategic bombing campaign, such as the campaign conducted against Germany during World War II, is simply not an option with missiles because of their tremendous expense. Furthermore, accurate guidance was simply not feasible for the Germans. The requisite

electronics simply did not exist. Therefore, as Dieter Hölsken, a V2 historian argues, the V2 was developed too early in technological terms, rather than too late in the war, to affect its outcome. Neufeld's main argument is that the V2 failed because it was conventionally armed. Had it been combined with a nuclear warhead, it would have been the revolutionary weapon the Germans had hoped for.[52] Even if the Germans had had this insight, however, the German rocket was not powerful enough to lift the nuclear weapons of the era; the bombs built by the Manhattan project weighed four times as much as the V2's warhead.[53] Such weapons would come into existence within fifteen years after the end of World War II.

Notes:

[1]Michael J. Neufeld, Rocket and the Reich: Peenemunde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 6-8.

[2]Neufeld,6.

[3]Neufeld,8.

[4]Walter R. Dornberger, "The German V-2," Technology and Culture 4, no. 4 (1963), 394.

[5]Neufeld,6.

[6]Neufeld,8-9.

[7]Neufeld,9-10.

[8]Neufeld,11-14.

[9]Neufeld,14.

[10]Neufeld,15.

[11]Dornberger cites a figure of 10 kg in his article, which Neufeld repeats. However, other sources give a figure of roughly 100 kg. Given the size of the Paris Gun, 21 cm, it is much more likely that it fired a 100 kg shell. In fact, other sources confirmed a shell of this size.

[12]Dornberger,398.

[13]Neufeld,16.

[14]Neufeld,16-19.

[15]Neufeld,19-21.

[16]Neufeld,21-23.

[17]Neufeld,41-43.

[18]Neufeld,45.

[19]Neufeld,46.

[20]Neufeld,45-49.

[21]Neufeld,55.

[22]Neufeld,111-113.

[23]Neufeld,113-114.

[24]Neufeld,282.

[25]Neufeld,114-115.

[26]Neufeld,24.

[27]Neufeld,120.

[28]Neufeld,128-131.

[29]Neufeld,128-131.

[30]Neufeld,117.

[31]Neufeld, 128.

[32]Neufeld,136.

[33]Neufeld,118.

[34]Neufeld,116-118.

[35]Neufeld,140.

[36]Dornberger,397.

[37]Neufeld,119.

[38]Neufeld,122-125.

[39]Neufeld,127.

[40]Neufeld,136-140.

[41]Neufeld,184-189.

[42]Neufeld,195.

[43]Neufeld,197.

[44]Neufeld,200-203.

[45]Neufeld,209.

[46]Yves Beon and Michael J. Neufeld, Planet Dora: A Memoir of the Holocaust and the Birth of the Space Age. (Boulder, CO: WestviewPress, 1997), XX.

[47]Neufeld,209-213.

[48]Neufeld,263.

[49]Neufeld,263-264, 273-274.

[50]Neufeld,220-223.

[51]Neufeld,273-274.

[52]Neufeld,274-275.

[53]Neufeld,139-140.

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Evolution of Staphylococcus aureus Following the Introduction of Antibiotic Therapy

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Introduction

> *"Without innovative public policy and additional financial support, fewer and fewer antibiotics will be available to treat the increasing number of drug-resistant and dangerous microbes that threaten Americans and the global community."*
> – Infectious Diseases Society of America

Staphylococcus aureus is a species of bacteria which colonizes the human respiratory system and skin in a commensal relationship. Although generally harmless, *S. aureus* can be responsible for a variety of diseases including food poisoning, necrotizing pneumonia, and endocarditis[1]. It is among the most common causes of nosocomial infections worldwide, accounting for some 500,000 nosocomial infections per year in America alone. About 20% of the world's population is colonized with *S. aureus* long term, with an additional 60% of the population will host a colony at some point during their life[2].

S. aureus infections can usually be treated with antibiotics of the penicillin family, the discovery of which is accredited to Alexander Fleming in 1928 when a culture of *Penicillium rubens* was observed excreting a substance with antibiotic properties. By 1945, penicillin was being mass produced for medical use[3], but within a decade populations of *S. aureus* were showing increasing resistance to what had previously been considered a miracle drug. In 1952, methicillin (renamed meticillin in 2005) was introduced as an alternative antibiotic due to the increasing rate of penicillin resistance in *S. aureus*[4], but by 1961 British physicians were reporting *S. aureus* isolates which had acquired resistance to methicilli[5]. This methicillin-resistant *S. aureus* (MRSA) now composes as much as 67% of the *S. aureus* colonies in developed countries such as the U.S. and Great Britain[6]. Furthermore, MRSA has become synonymous with multidrug-resistance due to a tendency for MRSA isolates to be resistant to the majority of commonly used antibiotics[2].

Another antibiotic, vancomycin, was discovered soon after penicillin, but was rarely used because other antibiotics were considered more efficacious and less toxic until the 1980s when it became the drug of last resort for treating MRSA[7]. *S. aureus* proved slow to develop resistance to this antibiotic, allowing it to be used safely for nearly 30 years before vancomycin-resistant *S. aureus* (VRSA) isolates were identified.

Staphylococcus aureus is a unique species of microbe which has lived alongside mankind since before recorded history. In addition to an intimate familiarity with its host's body, this bacteria is capable of rapidly evolving to withstand an ever increasing arsenal of manmade antibiotics. Against this worthy foe mankind is engaged in an arms race: modern medicine against evolution.

The recent evolution of *S. aureus* can be categorized as the development of a range of antibiotic resistances, from penicillin to methicillin to vancomycin, accentuated by a series of epidemic outbreaks. As multidrug-resistant *S. aureus* spreads from hospitals to communities to the food chain, researchers struggle to stay ahead of one of our oldest companions.

History of Staphylococcus aureus

> *"It knows how to live on inanimate objects, in our noses, in our skin, in our genitals. It's virulent, it's adaptive, and it is able to circumvent almost everything we throw at it. It is a perfect pathogen."*
> – Dr. Robert Daum, M.D.

Staphylococcus aureus is among mankind's oldest evolutionary companions, benignly colonizing human hosts for hundreds of thousands of years. This commensal relationship is generally harmless to humans, but certain conditions can lead to the bacteria attacking its host, resulting in a wide range of infections, from pimples and rashes to pneumonia, toxic shock, and bone abscesses. These infections are particularly dangerous because of *S. aureus*' familiarity with the human immune system: having colonized mankind for so long, *S. aureus* has developed a huge range of virulence factors – over 70 enzymes and toxins capable of destroying cells, more than any other species of bacteria[8].

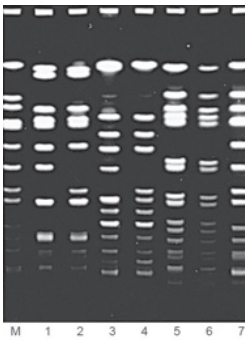
In addition to being extremely virulent, *S. aureus* has proven to be capable of adapting quickly enough to overcome any new threat. It began developing defenses against penicillin as soon as initial testing began on the drug, forcing the pharmaceutical industry to develop a new drug, methicillin, less than a decade after the introduction of the first antibiotics to medicine[4]. With an atomic structure unlike anything occurring in nature, methicillin was expected to effectively combat *S. aureus* for decades, allowing ample time to develop the next generation of antibiotics. This miracle drug, developed in 1952, became widely used in 1960. By 1961, *S. aureus* had developed methicillin resistance[4][5][8].

Methicillin resistance in *Staphylococcus aureus* was first documented in Great Britain in 1961, two years after the drug was licensed for use in England. In 1968, MRSA strains began to be identified in the United States at the Boston City Hospital in Massachusetts. At this time MRSA isolates were only identified as being acquired in clinical environments, due primarily to the limit of antibacterial use to hospital settings. Over the next 30

years the percentage of *S. aureus* infections identified as MRSA increased slowly but steadily, but remained attributed to clinical environments. By 1998 occurrence rates of Healthcare-Associated MRSA (HA-MRSA) had stabilized.

Although the occurrence rates of HA-MRSA had stabilized, 1998 also marks the beginning of the "second epidemic": the development of MRSA infections from the community. This Community-Associated MRSA (CA-MRSA) was first documented in 1996 by Dr. Robert Daum of the University of Chicago. Daum had noticed a spike in instances of children being admitted to the Wyler Children's Hospital with MRSA infections, and a survey of the children's records had uncovered an anomaly: none of the infected children had recent contact with an environment where MRSA infection was expected. The strain the children had acquired was as virulent as the HA-MRSA the doctors had grown accustomed to, but resistant to fewer antibiotics, suggesting a more recent evolutionary development of methicillin resistance[8][9].

Daum's team of researchers isolated samples of *S. aureus* from two of the children who had been admitted with MRSA and used pulsed-field gel electrophoresis (PFGE) to compare them with older samples of HA-MRSA. The results (figure, right) showed that the MRSA of the two children (lanes 5 and 6) were genetically identical and distinct from any of the samples taken from previous patients, despite the children being admitted 6 months apart, with no contact to each other[9]. Despite this evidence, Daum's findings were rejected by the medical community. It took two years for the *Journal of the American Medical Association* to publish the findings, along with an editorial which suggested that the research was fundamentally flawed and should be disregarded.



The opinion of the *JAMA* was shared by a majority of the medical community. There had been only one other well-documented case of a MRSA outbreak in the community, in 1980 when over 100 Detroit drug addicts acquired infections in under two years. An investigation into the outbreak concluded that one of the infected individuals had acquired the MRSA strain at the Henry Ford Hospital and spread it throughout the community. Since the outbreak was limited to individuals with weakened immune systems, this incident was considered evidence that MRSA could not survive for an extended period outside of hospitals, as it would eventually succumb to the strong defense of healthy immune systems[8].

While there were a few additional reports of new MRSA variants appearing sporadically, the medical establishment had already dismissed the possibility of MRSA spreading outside of hospitals and clinics[8].

Community-Associated MRSA (CA-MRSA) started appearing more frequently. By 2005 CA-MRSA was occurring regularly in groups of individuals sharing close quarters: athletes, military units, urban children, and prisoners. By 2006, 67% of *S. aureus* colonies in developed countries displayed resistance to methicillin[6]. The medical establishment eventually accepted the fact that CA-MRSA was a legitimate threat, but while the medical community was slow to accept change *S. aureus* had continued to evolve.

Patients suffering the most extreme MRSA infections were being treated with vancomycin, a glycopeptide antibiotic administered intravenously and used only when all other treatments had failed. The complex molecular structure of this antibiotic, combined with sparing use, prevented *S. aureus* from quickly developing resistance, but in 1998 researchers began documenting colonies of *S. aureus* with varying degrees of vancomycin resistance[10]. This newly discovered Vancomycin-Resistant *S. aureus* (VRSA) was unaffected by all but the newest and most powerful antibiotics, but Vancomycin-Intermediate *S. aureus* (VISA) has proven to be even more difficult to treat[8].

The danger presented by Vancomycin-Intermediate *S. aureus* (VISA) is the insidious nature of its vancomycin resistance. VISA colonies are not strongly resistant to vancomycin. Instead the term is applied to colonies which appear to be susceptible to normal doses of vancomycin while hosting smaller colonies with enough resistance to survive treatment. Administration of vancomycin treatment successfully kills the susceptible portion of the colony, reducing competition for the more resistant strains[8]. While these more resistant strains may be susceptible to higher doses, the adverse side effects associated with vancomycin (including kidney damage and deafness) make such dosage increases dangerous for the patient.

With *S. aureus* developing resistance to vancomycin, new, novel antibiotics are being developed to treat the most extreme infections. Unfortunately, by the time new antibiotics become available to the medical community resistance is already being reported by the pharmaceutical developers[11]. Staph is evolving as quickly as modern medicine can develop new treatments.

Agricultural MRSA

> *"The extensive use of antimicrobials for prevention of disease appears to be an important risk factor for the spread of MRSA."*
> - European Medicines Agency

In July 2004 a new strain of MRSA was detected in a Dutch toddler. Her parents and sister tested positive for this new strain, leading researchers to a more in-depth investigation into the origin of the strain. Almost a quarter of the family's friends were identified as carriers of this

novel MRSA strain, including all pig farmers with whom they were close acquaintances. This association led to the final breakthrough: the fact that 3% of pig raised by the individuals tested were infected with MRSA[8].

The newly identified Dutch "pig MRSA," named ST398, was unique among *S. aureus* isolates: the genetic structure was distinct from hospital-associated MRSA, and there had been no previously identified community-associated MRSA in the Netherlands. As with every other MRSA strain, ST398 displayed a strong resistance to the penicillin family of human antibiotics, however it had also acquired a unique resistance to the antibiotics approved only for livestock use[8]. While MRSA had been identified in cows as early as 1972, there had never been an incident of livestock MRSA colonizing a human host[13].

ST398 was initially identified as a pure livestock strain, having evolved in pigs before being transmitted to Dutch farmers. More recently, researchers used full-genome sequencing typing to 89 variants of the ST398 strain, concluding that the strain identified in the Netherlands was derived from a human *S. aureus* ancestor. Such a recent ancestral lineage suggests that *S. aureus* spread from humans to livestock and subsequently acquired the SCC*mec* cassette responsible for methicillin resistance[13]. Heavy use of livestock antibiotics resulted in strong selective pressure favoring additional antibiotic resistances before ST398 was reintroduced to its original host.

The 2004 farm outbreak marks the beginning of the "third outbreak." Patients without any livestock contact were infected with ST398 by 2005. In 2007 the pathogen was spreading through hospitals and nursing homes. By 2010 ST398 had spread to across Europe and into North America. A survey of livestock in Iowa and Illinois revealed that 49% of pigs and 45% of farm workers were colonized with ST398[8].

Vaccination: An Ultimate Solution?

> *"This organism has multiple strategies for accomplishing all its tasks, from invading the blood stream to elaborating toxins to causing local skin abscesses. Targeting a vaccine against just one of them merely eggs the bug on."*
> – Dr. Robert Daum, M.D.

S. aureus has proven capable of developing resistance to new antibiotics so quickly that major pharmaceutical companies are refusing to develop drugs, arguing that the pathogen undermines new compounds so quickly that they cannot recoup the costs of development[13]. Many of the larger pharmaceutical companies have shifted focus to the development of a MRSA vaccine.

All modern vaccinations are derived from the same theory: by introducing an antigen to the body, the immune system can learn to combat the pathogen effectively enough that the infection cannot establish a foothold. This strategy is remarkably effective in flu and chickenpox vaccines, where the antigen is a weakened form of the virus, allowing the body to produce an antibody which will protect it from future infection. The presence of these antibodies usually signifies immunity to the target pathogen, and the Food and Drug Administration requires vaccines to demonstrate antibody production in order to gain approval[13]. However, increased levels of antibodies in victims of severe *S. aureus* infections show no increase in resistance to the pathogen, and sometimes appear signify greater susceptibility to future infection[11].

All recent attempts to develop a *S. aureus* vaccine using the normal strategy have failed, but a rare condition called Hyperimmunoglobulin E syndrome (HIES) or Job's syndrome may reveal a new strategy[13]. Individuals with HIES are unable to produce immune cells called T_H17 cells, which results in chronic *S. aureus* infections. Since the presence of these cells is what apparently prevents the kind of chronic infections that characterize HIES, increased T_H17 levels may result in increased resistance to *S. aureus*, even to the point of practical immunity.

S. aureus, however, is a versatile pathogen which has proven capable of adapting to every new method of control. Even a successful vaccine might be overcome, Daum argues, if it does not combat the bacteria with multiple methods[13].

Conclusion

> *"Meticulous attention to infection-control practices is of paramount importance in preventing MRSA colonization."*
> - Dr. Evelina Tacconelli, M.D.

Mankind's rivalry with *Staphylococcus aureus* is as old as time itself, but direct conflict is a recent development. The discovery of antibiotics in the early 20th century was hailed as the final victory over disease, but *S. aureus* was already evolving methods to overcome the new drugs. New antibiotics were developed, forcing *S. aureus* to develop new resistances. Doctors, will full faith in their advanced medical techniques, prescribed antibiotics as prophylactics. This overuse of antibiotics resulted in increased selective pressure for multidrug-resistance in *S. aureus*, eventually leading to multiple, independent, and geographically distinct developments of MRSA strains.

Doctors are now aware of the dangers of antibiotic overuse, but with new *S. aureus* isolates displaying new resistance to even the most novel antibiotics it may be too little, too late. The next battle in mankind's war on disease is the development of a functional vaccine to protect against the distinct illnesses caused by *S. aureus*, but the bacteria has proven capable of circumventing every vaccination method proven effective against less versatile pathogens.

Where modern medicine falls short, simple sanitation methods can offer a way to prevent *S. aureus* colonization. Washing the hands with soap and water has proven effective in preventing *S. aureus* transmission, and bathing in a dilute chlorine bleach mixture is a common and effective home remedy for minor MRSA infections.

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The Discourse of Keeping Hydraulic Fracturing out of Legislation

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Abstract. Hydraulic fracturing, or "fracking," is a process that is potentially detrimental to the environment and hazardous to humans' health. Companies that engage in this process and politicians who stand to benefit from these companies' success keep themselves free of legal scrutiny through a number of tactics. This paper will explore and discuss mainly the tactics employed in discourse that dismiss claims and deflect responsibility regarding the negative effects of fracking, especially those presented in Josh Fox's documentary, Gas Land, and its response from the natural gas industry on EnergyInDepth.org (EID).

Introduction.

Josh Fox's documentary, Gas Land, explores the environmental and health effects of hydraulic fracturing, the process of drilling into layers of rock to release and harness natural gas as an energy source. An article in the New York Times explains this process:

> "millions of gallons of water, chemicals and tiny particles of sand, quartz or ceramics are pumped into buried shale rock formations. The high-pressure liquids crack apart the rock, and the sand holds open the fractures. This allows trapped gas to flow into the well and up to the surface. Gas companies add several chemicals to the fracking water, including biocides to kill bacteria from deep underground, scale inhibitors to reduce minerals that clog pipes and lubricants for the smooth operation of pumps and other machinery" (Gies, 2012).

According to EarthWorksAction.org, anywhere from 20-85% of these chemicals remain in the ground. Fox visits residents in several towns across the country who experience these effects, including contaminated and undrinkable water supplies, neurological disorders, hair loss and nausea, first-hand. How do companies that employ this process avoid legal recourse for poisoning citizens and destroying natural resources? By employing a number of tactics, including financial incentives for legislators, targeting individuals as opposed to communities, and using careful language to represent their processes, these companies have escaped the responsibility of addressing the consequences of their actions.

In the beginning of the documentary, Fox gets to the heart of the controversy of why legislation regarding environmental protections, such as the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA), do not apply to companies that frack. Fox explains: "the 2005 energy bill *push*ed through Congress by Dick Cheney exempts the oil and natural gas industries from Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Superfund law, and about a dozen other environmental and Democratic regulations." Cheney, who was once the head of Halliburton, and other politicians, such as Dan Boren (former Senator (R)) from Oklahoma, are unapologetic regarding their conflict-of-interest. Boren says in the documentary, "I am proud that I am supported by the oil and gas industry." John Hanger of the Pennsylvania EPA, when interviewed by Fox, justifies the EPA's policy not to investigate fracking as a business decision. "I have to make trade-offs," he explains when asked about fracking affecting the health of Pennsylvania's residents, and endangering the public water supply. When a resident who leased her land to a natural gas company asked the EPA for help, she was told there is no government agency to represent the needs of the public, and was advised to "get a lawyer." Most recently, the University of Texas commissioned a study on the effects of natural gas, and found that claims made by the public were largely based on media fear-mongering rather than fact. However, the main author of this report received $1.5 million from the natural gas industry, and a review of the study revealed that the data used was "inappropriately selective," its results "tentative," and that "the term 'fact-based' would not apply to such an analysis" (Henry 2012). The review goes on to say that the study "seemed to suggest that public concerns were without scientific basis," that is, that the general public lacks the expertise or knowledge to make observations about what they are experiencing.

The public, then, is rendered powerless to fight against these corporations, not only because they have no assistance from the government, or because they lack scientific training, but also because of the way corporations acquire land rights and deal with fallout. In order to drill on private property, these companies solicit leases from individual property owners, offering large sums of money per acre. This way, homeowners make the decision to lease their land based on their own individual needs and responsibilities, instead of based on the community's needs. The homeowner probably doesn't know what the consequences of leasing his land to the company will be. Likewise, when residents complain about contaminated water and natural gas leaks, the problems are addressed on an individual basis. The company might grant the resident a monetary settlement, or provide an alternative water supply, and then pressure the resident to sign a non-disclosure agreement. By dealing with residents on an individual basis, communities are prevented from banding together to fight the company, and as individuals, they have no power against large corporations. Granting the residents settlements or supplying them with an alternate source of water might be construed as admissions of fault; however, the company never explicitly states they were responsible for or even involved in contaminating the community's natural resources. Instead, they portray the

settlements not as reparations, but as gifts of goodwill.

The strongest weapon these corporations have to protect their processes and justify the effects of fracking is the language they use. In response to Fox's film, the natural gas industry has created a website, EnergyInDepth.org, to "dispel the myths" issued by the claims of independent citizens and promulgated by the media. This website is a prime source of discourse tactics designed to deflect responsibility for the possible effects of fracking. These strategies include: using logical-sounding hypotheticals to refute real outcomes, discrediting claims by questioning the authority or expertise of the claimants, equating the success of the natural gas industry to freedom for America, framing the problem as a business decision instead of addressing the issues raised, and trying to appear impartial or more scientific as a basis for denying the need of further research.

Discourse.

1. Discrediting Claimants, Establishing Credibility.

The most common discourse strategy in deflecting the claims of the public is to discredit them by questioning the claimants' authority or expertise. In the documentary, Fox attends a hearing to determine if legislation will be added to the SDWA that would require that companies release a list of the chemicals that they inject into the ground. A representative of one company says, "Press reports and websites have alleged that 6 states have documented over 1,000 incidences of groundwater contamination resulting from the practice of hydraulic fracturing. Such reports are not accurate." He chooses to limit this statement to "press reports and websites" because he wants to imply that the claims are from people who have no knowledge or authority on the subject. His confidence in this tactic is such that he is willing to admit that there are numerous allegations of contamination. However his statement presupposes that those making the allegations do not have the authority to legitimize these claims, but he has the authority to deem them "not accurate." Choosing the words "not accurate" could possibly support his self-depiction of being scientific and unbiased, because it seems to lack emotion or judgment, and is a phrase that we think of as being often used in the arena of science.

The media, too, is discredited as being unscientific, "artsy" and fear-mongering. EID's article "Debunking Gas Land" cites Josh Fox as saying, "I'm sorry, but art is more important than politics." This quote is given without context or explanation. It could be damning if the reader is willing to jump to the conclusion that someone who values art more than politics is willing to spread mistruths for the sake of art, or that someone with an artistic temperament is given to be emotional and less grounded in fact. The reader could make a similar judgment about politicians, however. Still, discrediting claims is not the same as addressing and disproving claims.

The following quote is from an article entitled "Facts, Not Fear, Needed in Fracking Debate": "It's understandable why some folks could be fooled into thinking hydraulic fracturing . . . is unsafe. They're inundated daily with scary headlines . . ." (Legner, 2012.) Starting with the second sentence, "scary headlines" seems to be saying that people writing the headlines value hype over objective reporting. That is quite a large generalization, without room for the possibility that there are published findings or real evidence to support that fracking is not safe. The first sentence is much more offensive. First of all, the author hopes to gain the trust of the audience by sympathizing with the people who are confused about the effects of hydraulic fracturing. Using the words "understandable," and "folks," she attempts to sound like she is "on the side of" the reader. However, with the addition of "fooled," the sentence's tone turns from sympathetic to condescending. Again, the author presupposes that the public does not have the scientific knowledge or the authority to make observations or conclusions about the effects of fracking.

In order for these tactics to be effective, pro-fracking discourse must also present arguments that sound scientific and authoritative. One contention of the anti-fracking side is that the legislation requiring disclosure of chemicals injected into the ground does not apply to hydraulic fracturing chemicals. The pro-fracking side, in response, has created a website containing a list of the most frequently used chemicals, and their fracking-related purposes (fracfocus.com). They can feel relatively safe disclosing this list because most people don't know what "quaternary ammonium chloride," or other such names on the list are. A long list of big words like this can make a concerned citizen feel overwhelmed and powerless.

Another tactic that adds scientific authority is the use of quantitative words, such as "99% of the chemicals used in fracking are water and sand," or "the amount of water used is only 0.5% of the demand in the state." These statements make it sound as if quantitative analysis has been done, and that according to this data, the effects of the processes should be negligible. However, these percentages do not reveal the actual net quantity of chemicals put into the ground, nor the total amount of water used, nor the over-time drain on the water supply, and these data are not provided. Legner states that the annual use of water is much less than that of a golf course. This comparison is compelling, except that she intentionally refrains from mentioning that the water used in fracking creates "produced" or contaminated un-reusable water.

A third way they attempt to gain scientific notoriety is by name-dropping, as in EID's "Hydraulic Fracturing in Illinois: Myth vs. Fact" article: "there are zero confirmed cases of groundwater contamination from hydraulic fracturing. The U.S. EPA, state regulators, and scientific

experts from MIT and Stanford (among many others) have all confirmed that fact." I have not been to MIT, but I can also confirm the "fact" that none of these cases have been "confirmed," because the EPA's study won't be released for peer review until 2014 (epa.gov).

Choosing "EnergyInDepth.org" also adds a scientific-sounding, unbiased air. "Energy in depth" suggests that the site is created by a neutral researcher who is extremely interested (in-depth) in studying energy. The .org address supports this image, as ".org" is associated with non-commercial, informative sites that are not motivated by profits. Dot-orgs are expected to be impartial sites that can be used as informative references. Here is EID's statement of purpose: "Energy In Depth (EID) is a research, education and public outreach campaign . . ." The chosen words are used to sound as though EID is unbiased, fact-driven and without self-interest. Scrolling to the bottom of the page reveals the thirteen natural gas companies that sponsor them.

2. The Circular Argument.

Another linguistic tactic used is to address serious claims with glib hypotheticals with the intention of making the claims sound illogical. For example, Hanger says that they only provided an alternate supply of water for four houses, which he hopes will be taken to mean that only four houses could have been affected. "If there were ten houses affected, we would provide for ten." His statement presumes that the EPA investigates the effects and goes out of its way to resolve the issues, even though the legislature does not require that the EPA get involved in fracking processes. In regard to Fox's documentary, a website funded by the energy industry, EnergyInDepth.org, attempts to dismiss concerns by saying, "Of course, if such an outrageous thing were actually true, one assumes it wouldn't have taken five years and a purveyor of the avant-garde [(Josh Fox)] to bring it to light." The use of if-then statements makes it seem as though only one outcome (the given outcome) could possibly be the consequence of the given situation. Furthermore, these statements are also "begging the question"-type fallacies, or when one "assume[s] as evidence for their argument the very conclusion they are attempting to prove . . . skipping over the part that's the real controversy" (Wheeler, 2012). Hanger presupposes that the EPA could not fail to address six out of the ten affected houses; however, of course it is completely within the realm of possibility that the EPA would not provide anything for these people, whatever the reason.

Another commonly used circular argument is that fracking does not need to be regulated because it has never been regulated, or that studying the effects of fracking is unnecessary because no studies have proven any of the hazards that have been alleged by the public. From EnergyInDepth.org, "Once again, hydraulic fracturing has never been regulated under SDWA [Safe Drinking Water Act] – not in the 60-year history of the technology, the 36-year history of the law, or the 40-year history of EPA." The author of this article uses this statement to debunk Fox's fact-checking and again, to make his account look unreliable. Clearly, this tactic could backfire here, as it blatantly admits that hydraulic fracturing and its effects are unstudied and unregulated. This statement also appeared on several pro-natural gas industry websites: "Lisa Jackson, U.S. EPA administrator, said earlier this year: 'In no case have we made a definitive determination that the fracking process has caused chemicals to enter groundwater.'" This quote is used over and over, and assumes that the reader will have the presupposition that the EPA's responsibility is to oversee these processes and make definitive determinations. It hopes that the reader will make a fallacious leap in logic that if they did not make a definitive determination that chemicals do enter groundwater, that they made a definitive determination of the opposite conclusion. Because the public is "understandably foolish," this tactic might work if this statement and the admission about hydraulic fracturing never being regulated never appear together.

3. Re-framing the Issue as "Good for America" (either as a "good business practice," or as "promoting American freedom").

As mentioned above, John Hanger of the EPA deflects the issue of taking responsibility for possibly contaminated water supplies and health effects by calling the acceptance of these negatives a "business risk." Kyna Legner says in favor of fracking in Illinois, "A recent study from IHS Global Insight projected shale gas development could support more than 60,000 jobs in our state by 2035, representing more than $4 billion in total labor income." While allowing the natural gas industry to engage in hydraulic fracturing may have short-term positive economic effects, mentioning this fact does not address any of the health or environmental "costs" of this business decision. Boren, an Oklahoma politician sponsored by the oil and gas industry, says in Gas Land that if we don't look for domestic energy alternatives, we will forever be dependent on foreign oil. That may be true, but again, this answer intentionally ignores the actual controversy. At the end of his statement, he adds one single word: "Terrorism." This is Boren's attempt to shame nay-sayers into silencing their misgivings, on the basis that to be anti-fracking is unpatriotic. The Energy Policy Act of 2005 which infamously adds the "Halliburton Loophole" excluding hydraulic fracturing from the stipulations of the SDWA is under Subtitle B: "Set America Free" (Energy Policy Act, Title XIV, Subtitle B, 2005). Taking advantage of the patriotic boom following 9/11, branding fracking as "pro-American" is both an emotional ploy and a scare tactic. People want to be seen as "pro-American," and are scared to be branded as "un-American." Is putting the profits of a major industry over public health really more patriotic? Or can/should they be dealt with as two separate issues?

Conclusion.

The natural gas industry and those who benefit from the success of the industry use logical fallacies veiled with scientific language, hypothetical phrasing, scare-words and put-downs. The industry never uses flat-out denials or admissions of fault or guilt. In fact, in general, they refrain from actually addressing the matters put forth by the public, the media or independent researchers and scientists. So far these tactics have been powerful enough to dodge legislative or punitive consequences. The only tactic that will save their business in the long-term will be to demonstrate definitively that hydraulic fracturing does not cause water contamination, other environmental hazards, or health problems.

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Do Ya Understan' What I'm Sayin'? An Examination of Alice Walker and Sapphire's Use of Ebonics

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Freedom of speech has been one of the many desired qualities America offers her citizens, though at times it seems that the right to speak freely only applies to those who speak in a manner deemed proper and standard by the country's -- often educated -- majority. America is home to many different dialects of what is called Standard English. In many settings, like literature or education, variations of Standard English are met with negative and positive criticisms. America's hesitance to allow varieties of Standard English to reach the public can be seen in the receptions of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* and Sapphire's *Push*. Both authors use the controversial dialect of Ebonics in their novels to portray African American characters and culture.

The term Ebonics is used in this paper because it is a more commonly used name for the African American variety of Standard English. Compared to the speech it represents, the term Ebonics is relatively new. First coined by psychologist Robert L. Williams in 1973, the words "ebony" and "phonics" were combined to form Ebonics, giving it the literal meaning of "black sound" (Wright 6). The roots of Ebonics trace back to before America's Civil War. Africans who were brought to America as slaves found themselves separated from speakers of their own or similar languages and banned from becoming literate in English. The stripping of slaves' language also deprived them of their identities. Even in such isolation, a new language was formed and today's Ebonics is a linguistic legacy from that terrible time in African American history (Filmer 255). It seems fitting that this "black sound" would be the voice of Walker and Sapphire's African American characters.

One of the most well-known cases of controversy surrounding public use of Ebonics took place in Oakland, California. On December 18, 1996, the Oakland School Board (OSB) decided that due to its district's African-American student population of 53%, Ebonics would be used as a means of instruction in Oakland schools. The idea behind this decision was to build a bridge for teaching students Standard English (Applebome, Lakoff 227, Smitherman 13, Taylor 38). Oakland's studies showed that "… the standardized tests and grade scores of African American students in reading and language art skills… are substantially below state and national norms…" and that Standard English was not to be considered the "primary language" of these African American students (Original Oakland). The students' "primary language" was reported to be Ebonics and the OSB intended to use it, along with Standard English, as an instructional language in the classroom (Sadker 68). Using both speech styles to teach students appeared to be the best way to help Oakland's students.

Critics of this resolution ranged from concerned parents and citizens to prominent African American figures like Bill Cosby and Reverend Jesse Jackson. Cosby gave his thoughts on the Oakland Ebonics controversy in an article published in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "Elements of Ingo-Ebonics Style." Cosby argued that if Ebonics would be taught to students it should be taught to authority figures too. As he put it, "… the consequences of a grammatical accident could be disastrous during a roadside encounter with a policeman" (Baugh 91). Reverend Jesse Jackson was at first displeased with the resolution. He changed his thoughts, however, once it was explained to him that Ebonics would be used as a way to teach students Standard English (Coleman). Even with supporters like Jackson, the school board's resolution did not have enough backing to stay in effect too long.

One of the biggest complaints of Walker and Sapphire's use of the black dialect was that it was "degrading to black people" and painted blacks in a negative light (Roden 464). The protagonists of *The Color Purple*, Celie, and *Push*, Precious, are both young, uneducated African American women who tell their stories through Ebonics. Sapphire attests "*Push* is about the acquisition of language" (Manderfield). This acquisition can also be seen in *The Color Purple*. Celie's story is told in an epistolary fashion -- a series of letters between herself and God and herself and her sister Nettie. Through these letters, Walker illustrates Celie's ability to understand Ebonics and Standard English. Celie uses Ebonics when talking and when writing about her own life. She is also, however, able to comprehend Standard English used by Nettie and the white townspeople (Huskey 100-1). This leads readers to see Ebonics as Celie's own language and voice.

Precious's language is even further from Standard English than Celie's. Celie writes, in one letter to God, "I ast him to take me instead of Nettie while our new mammy sick" (Walker 7). The extent of Precious' illiteracy is shown in her journal entries which are comprised of hardly any comprehendible words. To her teacher she writes "tsak Abdul i don notin," which is meant to say "take Abdul I don't have nothing" (Sapphire 70). Her narrating voice is a little easier for readers to decipher with more common Ebonics words like "fahver" for "father", "maff" for "math", and "shoutin'" for "shouting" (Sapphire 1, 5, 113). In regards to the acquisition of language, Precious' reading and writing skills greatly improve by the novel's end. Her voice that narrates the story, however, stays very close to the Ebonics with which the story began.

For those who do not speak -- or at least are not familiar with – Ebonics, it may seem that Celie and Precious speak a different language. Celie's "black folk English" and the "halting dialect" and "hobbled, minimal English" Precious communicates with provide

strong evidence to the social and racial contexts and environments experienced by each female (Roden 458, Walters 415). Contemporary African American rapper Kendrick Lamar addresses this issue in his song "The Art of Peer Pressure" where, referring to Ebonics, he raps that he and his friends are "speaking language only we know, you think is an accent" (The Art of Peer Pressure). When critics attacked her for the use of Ebonics in *The Color Purple*, Walker justified her choices by stating that "language is an intrinsic part of who we are and what has… happened to us…" (Roden 464). Those who praised Walker and Sapphire's vernacular choices supported the idea that the language of the novels contributed to, not detracted from, the overall storytelling effect. Although the language in both novels is not always grammatically correct, both characters possess the power to communicate. The dialect helps readers feel and understand the "relentless, claustrophobic sorrow" that saturates both stories (Walters 415, Zhou 302). The use of Ebonics in the novels gives them a more authentic feel.

If the stories of these young African American women were told in Standard English, much of the novels' impact, power, and message would be lost. One's language reveals what culture he or she is from or with which he or she identifies. By using an oral tradition possessing strong ancestral ties, Walker and Sapphire "expose the depth of the conflict" present between African Americans and the oppression of the dominant, white, culture (George 121). A person's social status can be indicated by how a person speaks. If one's speech style differs from the established and expected standard, the opportunity for linguistic, social, and racial prejudice and discrimination is presented. Even in contemporary American society, Ebonics speakers are stereotyped and categorized. They are often considered to be "deficient intellectually, culturally, and socially" solely because they speak a non-standard form of English (Filmer 256, 258). Assumptions like these are why some feel Ebonics and academia cannot exist together.

The linguistic and racial prejudice and discrimination that African Americans experience because of the use of Ebonics can create an idea of the Other. Those who are stereotyped are stuck being "a form of knowledge and identification" that waivers between something that is "already known and something that must be anxiously repeated" (Bhabha 62). These degrading stereotypes and prejudices are projected onto the minority by the majority. In America it is not enough for "the black man [to] be black; he must be black in relation to the white man" (Fanon 87). African American speakers of Ebonics often find themselves as being outsiders within their own country. Ebonics is the "first - and sometimes only - language for the majority of its speakers" (Filmer 256). This causes the speakers to be outsiders because, even though it is technically English, Ebonics is a variety that is not considered to be the standard for the American English language. The dialect distances Ebonics speakers from fully becoming insiders (Filmer 256).

The acceptance of Walker and Sapphire's use of Ebonics is synonymous with the acceptance of Ebonics itself. The denial of Ebonics' legitimacy and place among Americans is the same as the denial of "the legitimacy of black culture and the black experience" (Filmer 262). To silence that voice would be like erasing the people to whom it belongs. Should African Americans abandon Ebonics in order to be accepted by Standard English speaking Americans? Celie at one point thinks that "… only a fool would want to talk in a way that feel peculiar to your mind" (Walker 219). Linguist John Rickford traces Ebonics' origin to the days of slavery. The connection to America's painful and ugly past may be a reason why so many Americans are hesitant to accept it. Ebonics "gives testimony to the fact that African Americans have not completely assimilated" and credits it partly to the "will to maintain a distinct identity" (Filmer 264). With this distinct identity, Ebonics has helped its speakers establish themselves as something other than the majority.

The Color Purple and *Push* are important works in America's Black literary tradition. Literary works by African American authors began in the late 18th century with slave narratives and the Harlem Renaissance (Madhubuti). It was not until the early 1970s that different pieces became part of this literary tradition. The diversity came in the form of "unconventional Black women characters" (Griffin 169). Strong Black female characters are not the only positive products of Walker and Sapphire's works. The portrayal of African American life through the use of Ebonics is "a moment in which the black English of the oral tradition is forever carved in stone" (George 121). Concerning her own work, Sapphire explains "this is the language you're hearing now" (Manderfield). The language of *The Color Purple* and *Push* contribute greatly to the Black literary tradition.

The mixed receptions and criticisms of Walker and Sapphire's novels make it difficult to discern whether or not Ebonics should be used in literature. Some feel that the variety of English shames African Americans and stereotypes them as uneducated. Others feel that such uses of Ebonics are positive ways to celebrate Black culture and the history of the language and its people. The use of Ebonics in literature introduces Ebonics to readers who might not have any previous knowledge of the speech style. Those who consider Ebonics to be their first language are able to read stories in the language with which they are familiar. Ebonics in literature also opens the door for further exploration into African American culture. The relevance of the novels' language in today's society and their strong connection to its speakers' past provide ways for members of all cultures to learn about such a large and critical part of America's history and people.

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Kauna mai ana ia‘u ke moe

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E nā maka onaona e ha‘alipo ana i ke ehu kakahiaka, ke ehu mai ka lā hiki, a me nā maka ‘ume‘ūme e ha‘alipo ana i ke ehu ahiahi i ka welona ha‘aheo a ka lā i Lehua. Hua‘i wale mai ka lalawe ninihi launa ‘ole i ka maka aloha. Ke aloha nui iā kākou a pau.

‘Ike ka maka onaona i ka mana‘o i ku‘una ‘ia e nā kūpuna ma ia wahi ‘ōlelo, “hele nō ka lima, hele no ka ‘āwihi. ‘A‘ohe loa‘a i ke onaona maka.” ‘A‘ohe ana loa‘a i ke onaona maka wale nō. ‘A‘ole nō ho‘i lawa ka u‘i, ka nani, a me ka nohea o kānaka i wahi ipo. Lawa nō ka ‘ao‘ao ikaika, ka ‘ao‘ao nāwaliwali a me ka maka onaona o ia mea, he ipo ahi. Ma kēia ka‘ao e ‘ike ‘ia ai ka nani ma nā ‘ano a pau.

I ka huaka‘i ‘ana o ka wahine a me kāna aikāne i O‘ahu, launa ‘o Hi‘iakaikapoliopele me ka wahine puni i ke kilu. ‘O Pele‘ula nō ia a ‘ula‘ula ke ahi o ka ‘i‘ini ona e kilu. Ho‘ouna ‘ia aku ka ukali, e ki‘i aku iā Lohi‘au no ke kilu pū.

Ho‘āhu ‘ia maila nā pā kulu, kūkula ka pahu, kahi ho‘i e pā ai ka pā kilu ke ho‘olei aku. I ka ho‘olei ‘ana o ka mea kilu i ka pā kilu a i pā ka pahu, kapa ‘ia akula ia he akamai. ‘O ka mea e pā ‘ole ai ka pahu kilu, he hāwāwā ia, he hemahema ho‘i.

Ho‘omaka koke akula ke kilu ‘ana o nā mea pā‘ani. Aia ‘o Pele‘ula lāua ‘o Hi‘iaka ma kahi ‘ao‘ao. Aia ‘o Lohi‘au lāua ‘o Wahine‘ōma‘o ma kahi ‘ao‘ao o ke kahua kilu. Ua lilo iā Lohi‘au ke kilu mua a iā ia no ho‘i ke mele mua. A pau kēia mele, ‘o kona wā ia i ho‘olei aku ai i kāna kilu. Kiola! Kiola! ‘A‘ole kā auane‘ī. He neo ia. Kiola hou a ‘a‘ohe nō ke pā. A laila, hāpai a‘ela ‘o Hi‘iakaikapoliopele i kāna mele,

‘O ku‘u manawa na‘e ka i hei i ka moe
‘O ‘oe na‘e ka‘u e lawe lilo
Kaunu mai ana ia‘u ke moe
E moe ho‘i ē.

‘O ka niniu ka‘alewa nō ia o ua kilu nei āna a pā ana ka pahu kilu. He akamai ho‘i kau! A kiola hou ihola ‘o ua Lohi‘au nei i ke kilu me kāna mele pū, he neo ia ‘a‘ohe nō ke pā. Kiola hou a kani maila kāna mele, he neo ia ‘a‘ohe nō ke pā. Kiola hou a he neo hou ia. ‘O ka ‘umi kēia o nā kilu a ua ‘o Lohi‘au, ua pau wale nō na‘e i ka hala. I ka eo ‘ana o ko Lohi‘au mā ‘ao‘ao, ua lilo ihola ‘o Lohi‘au i mea nāna e ho‘omānanalo i ka hana e ho‘okauā ‘ia mai ai ‘o ia e ka ‘ao‘ao lanakila. Ua lilo ‘o ia i mea ukali o ua po‘e ali‘i wāhine nei. ‘O ke kani a‘ela nō ia o kāna oli i mea e hau‘oli ai ka na‘au o ua po‘e ali‘i wāhine nei.

Ku‘u hoa i ka ‘ili hau o Mānā
I kula‘ina e ka wai a Hina
Hina ke oho o ka hala
Ka ‘ōka‘i pua o ka hīnalo i ka wai ē
Eia ‘oe.

Pi‘i maila ka mā‘e‘ele i nā kumu pepeiao o nā ali‘i wāhine, ‘iniki aku, ‘iniki mai, lou aku, lou mai, ‘ūmi‘i aku, ‘ūmi‘i mai nō ho‘i nā lima lauahi a ka makemake a me ka ho‘ohihi o ua po‘e ali‘i wāhine nei i ka nani a me ka u‘i o Hā‘ena. He mea lalawe ho‘i tau i nā iwi hilo o ua po‘e ali‘i wāhine nei.

E nā hoa o ka ‘ao‘ao palupalu a me ku‘u kua‘ana o ka ‘ao‘ao ‘o‘ole‘a, ‘a‘ole nō ho‘i lawa ka nohea wale nō o Lohi‘au. Ma kona ‘ao‘ao nāwaliwali i ‘ike ‘ia ai ke eo ma ke kilu. Ma kona ‘ao‘ao ikaika o ka hula a me ke oli na‘e i hō‘ike ‘ia ai ka nani o ia keiki o Kaua‘i. Me kona hua i hā‘ule mai ka waha mai ‘o ia i ho‘ohihi ai i ka mana‘o o ua po‘e ali‘i wāhine nei. Ua ‘ike ‘ia ka ikaika o ka ho‘omalimali, ho‘oha‘iha‘i, a ka ho‘oheihei ma o ke mele o nā hoa pā‘ani. A pēlā ana kākou e hana ai mai kēia mua aku. E lilo kākou i mau Lohi‘au a i mau Hi‘iaka a hō‘ike aku i ke onaona o ka maka a me ka malimali o nā hua mele. E ho‘oikaika i ko kākou ‘ao‘ao ho‘omalimali i mea e hau‘oli ai ka na‘au o ka ipo ahi a pa‘a pono i ke aloha. He le‘a nō ka lalawe o ka iwi hilo i ka ho‘oha‘i. E ku‘upau aku i ka mapuna leo a ke aloha e like me kā Lohi‘au a Hi‘iaka i hana ai me kā lāua mau mele.

No laila, e nā hoa, e hōkio mai kou pio, e ani mai kou lima, e ‘āwihi mai kou maka. E ho‘oha‘i kākou a e ho‘omalimali kākou i ka huapala o ke aloha ma ka hula a ma ke oli paha. Mai kali a to‘o late ‘oukou e nā hoa. Pali e ke kua, mahina e ke alo. Ma‘ane‘i poli ‘oe, pumehana kāua. ‘Ahahahana lilo ‘oe. Lilo iā mī nei.

‘Auhea ke wale ke hoa ke ho‘i

‘Auhea wale ‘oukou e ku‘u mau hoa, e ku‘u mau ‘ōpio, e ku‘u mau u‘i, e ku‘u mau hapauea, nā hoa ho‘i e ‘onipa‘a mau a paupauaho. Hō a‘e kākou i ka wala kī‘aha. Kāmau kī‘aha i ‘olu, i pāhe‘e ko pu‘u ke moni, mai kuhi mai ‘oe nō ho‘i, ‘o kāu alawiki ‘ana mai.

Ma kēia mau lālani mele i ‘ike ‘ia ai ka le‘ale‘a o kūpuna a pua mai kēia wahi ku‘una, “I kani ko ‘aka i ka le‘ale‘a, I pu‘u ko nuku i ka huhū, I le‘a ka nohona i ka mā‘ona.” ‘O ka ‘oli‘oli, he ‘aka‘aka ko ka maka. ‘O ka huhū, he pu‘upu‘u ko ka nuku. ‘O ka le‘ale‘a, he ‘olu‘olu ko ka ‘ōpū.

I ka wā o ke aupuni mō‘ī, ka mō‘ī ho‘i i luna, i luna, i lunalilo, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o William Charles Lunalilo i kau ‘ia ai kekahi mana‘o me ke kino pepa o ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a. Wahi a ka mea kākau, ‘a‘ole nō nui ke kānaka i ‘ūhele mai ai i ia mea, he anaina hula ke ‘ole e loa‘a he piha‘ekelo. ‘O ka piha‘ekelo, he wai wela, he wai pipi‘i, a he wai ‘ona ho‘i. I ka lohe iki na‘e ‘ana o ke kānaka, aia ma kahi o mea he mau pahu, a pākeke a ‘umeke piha‘ekelo, e nui auane‘ī ka po‘e naue wāwae, moe kāo‘o a ka huaka‘i lio i kāmau kī‘aha i ‘olu. Naue aku naue mai ka honua i ke ko‘ele wāwae o ka po‘e alawiki

a o ka lio hikiwawe i pāhe‘e ka pu‘u ke moni. Pēlā nō ka naue ‘ana maila o ka po‘e i ko Aonia Hale. Ma laila nō i wala kī‘aha ai ka po‘e a ‘ona. He mau helehelena ‘ano ‘ē, ‘ano ‘ē ka maka, a hilihewa ke kama‘īlio. Lewalewa maila ka lehelehe me ka no‘ono‘o ‘ole. Kani ‘ia ma ka waha nā hua mele i ka launa ‘uso‘ole, penei ia: “‘Auhea kē wale kē hoa kē ho‘i, E ku‘u kē wale kē hoa, kē nei? Hō a‘e kāua kē wale kē ho‘i, I ka wala kī‘aha kē wale kē nei.” A ma kēia mele i ‘ike ‘ia ka ‘āwihi a ka maka, ka ‘oni hilala i ‘ō a i ‘ane‘i, ke kuhi a ka lima i luna a i lalo. He mea ‘aka hene walea wale ihola nō ia no ia kini. Kani ka ‘aka i ka le‘ale‘a, ‘a‘ohe wahi e huhū ai, kena ho‘i ka pu‘u i ka wai ‘ona. He walea ho‘i kau.

E nā hoa, i ka wā kūpono o kēia walea ‘ana, e naue aku a e naue mai me ka lawe pū i ka piha‘ekelo, ka wai‘ona ho‘i, i ko Aonia hale kahi e nanea wale ai. E hele nui ka po‘e ‘ōpio, ka po‘e u‘i a me ka po‘e hapauea i ia mea, he luana ho‘i. Ma ke ko‘ele wāwae, ma ka holo lio, a ma ke ka‘a paha e holo wikiwiki ai ka po‘e i ka hale. I ko Aonia hale ana kākou i kāmau kī‘aha i ‘olu, i pāhe‘e ko pu‘u ke moni, a i kani ka ‘aka i ka le‘ale‘a. E ‘āwihi mai kou mau maka, e lewalewa ka lehelehe i nā hua mele a e ‘oni hilala kou kino nui i ka hau‘oli. E pū pa‘akai kākou i ka ‘ono o ka ‘aina a e wala kī‘aha kākou i ka piha‘ekelo i hau‘oli ke kānaka.

No laila, ‘auhea wale ‘oukou e nā Aonia e kono mai ana i nā hoa ‘īnea i ko hale? E ku‘u mau hoa, e kani mai ko ‘aka i ka le‘ale‘a, ‘a‘ohe wahi pu‘u o ka nuku, he le‘a wale nō ka nohona o ka mā‘ona. E hō a‘e kākou i ka wala kī‘aha. E inu i ka wai e pipi‘i, inu i ka wai pāuma, shua e ka wai a he ‘olu.

The War Won with Words, and the Country Rebuilt by Them

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The downfall of many leaders throughout the annals of history is best attributed to their failure to understand the paramount importance of confronting foes with the use of a pen, rather than a sword. European politics underwent a monumental transformation in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century due to the sudden, widespread development of literary comprehension amongst the middle and lower classes in European society. As a result, the English Civil War became one of the first major conflicts in British history to rely heavily upon the influence of written media to determine the outcome of the war. Wary adversaries from both Parliamentarian and Royalist allegiances adopted the use of literature to bring awareness to controversial issues, to draw the support of sympathetic audiences and to sling propaganda against opposing forces. Upon close inspection of the tangible impacts literature had on British citizens prior to, during and immediately after the civil war, it is undeniable that the triumph of the Parliamentarians was inextricably linked to their use of literary works as tools for dismantling King Charles I and his Royalist constituents, and that restructuring British society in the war's aftermath was also facilitated by literary contributions such as Paradise Lost by John Milton.

With the advent of Johannes Gutenberg's printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, the ability to read and write, a skillset which had previously been exclusive to the privileged classes, became readily accessible to a broader demographic in Europe. Printed text could be affordably reproduced, which accomplished three things: it reduced the cost of books, increased the number of books in circulation, and made it easier for less affluent authors to publish their creations on a reasonable budget. Less than half a century after the introduction of the printing press "male literacy in England slowly and steadily increased from ten percent in 1500 to forty-five percent in 1714 and to sixty percent in 1750. Female literacy in England increased from a mere one percent in 1500 to twenty-five percent in 1714 and to forty percent in 1750" (Brewer 155). This unprecedented change in social dynamics meant that a freer exchange of ideas could now take place, and more careful analysis could be given to previously overlooked idiosyncrasies in law, religion, and human interaction.

Meanwhile, several politicians embraced the spread of literacy once they realized that they now had a vehicle for communicating with (and in many instances, effectively infiltrating and manipulating) the rapidly emerging European middle class, as well as some members of lower class society. Supporters of King Charles I were certainly privy to the fact that literature swiftly became an indispensable component of ensuring a Royalist position of authority: "During the first half of the sixteenth century, the English gentry came to realize that its continued access to the controls of power would depend less on birth and military prowess and more on literacy and learning" (Levy 11). Cavalier poets, such as Richard Lovelace and Robert Herrick, contributed their artful talents to garnering support for King Charles I, filling volume upon volume with verses dedicated to the royal family in the hopes that their words would inspire loyalty to the sovereignty of the crown.

However, by the same token, the Royalists came to fear the revolutionary potential of literature as texts began to surface that called for a purging of government corruption under the reign of King Charles I. A plethora of Puritan authors, all firm supporters of Parliamentarian ideals, used their writing as a means of releasing subversive commentary on the political turmoil that wrought England during the seventeenth century (and in particular, the religious implications of said political discord). In retaliation to the publishing of these offensive texts, King Charles I imprisoned several Parliamentarian authors for their transgressions against his kingship. Men like John Bastwick and William Prynne, who were at the forefront of the Puritan authors' rebellion, "had their ears cut off as punishment, and to serve as a warning against future impudence" (Purkiss 201). Ironically, the actions of King Charles I only served to further his own dissention in public opinion, as many outspoken citizens erupted into a furious tirade against the king's blatant tyranny, thereby instigating the first major battles of the English Civil War in the 1640s.

As the English Civil War continued on for the next decade, Parliamentarian leaders came to appreciate the benefit of supplementing their strides on the battlefield with a steady flow of new publications to generate positive public regard for their position in the war. For the first two years of the contention for supremacy, things remained relatively stagnant as both factions faced off exclusively in physical combat. As this war of attrition began to drag on, Oliver Cromwell, though he would later become a hugely controversial figure during the English Commonwealth, proved himself to be an invaluable asset for rallying support behind Parliamentarian efforts, ingeniously enlisting several authors to publish material in Scotland and Ireland in an attempt to position himself for a pincer-attack on King Charles I: "from 1654 to 1655 the tide began to drastically shift in favor of Parliamentarian support in the British Isles. In the span of less than a year, Parliament expanded its favorability to nearly 80 percent of Britain's population" (Purkiss 23). In subsequent years, it became increasingly evident that a Royalist defeat had been secured by Cromwell's effective leadership and refocusing of political tactics.

Unfortunately, the brilliance exhibited by Cromwell during Parliament's turnabout years of the English Civil War has been eclipsed by his controversial actions as Lord Protector of the short-lived British Commonwealth.

Thankfully, there remains yet another element to literature's importance as a cultural device: for post-war/trauma recovery, literature provides ever-vigilant scrutiny as the victors of war begin their attempt to restructure society. In many ways, John Milton's Paradise Lost represents a foray into the dismay experienced by Parliamentarians who, while triumphant over the Royalists, were forced to witness Cromwell's fall from grace as his religious fanaticism and extremist views turned him against the Scottish and Irish supporters he had adopted during the civil war.

In recent years, a number of scholars have begun a discussion for how, in Paradise Lost, John Milton creates strong parallels between Satan's defiance of God and Cromwell's dangerous and irrational ambition. Gabriel Roberts, a graduate of the University of Cambridge and recipient of several academic distinctions for his dissertations on the subject of British Literature, discusses Milton's epic poem in an article entitled "Milton's Political Context." Roberts assesses the political landscape during Milton's time and how Milton challenged the political fallacies committed by Cromwell. He suggests that, "Satan's speeches provide the strongest example of a distinctively political voice appearing in the poem... he can be seen to represent something of Milton and Cromwell in their revolutionary struggles against the king" (Roberts 3). Though Satan, like Cromwell, starts out the story as a sympathetic character, perhaps even one with admirable qualities, Milton "weave[s] subtle flaws into Satan's arguments" (Roberts 2). Those discernible flaws and logical inconsistencies represent Milton's own disillusionment with Cromwell's leadership. Roberts continues by saying that "Milton strikes a fascinating balance between making Satan convincing and making sure that his arguments are misleading" (Roberts 3). After evaluating Paradise Lost in light of Roberts's dissection of Milton's characterizations, it is apparent that the character of Eve is set up to be deceived by Satan in much the same way that Milton believes he was deceived by Cromwell.

Still, while other researchers agree that Milton's writing indeed served a purpose in aiding British reconstruction, they do not perceive that Milton's agenda intended to be interpreted as attacking Cromwell. It's entirely possible that Milton sought to use Paradise Lost as a way to liberate the few remaining Royalists from their unyielding admiration of King Charles I, thus allowing the British Isles to unify cohesively under Parliamentarian ideals. While most scholars are in congruence with that fact that "Milton's conception…has always been recognized as political in nature," it would appear that instead of being written about Cromwell, "Charles was the tyrant with whose ways Milton was most familiar" (Bennett 441). Paradise Lost was likely written in rebuttal to " a royalist publication appearing shortly after Charles's execution that attempted to picture Charles as a Christlike martyr-king," an inaccurate depicture that had little logical or historical substantiation considering the well-documented tyranny of King Charles I, and one that spat in the face of Milton's own ideological standing (Bennett 442).

Taking both possibilities into consideration while reading Milton's Paradise Lost, both sides hold some level of feasibility. In fact, many clues suggest that Milton's rhetoric aims at jointly attacking both Charles and Cromwell, venting his frustrations with persistent Royalists while simultaneously lamenting Cromwell's betrayal of his own faction. In Paradise Lost, part of Satan's soliloquy in Book I appears to directly satirize the Royalist party and the abuses of King Charles I: "Be it so, since he / Who now is sov'reign can dispose and bid / What shall be right" (Milton I.245-247). In this instance, Milton is undoubtedly concerned with exposing and documenting the crimes of Charles, using Satan's powerless state against God as a representation of Parliament's powerlessness against Charles during the Eleven Years' Tyranny. However, Milton's later depiction of Satan during the manipulation of Eve echoes Milton's resentment towards Cromwell:

> Queen of this universe, do not believe
> Those rigid threats of death: ye shall not die
> How should ye? By the fruit? It gives you life
> To knowledge. By the Threat'ner? Look on me
> Me who have touched and tasted, yet both live.
> (Milton IX.684-688)

Though Eve knows Satan's suggested path is treacherous and in clear defiance of God, she allows herself to be beguiled by his unfounded, heretic logic. Cromwell, likewise, was responsible for beguiling an entire nation and using his newfound affluence as a victor of the English Civil War to commit heinous persecutions against Protestants under the guise of political and religious reform. In some ways, Milton's remorse for trusting Cromwell is also represented through the pitiable moment of epiphany when Satan reaches the conclusion that he committed an awful travesty by attempting to usurp God's dominion:

> I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
> Till pride and worse ambition threw me down
> Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless
> King: Ah wherefore! He deserved no such return.
> (Milton IV.39-42)

As a Puritan, Milton's message of the importance of repentance shines through all of the turmoil present in his poem. Satan remarks that "the easiest recompense" for his crimes would be to simply seek God's forgiveness, and yet he condemns himself by belligerently refusing to "afford him praise" (Milton IV.46-47). Much like in the tragedy of Christopher Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, Satan's only obstacle in reconnecting with God is himself; a typical folly of man that Milton understands thoroughly. Thus, Paradise Lost may be viewed as the repentance given by

Milton on behalf of Parliamentarians and Puritans alike for their failure to ostracize Cromwell. In any case, the fact remains that Milton's work has undeniably impacted historical perceptions of both Cromwell and King Charles I by elucidating their more contemptible attributes.

Since the English Civil War, written media has seen extensive application in nearly every major conflict of the last few centuries—from the compelling arguments made by abolitionist authors during the American Civil War, to the wartime propaganda that fueled anti-communist sentiments during the Cold War. Now, more than ever, politicians find themselves relying on media exposure to develop the supportive base needed to drive themselves to their goals. Literature is meant to engage critical thinking and bring awareness to concerning issues, hopefully steering audiences to act in favor of certain individuals, principals or values. Authors, journalists and historians all play a vital role in providing context to the way we view events in our past, offering us choices for how we identify with the reality of our present and constructing platforms for advancing society into the future. This concept was thoroughly understood by individuals such as Oliver Cromwell and John Milton, whose literary contributions had a staggering impact on the sociopolitical landscape of their era.

Annotated Bibliography

Bennett, Joan. "God, Satan, and King Charles: Milton's Royal Portraits." PMLA 92.3 (1977): 441-57. Print.
Joan Bennett is the founder of the University of Delaware's undergraduate research program and a two-time recipient of the James Holly Hanford award for her essays on John Milton. I found Bennett's insight intriguing as it took a position contrary to that of another of my authors (Gabriel Roberts), providing some clash of ideas for how Milton's work may be interpreted. I used Bennett's analysis in conjuncture with Roberts's to develop my own evaluation of the text.

Brewer, John. The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997. Print.
John Brewer holds a Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge, and has conducted extensive research on the subject of English cultural developments in the time period discussed in my paper. My primary reason for using Brewer's text is to offer statistical backing to support my claim that the period in which the English politics began to adopt written media as a viable tool correlates directly to the growth of literacy in Britain.

Greenblatt, Stephen. The Norton Anthology of English Literature. 9th ed. Vol. B. New York: W.W. Norton, 2012. N. pag. Print.

Levy, F. J. "How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550-1640." Journal of British Studies 21.2 (1982): 11-34. Print.
The article cited above, published by F.J. Levy in the Journal of British Studies, is integral to showing that the wealthy and privileged classes in British society took notice to the change in attitude towards the importance of education, and that they wouldn't be able to maintain power simply through birthright (especially with the emergence of a middle class that filled to gap between the polarized extremes of fabulously luxurious living and utter poverty). Levy is an expert historian on the subject of Tudor-era British politics.

Milton, John. Paradise Lost. Comp. Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: Odyssey, 1935. Print.

Purkiss, Diane. The English Civil War: A People's History. London: Harper Perennial, 2006. Print.
Diane Purkiss holds the position of Fellow and Tutor of English at Keble College, Oxford. Her studies encompass the entirety of the English Civil War, up until the instatement of King Charles II. I used some of the historical and statistical data compiled by Purkiss in order to demonstrate the tangible impact that literature had on determining a Parliamentarian victory over King Charles I and the Royalists.

Roberts, Gabriel. "Milton's Political Context." Darkness Visible. University of Cambridge, May 2008. Web. 24 Nov. 2012. <http://www.christs.cam.ac.uk/darknessvisible/politics.html>.
Like John Brewer, Gabriel Roberts is also a graduate from the University of Cambridge. He has been recognized by several academic journals for his contributions to the analysis of literature as a component of British politics in the era my paper discusses. Roberts offered a launching pad to begin my investigation into the nature of Milton's Paradise Lost as a political allegory. His work also provided some historical context for Milton's position as a Puritan Parliamentarian, and how his religious and political affiliations can be readily identified in the poem.

Disclosure: A Guide for Sexually Open Counselors

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Abstract: A counselor's professional code of conduct perceives value imposition as unethical; a paradox when one's very identity maybe deemed immoral to certain populations. To further the point, modern perspectives of sexuality include within their conceptualization a value scheme of social acceptance, forbearance, and tolerance. Indeed Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) and even Sex Positive mental health practitioners must handle the issue of self disclosure with great care. While a professional's private life is most certainly their own, sexual extroversion remains a core dilemma for both LGBTQ and Sex Positive counselors and the sensitivity of their clients. How to handle such disclosure can be quite precarious, and a certain level of flexibility and concession is recommended for all professional parties involved, including the counselors and the agencies who hire them.

This essay examines not only the legal complexities of self disclosure, but also the potential outcomes of initial disclosure, advertent disclosure, requested disclosure, inadvertent disclosure, and the perils of violent and sexual targeting.

Introduction: For both professional psychiatrists and counselors there's a tempered balance between empathy and disclosure. Extensive self censorship can be misconstrued as boredom, detachment or emotional sterility, while too little restraint can lead to alienation, moral and intrapersonal dilemmas, and malpractice. The sensible conclusion is to remain both personable and emotionally available while discretely separating one's professional and private life. Yet during the initial intake it is important to disclose relevant value constructs the counselor may have "that would make it difficult…to maintain objectivity" (Corey et al., 2011). At first this seems like standard protocol to protect the client from any potential bias, yet complications quickly arise.

The dilemma occurs in two parts: when the counselor and client disagree on the relevance of the counselor's identity; or when one's private identity is deemed objectionable to the immediate, cultural majority—as can be the case for open LGBTQ individuals, Queer Theorists, Feminists, and Sex Radicals belonging to the Sex Positive ethos.

Ethically, any active value system which tries to sway the moral certitude of the client is imposing and in error. However, positive adjustments to concrete morality structures are common therapeutic practice. Closeted LGBTQ clients, for example, may need to overcome self-deprecating psychological schemas constructed by a heterosexist culture of shame (Weis & Dain, 1979; Mascher, 2003).

With that said, the purpose of positive sex radicalism is to nullify "the stigma of erotic dissidence" by deconstructing the sexual caste system ranking monogamous heterosexuality as a social ideal (Rubin, 1984). By definition, a sex positive attitude is defined as a "cultural philosophy that understands sexuality as a potentially positive force in one's life, and it can, of course, be contrasted with sex-negativity, which sees sex as problematic, disruptive, dangerous. Sex-positivity allows for and in fact celebrates sexual diversity, differing desires and relationships structures, and individual choices based on consent" (Queen & Comella, 2008). Throughout this article, a clear distinction is made between members of the LGBTQ community and the Sex Positive community, for while they certainly overlap the Sex Positive attitude is a socio-political value base that not everyone within the LGBTQ community shares.

More to the point, openly sexual members of the LGBTQ community face the risk of unwarranted hate crimes, as well as personal attacks on their professionalism with few legal shields to protect them against discrimination in the workplace (Bender-Baird, 2011; HRC, 2011; Ramos, 2011). According to the Williams Institute 57% of transgender individuals experience discrimination in the workplace, while the National Center for Transgender Equality report a much higher 90% (Badgette, 2011; Grant, 2011). Such social problems underline the need for open LGBTQ and Sex positive advocates, activists and professional role models, who in many states remain legally unprotected.

Understandably, counselors may not wish to disclose anything, which is a respectable option until one has to confront both requested or inadvertent disclosure. Indeed, the course of therapy, unless routed by wholly client centered techniques, presents many occasions for the counselor to reveal aspects of their identity. Yet individuals are rarely out of the closet for good, since every new social interaction, and in this case every new client intake, presents another opportunity for disclosure.

Some professionals supersede this via social tellers, body language, fashion, or even a well placed pride button. Yet such clues assume the client bares the cultural and kinesthetic lexicon to recognize subtle encoding. In this sense, the LGBTQ community is divided by the sexually obvious and the sexually discrete, and while psychotherapy does demand discretion, at what point does constrained behavior become a straight-faced lie?

For licensed mental health practitioners working outside the LGBT and Sex Positive demographic, identity disclosure is often conveyed to the client through one of four means: initial disclosure, advertent disclosure, requested disclosure, and inadvertent disclosure, each of which bare their own unique complications.

Initial Disclosure: During the onset of therapy an informed consent document may contain an addendum pertaining to the counselor's sexual orientation, gender,

and stance on personal empowerment. This is the most direct, explicit means of self disclosure, yet it assumes the client is capable of understanding both the individual and the terminology in front of them, and is then capable of interpreting this individual as a professional. This may not always be easy.

Even if the client is fairly open minded, they may not be familiar with certain lifestyles, including the polyamorous or the polysexual, nor may they be familiar with certain pangender, ambigender, pansexual or queer identity constructs. They may also make cultural stereotypes they are scarcely aware of (Monk, et al. 2008).

It may be necessary for the counselor to provide a brief, unobtrusive introduction to certain definitions. As always, the pansexual counselor can let a white lie escape them and claim to be gay or bisexual in order to escape the complication, but this is still a misrepresentation underestimating the client's ability to digest new information. The purpose is to be as honest, open, concise, and clear as possible.

Furthermore, LGBTQ counselors who work with adolescents are often subjected to even harsher stereotypes, and while the client may wholly accept the counselor's orientation their parent or legal guardian may object. Once again, it is not the counselor's place to argue morality, though the adolescent therapy stresses the need for both open and clear communication. It is also crucial that the counselor recognizes all their legal rights within their state and has a clear understanding with their employer in regards to the nature of said disclosure.

If the client continues the session they maybe intrinsically curious, beginning therapy by focusing on the counselor or perhaps, in some cases, internalizing aspects of the counselor's lifestyle, requiring said counselor to steer the conversation to the client's needs and not their own. If the client's issue is a sexual one this maybe a brilliant segue, if not, we are off on the wrong foot.

Additionally, many cultural groups find sexual orientation incredibly personal, and may interpret such disclosure as meaning something more than the counselor intended. Such extraneous info may be deemed too much, too early, and too quick, serving only to "confuse or overwhelm the client" (Corey et al., 2011). While a written statement of disclosure may appear to be the tamest course of action, it may still be judged as over-disclosure by restrictive individuals who do not, for reasons of their own, feel that the topic is appropriate on any level. In such cases, it may be difficult for the client to then perceive the counselor as a professional in a professional setting.

The politically correct means to deal with this situation is to remove focus from the counselor in the initial document. Code words and symbolic representation are often used, describing the office as a safe space for LGBT, Sex Positive and Queer individuals, insinuating the counselor's stance with a wink and a nod without any absolute I statements. However even with a pink triangle and a rainbow flag, the counselor's personal identity remains a hinted upon mystery. Disclosure is still an issue.

Advertent Disclosure: After the initial intake and a few subsequent sessions, let's say the client expresses a feeling of alienation. The counselor empathizes but does not relate any personal story. Progressively, the meetings divulge the client's fear of sexuality. At this point the counselor can either relate their personal experience or continue without outing themselves, so as not to influence the client's thought process. In another session, when the client expresses a sense of isolation, the counselor conveys their own sexuality, knowing that the ability to relate is paramount in this situation, and that it is now pertinent to do so. General disclosures including that of sexual orientation, help diminish the inherent power differential clients may encounter when meeting mental health practitioners by humanizing the interaction (Milton, Coyle, & Legg, 2002).

This little scenario observes the issue of relevant timing. Poor timing may cause the client to question the purpose of said disclosure, for while sex positive individuals stress the difference between sexuality and sexual identity, an overwhelming populace clumps them into the same arena. Conversely, delayed disclosure may cause the client to wonder why the issue was held back for so long, and may call into question the level of trust in the room. Thoughtful, open minded individuals may feel insulted and perhaps even underestimated by their counselor's level of censorship, while sexually restricted individuals may feel betrayed, disgusted and somewhat lied to.

In the case of controversy a counselor is always recommended to be honest in order to work through the conflict or at the very least address the barrier. In the case of homophobic, overtly religious, or even outwardly conservative individuals, it may be necessary to address the issue as early as the initial intake. If the client exhibits distress it may be necessary to refer them to another counselor with whom they would feel more comfortable. Shying away from the issue runs the risk of further complication, and a counselor's wholly rational decision to keep their private life private maybe reinterpreted as deceit at a later date.

Requested Disclosure: One day a client asks if the counselor is married. The reality is that the counselor is in a long term polyamorous bisexual relationship with two individuals with whom they have exchanged spiritual vows. In the counselor's mind they are indeed married, twice in fact. Again the counselor stands at a potentially alienating crossroad. It's easy to tell a half truth, to acknowledge one partner without the other, but that betrays their emotional connection. Normally, in a social setting, disclosure would not be a problem, but the counselor's concerned because the client has

been discussing their own issues with interpersonal relationships and may not be in the proper emotional place to absorb the information. Censorship maybe required since the individual may not have the current capacity or emotional tolerance to understand the counselor's private life. When the counselor is asked if they are married they merely say "yes."

Other clients may be impressionable and prone to idealism, acculturating new relationship dynamics wherever they can. This conveyance of value is not the purpose of counseling psychology, though it happens all the time on many intrinsic and unintentional levels. Additionally, anyone in a successful polyamorous relationship can attest to the level of patience and maturation required, and how some individuals experiment with open polysexual relationships to frivolous and sometimes disastrous results.

The gambit of risk multiplies exponentially when dealing with clients under the age of eighteen. Not only are children and teenagers more susceptible to what they may deem exotic lifestyles, their parents (who may not even be familiar with the terminology let alone the lifestyle) may be prone to judgmental and temperamental reactions, potentially putting the client's personal development at risk.

Since the counselor is not legally married they may answer "no," merely to avoid the complication altogether, but this, once again, is an avoidance tactic. Conversely, they may decide to explain their identity.

Whether or not the client is capable of handling this information is in all actuality a judgment made by the counselor, and it may be unfair. Introducing ideas and behavior mechanisms may actually help the client's therapeutic process (Milton, Coyle, & Legg, 2002). Questions directly or indirectly related to the counselor's life create opportunities to vicariously explore the clients reality via the reality of the therapist. This may potentially be an uncomfortable scenario for any LGBTQ or Sex Positive counselor who, understandably, may not want to use their lifestyle as a tool for someone else's therapy. Yet disclosure of any kind is a powerful means of broadening a client's understanding of other people (not to mention their understanding of the client).

Inadvertent Disclosure: Assuming there has been, to this point, no germane reason for the counselor to disclose their sexual or gender identity there is a chance of being found out. Let us say the client makes it known that they saw the counselor kissing a member of the same sex in public. They want an explanation, or feel they deserve one. They may even voice a negative opposition to this, or imply such without direct address. This creates yet another opportunity for the counselor to explore the client's reaction before disclosure. The client's discomfort may result from personal surprise, social confusion, cultural differences, religious attitudes or outright value conflicts. While it is important for the counselor to be true to themselves, the client's psychological well being is paramount. Many conflicts can be diffused, and may even progress as helpful deviations—opportunities for the counselor and the client to clarify and connect on whole new levels of understanding. Provided the client is open enough to progress, the counselor may choose to disclose themselves fully, resulting in a completely open network of communication. If, however, the conflict is too egregious a counselor's next task is to explore other options, including referral.

With a touch of skill and compassion, the counselor and their client may be able to strengthen the therapeutic relationship. Definitions may be clarified, identities may be respected, people may agree to disagree, though the latter may prove to be somewhat strenuous in later sessions.

Risks of Violent and Sexual Targeting: Phobia and open stigmatization of sexuality, sexual orientation, gender variance and sexual expression remain pervasive, even in our misconstrued use of language. Periodically, moralism, defined as a perception of righteousness, is mistaken for morality, a respectful mode of ethics (Warden, 1999). Since sexuality, homosexuality, and gender variance remain controversial issues, open and expressive individuals must remain thoughtful, brave, and vigilant to both their safety, their family's safety, their coworker's safety, and even the safety of their clients.

This is by no means an endorsement of paranoia, merely a harsh reality individuals working in their community continue to cope with. "Counselors and educators must be careful to not hold on to victim narratives that promote clients embracing these negative notions" (Monk, et al., 2008). It is critical, therefore, to create a safety network between advocacy centers, counseling centers, academic boards, and key players in the community including informational mediums, police officers, accepting parishioners, and open members of the religious community along with PFLAG and understanding members of the PTA. Police and social workers may be required to act as crisis intervention, and during times of hostility counselors would do well to remember their colleagues, their advocates, and the safety network they have strived to build for so long.

Yet homophobia is not the only form of targeting. Individuals in the community may deliberately seek out LGBTQ and Sex Positive counselors because of their identity. By being Out such therapists provide not only hope but a source of authority via their personal experience (Milton, Coyle, & Legg, 2002). Indeed, social resource sites such as ALGBTIC.org, gayfriendlytherapists.com, and therapytribe.com can be a wonderful aid for an otherwise invisible minority. Yet this sort of targeting may have its own repercussions.

Feelings of isolation often lead to intense loneliness and some clients, including adults still experimenting with identity acquisition, may have never met an open LGBTQ or Sex Positive individual, let alone an open LGBTQ or Sex Positive counselor willing to listen to

their hopes and fears. Ultimately, complications with sexual tension have no easy answer, though one should automatically recognize the professional and legal implications of professional misconduct. Self monitoring behavior is crucial and counselors must "learn to recognize sexual attractions and how to deal with these feelings constructively and therapeutically," in order to maintain clear boundaries with their client (Jackson & Nuttall, 2001).

Even without open disclosure on the therapist's part, exposure, proximity and catharsis influence all parties involved. On the other side of the therapeutic chair, anywhere between 82% and 87% (Pope, Keith-Spiegel & Tabachnick, 1986; Pope et al.,1993) of surveyed professional counselors had seriously considered sexual interaction with a client. While a counselor should not impose their sexual attractions on their client, exploring these feelings with appropriate consultation is the best way to cope with the issue in private, thereby maintaining objectivity with one's client (Pope et al., 1993).

Sexual interaction with a client is inappropriate at any time, and is prohibited by both the APA (2002, 2003) and the ACA (2005). Given that therapy can create such a vulnerable state, an abuse of trust and an off kilter power dynamic can result in guilt, anger, depression, chronic mistrust and an overall feeling of rejection, leading to hospitalization and even suicide (Bouhoutsos, 1983; Olarte, 1997). Understanding this, the paranoia surrounding the LGBTQ and Sex Positive community is undeserved. In fact, counselors who overstepped their professional boundaries reported to be sexually dissatisfied in their own private lives, and often felt sexually repressed and sexually isolated (Lamb et al., 2003). An overwhelming 84% of these cases reported to be heterosexual male counselors engaging in inappropriate sexual relations with female clients (Lamb et al., 2003).

Additionally, Olarte (1997) found that 88% of boundary violations were due to heterosexual middle-aged men dealing with personal distress and professional isolation, who tend to overvalue their healing abilities by engaging in unorthodox and inappropriate forms of personal disclosure. Therefore, a healthy attitude towards sex and human sexuality, not to mention a healthy sexual lifestyle in one's private life, is perhaps the best way to avoid inappropriate sexual attractions, given that "psychologists with adequate knowledge and comfort regarding sexuality will be better able to serve clients and avoid ethical pitfalls" (Wiederman et al., 1999).

Conclusion: For some counselors sexual and gender identity may bear no significance to their therapeutic practice, but how might the knowledge of their identity influence their client if they found out? Conversely, when the counselor's private identity outweighs their professional career by relevance and importance to their own level of ethics, self expression, and self esteem, they must also consider how this very open identity may influence their client's emotional transference. Is this complication an unfair hypocritical byproduct of a shame-based heterosexist system? Most certainly, but moral hetero-normative assumptions "crop up everywhere, from common prejudice to academic psychology," and are a common issue for sexual and gender variant minorities (Warden, 1999).

In today's society mental health practitioners adeptly balance a myriad of issues, all of which ultimately come down to the cost benefit analysis of the moment. One can temper their actions and modes of self expression as they see fit, they can even censor themselves entirely, but even within collectivistic cultures a healthy level of self esteem is accompanied by a healthy means of self expression.

Tact, courtesy, and diplomacy are required to respect both the counselor's identity, autonomy and lifestyle, as well as that of their clients. Calm, healthy, educational and clarifying disclosure is perhaps the best means to avoid both complication and controversy. Clients have a right to know who they're working with. Likewise, any inability to cope with the counselor's identity should be addressed immediately so as not to foster negative reactions within the client. Besides which people are by nature adaptive, and many come to terms quite easily once the unique becomes familiar. In essence, always allow your clients to surprise you.

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Philosophical Skepticism: Taking Knowledge Out of Context

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The position of pure philosophical skepticism holds that, in order to justify our knowledge of the world, we must base our justification on something outside of that knowledge itself. According to the skeptic, unless we can provide this external justification, our claims to have knowledge of anything outside of our own mind are spurious. The skeptic thus demands some foundation, in the form of epistemologically certain principles, on which all other human knowledge can be based. If these foundational principles do not exist, then the ultimate ramification of the skeptical position would be that we can never actually know anything, and that all of our attempts to develop knowledge through observation or experience are futile and meaningless.

This conclusion is profoundly unsettling, and has been attacked by many philosophers. C.S. Peirce rejects the skeptical position as impractical, and advocates instead for a scientific method that presumes correspondence to an external world as a necessary condition of fixing belief. Michael Williams, on the other hand, rejects both Peirce's presumption and the 'foundationalism' of the skeptics, and instead introduces a 'contextualism' in which our knowledge is dependent on the context in which it is generated or applied. This paper will draw on a mixture of the ideas of both to move beyond the skeptics' objections and to defend the search for knowledge as a meaningful enterprise.

In his essay 'The Fixation of Belief,' Peirce begins by noting that, as humans, we are inexorably driven to rid ourselves of doubts by replacing them with beliefs. Peirce then identifies four methods which people use to develop beliefs. He is dismissive of the first three methods: tenacity, in which a person clings to beliefs by ignoring evidence to the contrary; authority, in which beliefs are imposed from above by institutions; and the a priori method, in which an aesthetic sense of what 'feels' right decides what is believed. It is fourth method, which Peirce refers to as "the method of science," that he ultimately champions. The goal of science, Peirce writes, is to find a means "by which our beliefs may be determined by nothing human, but by some external permanency – by something upon which our thinking has no effect." Peirce advises his readers that they "should consider well" of the first methods and then decide that they "wish [their] opinions to coincide with fact, and that there is no reason why the results of those first three methods should do so."

Peirce claims that this coincidence with fact is achievable through science as a result of what he calls its "fundamental hypothesis," which can be paraphrased as follows: "There are Real things, whose characters are entirely independent of our opinions about them; those Reals affect our senses according to regular laws and, . . . by taking advantages of the laws of perception, we can ascertain by reason how things really and truly are; and . . . be led to the one True conclusion."

In other words, according to Peirce, science depends on a correspondence theory of truth: there is already, prior to our investigation, some existing truth, about which our conclusions can then either be wrong or right. "The new conception involved here," he writes, "is that of Reality." For Peirce, it would seem that a belief which is obtained through one of the first three methods cannot be classed as knowledge, while one based on science can – that we have at least some grounds for connecting a scientific conclusion to an independently existing 'external world.'

In defending his supposition of an external world against the skeptical position, Peirce suggests that there is a tacit acknowledgment of a correspondence version of truth implicit in the skeptic's doubt. The fact that this doubt produces dissatisfaction, Peirce claims, is an indication that the doubter believes "that there is some one thing which a proposition should represent." In other words, if there is not an external truth for a belief to correspond to, then there is no reason to be unsatisfied with an unjustified belief in the first place. Thus the skeptic's very act of doubting an external world would suggest that they believe that there is one.

In the end, however, Peirce leaves the skeptics' central question basically unanswered, simply asserting that it is not worth the effort of addressing fully: "[N]ot having any doubt, nor believing that anybody else whom I could influence has, it would be the merest babble for me to say more about it." Rather than confronting the skeptics on their own terms, Peirce dismisses their basic project – questioning the possibility of knowledge production – as useless. Since doubt causes dissatisfaction, and all humans wish to rid themselves of it, the skeptic may express reservations about the validity of this endeavor, but it will nonetheless take place. For Pierce, the important question is not 'can we' or 'should we' fix our beliefs, but rather 'how should we go about doing so.' With this in mind, Peirce examines the means which are available to us, and fixes on science – with its hypothesis of an external world included as part of the package – as the most satisfactory and rigorous of the available methods.

In his essay 'Epistemological Realism,' Michael Williams chooses a different route to attack the skeptical position. Instead of moving beyond the skeptical position by rejecting it as impractical, Williams examines the foundations of the skeptics' questions. According to Williams, what the skeptical position asks for is an explanation of knowledge which satisfies two conditions: the totality condition and the objectivity condition. The totality condition requires that a satisfactory explanation of knowledge must adequately justify all knowledge. This, Williams argues, would require that some form of

knowledge be 'epistemologically prior' to our experience of the world, so that we might use this prior knowledge to evaluate our supposed experiential knowledge and decide whether or not it passes the test. The objectivity condition, on the other hand, requires "that the knowledge we want to explain is knowledge of an objective world, a world that is the way it is independently of how it appears to us to be or what we are inclined to believe about it."

If we compare Williams' analysis of the skeptics' demands to Peirce's account of knowledge, we begin to see some flaws in Peirce's handling of the skeptical position. Peirce's argument that the dissatisfaction of doubt is evidence of the skeptics' belief in external truth seems to handle the totality condition by indicating that some 'epistemologically prior' knowledge leads us to believe in an external world. His 'external permanency,' on the other hand, deals with the 'objectivity condition,' and it is here we see an apparent incompatibility between Williams and Peirce. Peirce's hypothesis asserts that 'real' things "affect our senses according to regular laws, and. . .by taking advantage of the laws of perception, we can ascertain by reasoning how things really and truly are." Williams, on the other hand, cautions us that such assumptions of "connections between experiential data and worldly fact" will not truly rid us of the skeptical position: "[I]f, in a desperate attempt to avoid skepticism, we insist on such connections, we make the way the world is depend on how it appears to us, in violation of the objectivity requirement."

Williams does not, however, conclude that the skeptic is correct, but goes on to undermine the assumptions on which it rests by exposing the conceptual baggage of the 'totality condition.' This condition, Williams argues, assumes that all knowledge is somehow fundamentally related, and that the class or category of things we refer to as knowledge is a meaningful object of theoretical exploration in its own right. Rather than accepting this assumption that all knowledge is in some way homogeneous, Williams points out the diversity and complexity of the different ideas and beliefs which are commonly referred to as knowledge. He thus refutes the idea that certain kinds of knowledge have corresponding epistemological properties which can give them priority over other kinds, regardless of situation or context. It is this very context, Williams argues, which defines what does and does not qualify as knowledge.

Thus Williams does away entirely with the need to prove an external world. Our knowledge of 'things outside of us' is perfectly justified in the context in which it normally occurs. All that I need to know about a chair in order to sit down in it is contained in my knowledge that 'that is a chair.' Asking whether I really know that it is a chair, under the conditions of totality and objectivity, is simply removing that item of knowledge from the commonsense context in which it has meaning.

This context dependency, however, may lead us to a conclusion just as unsettling as the skeptical uncertainty we sought to escape in the first place. If all knowledge is dependent on its context, this seems incompatible with a correspondence theory of truth. How can the same belief match an external truth in one context, but not in another, or the same external truth match up with two conflicting beliefs in two different situations? It would seem that contextualism must abandon the correspondence theory entirely. This, however, introduces the possibility of a relativism which allows almost anything to function as 'truth' in some contexts – a disturbing prospect for those, like Peirce, who would like their beliefs to "coincide with fact."

However, there may yet be a way to salvage Peirce's 'external permanency' in a way that is consistent with Williams' rejection of epistemological foundationalism. In describing this external permanency on which scientific knowledge is to be grounded, how 'external' does Peirce require it to be? In rejecting the claims of mystics to have access to an external source of truth, Peirce writes: "our external permanency would not be external, in our sense, if it was restricted in its influence to one individual. It must be something which affects, or might affect, every man." This permanency, then, is not necessarily the same as the 'external world' that the skeptic demands proof of. Rather, it is a 'permanency' that is grounded in the experiences of humanity. By thus restricting the 'truth' with which our knowledge should correspond, we can provide a specific context within which our beliefs can function as knowledge. It is by checking our individual beliefs and experiences against this larger context that we can assign our beliefs the status of knowledge.

This adds an element of a 'coherence' theory of truth to Peirce's hypothesis. The 'truth' to which our beliefs correspond need not completely external, but rather can be judged by how well it 'coheres' or fits in with an existing framework of beliefs – one composed, not merely of one individual's subjective experiences, but rather of the combined experiences of humanity as whole. While this combined subjectivity may not be properly 'objective' as such, or as 'permanent' as Peirce might wish, it nevertheless provides individual believers with something external against which to check their beliefs.

With this contextual framework now in place, we can disregard the skeptics' question – how is it the case that we can have knowledge – and move on to what Peirce found more interesting: how shall we go about getting it. If the skeptical request for proof of an 'external world' refers to a world that is external not only to the individual, but to all humanity, then it is difficult to see how anything so external could affect our beliefs about the human context in any case. Thus the skeptics' questions can remain unanswered – for us, the answers become irrelevant.

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The Shadow in the Contemporary Fairy Tale

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The shadow wedges itself comfortably into the contemporary fairy tale. Taking on many forms within the traditional and contemporary fairy tale the shadow expresses itself as the doppelgänger, the amorphic presence, the reflection, the ghost, and a host of other incarnations. The shadow in the fairy tale is not only comprised of the overt shadow that is seen in the physical world of the fairy tale, but also the covert psychological shadow described by Carl Jung as an aspect of the unconscious mind and the intertextual shadow formed by the creation of the contemporary fairy tale. In the contemporary fairy tales Haroun and the Sea of Stories by Salman Rushdie , Bluebeard by Kurt Vonnegut, Mr. Fox by Helen Oyeyemi, "I Am Anjuhimko" by Hiromi Ito, "The White Cat" by Marjorie Sandor, and "I'm Here" by Ludmilla Petrushevskaya the shadow makes its presence known.

The shadow is itself a non-whole entity. In its most basic and literal form it cannot survive without its progenitor. However, in fairy tales the shadow can gain autonomy or become a representative of the psychological unconscious. For psychologist and Freudian disciple Carl Jung, the shadow, at its most basic level, represents the whole of the unconscious mind. Within the large blanket of the shadow Jung also identifies the female Anima and the male Animus as well as a large group of Archetypes produced by the collective unconscious. The shadow enshrouds all aspects of the unconscious and can be viewed as a combination of the personal shadow (one's own unconscious) and the collective shadow (a.k.a. the collective unconscious or the unconscious, produced by the whole of humanity and its universal and primordial desires and fears) (Franz 4).

The shadow is the unconscious, "the dark, unlived, repressed side of the ego complex" and one of Jung's archetypes of the collective unconscious (Franz 3). The shadow can take the form of ghosts, spirits, shadowy existences, hauntings, presences, animate shadows, doppelgängers, automatons and memories within fairy tales. With the appearance of the shadow there is opportunity for terror, the eerie, the unanny, and the macabre; however, there is also opportunity for humor.
The simplest way to think of shadows in fairy tales is to divide them into three separate categories: 1) the overt, 2) the covert and 3) the intertextual. Freudian psychoanalytic critics "give central importance…to the distinction between the conscious and the unconscious mind. They associate the literary work's 'overt' content with the former, and the 'covert' content with the later" (Barry 105).

The overt shadow is simply a shadow that appears as shadow within the text (ex. a person's shadow). However, the overt shadow can also take on the form of other shadow-like entities such as: doppelgängers, demons, djinns, spirits, reflections, or ghosts. While the covert shadow can be read into the overt shadow (i.e. a doppelgänger can be interpreted to be expression of the psyche), the reverse is untrue. In short, the overt shadow cannot be read into the covert.

When speaking of overt shadows it is important to note texts that could possibly have influences on other texts that incorporate the presence of the shadow. In particular, there is the autonomous shadow. "The Shadow" (1847) by Hans Christian Andersen is the most notable example, with J. M. Barrie's Peter Pan following in a close second. Both stories approach the topic of shadows severed from their lighter, or original, halves.
In Salman Rushdie's more contemporary take on the severed and autonomous shadow in Haroun and the Sea of Stories, Rushdie incorporates Indian culture to create the character Mudra, the Shadow Warrior from the land of Chup, and the villain Kattam-Shud.

> "[I]n the Land of Chup, a Shadow very often has a stronger personality than the Person, or Self, or Substance to whom or to which it is joined! So often the Shadow leads, and it is the Person or Self or Substance that follows. And of course there can be quarrels between the Shadow and the Substance or Self or Person; they can pull in opposite directions...but just as often there is a true partnership, and mutual respect." (Rushdie 132)

While Mudra is in harmony with his semi-autonomous shadow that can move separately from himself but stays attached, the villain Kattam-Shud has separated himself from his shadow, allowing his shadow to become completely autonomous. Furthermore, Kattam-Shud encourages other shadows to become completely autonomous.

> "Khattam-Shud's black magic has had fearsome results…He has plunged so deeply into the Dark Art of sorcery that he has become Shadowy himself – changeable, dark, more like a Shadow than a person. And as he had become more Shadowy, so his Shadow has come to be more like a Person. And the point has come at which it's no longer possible to tell which is Kattam-Shud's Shadow and which his substantial Self …he has separated himself from his Shadow." (Rushdie 133)

This struggle for power between the shadow and the progenitor, and the struggle for autonomy and individual life could be perceived as a covert struggle between the unconscious and the conscious mind, or a struggle between the id and the ego.

Moving on from the shadow represented as the shadow itself. We also see the blue-whiskered Water Genie, Iff, in Haroun and the Sea of Stories. Jungian scholar Marie-Louise Franz theorizes that, "The collective shadow is still personified in the religious system by belief in the devil or evil demons… as long as such collective demons get us, we must have a little bit of them in us; otherwise they would not get us, for then our psychic door would not be open to infection" (8). If this is taken to be true, then Haroun has opened himself up to the possibility of demons in his psychological torment, worry and inability to sleep and thus is able to meet Iff.

The covert shadow results purely from psychoanalysis and is a psychological, disembodied and interpretive shadow. Fairy tales are rife with Jung's archetypes and "mirror collective unconscious material" (Franz 137). This makes them, like dreams, prime targets for Jungian scholars and psychoanalytic critics. The covert shadow approaches the shadow in fairy tales as if it is elusive and seen only as embodiments of the psyche. Thus, "Everybody is everybody's shadow in fairy tales" (Franz 34). The villain in fairy tales, or the Vladimir Propp's false hero can be seen as the embodiments of the hero's psychic shadow and "[i]n fairy tales, where there

is no such thing as the shadow, there is the doubling of an archetypal figure, one half being the shadow of the other" (Franz 34). Essentially, because the shadow is both whole and part of what Freud would call the Id, the locus of primitive and repressed emotions, fears and desires, good or bad, there is possibility for immense complexity in the expression of the shadow.

In Marjorie Sandor's short story "The White Cat" the female cat is made to wait for the ever-questing hero. The white cat can be read as an expression of the hero's shadow or the shadow of the hero's human wife. For the wife the cat is a counterpart, a animalistic doppelgänger of sorts, but for the hero, if the cat is his shadow, then the female cat is an expression of his Anima (the female portion of his unconscious). Kurt Vonnegut's novel Bluebeard also addresses the Anima in the form of Circe Berman who comes into the novel for the sole purpose, seemingly, to torment Rabo Karabekian. Helen Oyeyemi's novel, Mr. Fox, on the other hand, addresses both the Anima and the Animus in its convoluted ambiguity.

The covert shadow can take on more amorphous forms of the psyche and in many postmodern fairy tales there is a focus on the shadows and hauntings produced by violence. Sociologist Avery F. Gordon suggests that "haunting is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with" (xvi).

In Vonnegut's Bluebeard this type of haunting is seen clearly in Karabekian's masculine war reminiscences. These haunting shadows of war appear in other non-fairy-tale postmodern texts as well such as, Donald Barthelme's "See the Moon?" which dwells on the shadow of the Korean War. In Hiromi Ito's story "I Am Anjuhimeko" this focus on violence is expressed as sexual violence instead of war. In that same store, a Donkeyskin tale, the rape committed by her father haunts the protagonist, Anjuhimeko, throughout the story. Gordon's "abusive systems of power" are seen in these fairy tales as products of a violent patriarchal society (war, rape, incestuous abuse by a father).

In these stories, the protagonists are continually haunted by an event that is passed. Deconstructionist Jacques Derrida says of this looming presence that lingers on:

> "One touches there on what one does not touch, one feels there where one does not feel, one even suffers there where suffering does not take place, when at least it does not take place where one suffers (which is also, let us not forget, what is said about phantom limbs, that phenomenon marked with an X for any phenomenology of perception)."

In essence, the haunting is a pained phantom limb. However, this haunting does not go on forever as Gordon also states that, "haunting, unlike trauma, is distinctive for producing a something-to-be-done" (Gordon xvi). The overcoming of these shadowed hauntings for Vonnegut's protagonist Karabekian comes in the form of his painting entitled Now It's the Women's Turn. For Anjuhimeko, she reaches Joseph Campbell' s Hero's Journey monomyth stage of apotheosis (recognizing the divine within herself and coming to terms with her inner struggles) after meeting with the mountain witch, Yamanba, and learning the leech child's language.

Though the overt and the covert seem somewhat clear cut, there are stories that toe the line between overt and covert. One of these is "I'm Here", a Baba Yaga or Ivan Tsarevich story by Ludmilla Petrushevskaya, which focuses on the real or imagined ghost of Baba Anya who confronts and tests the heroine Olga who has come back to her old place of residence seeking answers to her psychological dilemmas. This ambiguity between what is real and unreal is only seen in the postmodern fairy tales as they confront the discourse of the traditional tales.

The intertextual shadow in these tales is produced by a cascading or genealogical effect: where previous incarnations of a fairy tale are incorporated into new versions. Most new material contains a familiarity or resemblance to the "original" progenitor (whether it seeks to negate what came before or to reinforce), but with a few outliers that are almost completely removed from the family tree and possibly unrecognizable as being related to a specific fairy tale despite whether the reader is familiar with any texts-gone-before. This intertextual shadow can be interpreted as the antecedent texts' shadowy presence within the contemporary, or new, text. Contemporary authors of literary fairy tales (Kunstmärchen) often create an implied lineage within their texts and the implied reader is expected to be familiar with most, if not all, antecedent texts. In this way the older text overshadows the younger text.

In these contemporary fairy tale texts, and in others, the shadow is present in three different ways. It is present as the overt shadow, which takes the shape of the shadow, the doppelgänger and the reflection, the covert shadow, which is discovered within the text through psychoanalysis, and the intertextual shadow, which is the progenitor texts' influence upon the contemporary text. These three types of shadows are not mutually exclusive and can inhabit the same tale together quite amicably. Though we often think of the shadow as the opposite of light, and thus bad as the opposite of good, the shadows in fairy tales represent the personal and collective unconscious whether good or ill.

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Sacagawea: The Name That Says It All

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Sacagawea. The name itself brings to mind reverence and mystery, grace and strength, and humility and courage. Throughout history, people have viewed the young woman, known to guide Lewis and Clark in their expedition to scope out the west, as one of America's most prominent and inspirational Native American female role models, maybe stepping above one of America's more popular Native American princess, Pocahontas. Many people have portrayed Sacagawea not only as the guide for the Corps of Discovery, but the mother of a nation about to be born (Heenan 125). She symbolizes Manifest Destiny and the expansion west. She represents the ideal American, feminine icon while suffragists and abolitionists don't hesitate to use her as a motivating tool in their movements. Throughout all of this, many don't consider the true person of Sacagawea, nor her real contribution to the Corps of Discovery. Although many have represented Sacagawea in a positive and romanticized light, the Lewis and Clark journals and a thorough analysis of Sacagawea's life have portrayed an honest, reserved, and even thoughtful Native American woman. But with so many dominating voices disregarding the true picture of Sacagawea, movements, ideas, and representations have linked Sacagawea's name with the American dream, expansionism, and progress not only into the west, but into the future and the American society.

In the Lewis and Clark journals, kept by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and several other men in the Corps of Discovery, the men refer to Sacagawea as nothing more than a commodity. They don't even bother to decide on a spelling for her name. 'Sacajawea,' 'Sakakawea,' or 'Sahcahgarweah' list just a few of the various ways the men attempted to spell her name. At some point, most of the journalists gave up and actually referred to her mostly as *squaw, Indian woman*, or *Indian girl* (Cutright 207). Sacagawea joined the expedition when Lewis and Clark eagerly signed on her husband, a French fur trader by the name of Toussaint Charbonneau. About forty years of age, Charbonneau owned young wives from different tribes. Sacagawea, captured from the Shoshone tribes by the Hidatsas at a very young age, had been bought and married to Charbonneau around the age of eleven or twelve. At approximately fifteen and a half years old and six months pregnant, Sacagawea joined the Corps and acted as the interpreter.

Although Sacagawea played an important role in translating the Native American languages to French, some of the Corps expressed their dissatisfaction with the long process. Charles MacKenzie, a British trader who joined the Corps shortly before Charbonneau and Sacagawea, said, of Sacagawea, that "she had to converse with her husband, who was a Canadian and did not understand English. A mulatto [Jessaume], who spoke bad French and worse English, served as interpreter to the Captains..." (Ambrose 187). Besides Sacagawea and Charbonneau, Rene Jessaume, a British trader from a Mandan village into which he'd integrated, joined the group of interpreters. Translating for the Indian chiefs to the captains easily compared to a game of telephone for the people involved: from Sacagawea to Charbonneau, Charbonneau to Jessaume, and Jessaume to Captain Clark. When Sacagawea got sick, Clark, who referenced her the most in his journal entries, would be worried. The only particular instance where Lewis shared the most care actually occurred when Sacagawea gave birth to her son, Jean Baptiste, also known as Pomp. Pomp became, as Lewis said, "the first child which this woman had boarn and as is common in such cases her labour was tedious and the pain violent" (Ambrose 197). Lewis only hoped they wouldn't lose her because they needed her to secure horses from the Shoshone, her native tribe.

The journalists continually portrayed Sacagawea as void of any emotions. Clark, for example, cared about Sacagawea's health when she had a burning fever, because she had been their "only dependence for a friendly negociation with the Snake Indians on whom we depend for horses..." (Ambrose 241). Clark also called her their "token of peace" (Heenan 137). In another instance, Sacagawea shared her childhood story of getting kidnapped by the Hidatsas. In recognizing the Shoshone land, she'd boosted the men's morale. But as she told her story, Clark described her as not showing "any immotion of sorrow in recollecting this event [the kidnap] or of joy in being again restored to her native country; if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I believe she would be perfectly content anywhere" (Ambrose 260).

Though they treated Sacagawea as a commodity and remained misogynistic throughout their journey through Shoshone lands, the Corps expressed shocked when, upon meeting the Shoshone tribe, Sacagawea wept and reunited with her brother, Chief Cameahwait. "The meeting of those people was really affecting," said Lewis (Lauter 1135). There might have been several reasons Sacagawea didn't display emotions, but if any of the journalists knew, they didn't note it. Clark, at one point, mentioned he "checked our interpreter [Charbonneau] for striking his woman at their dinner" (Slaughter 104). With an abusive husband and seemingly no support from the other Corp members, Sacagawea does have reason to remain quiet or at least to show little to no emotion.

However, we get another hint of who she might have been, as the Corps of Discovery finally reached the Pacific Ocean and spotted a beached whale. When told that she couldn't go, Sacagawea rebelled. She "observed that she had traveled a long way... and that now that monstrous fish was also to be seen, she thought it very hard she could not be permitted to see either" (Lauter

1138). This notes the only instance we hear Sacagawea speak. The entry shows great significance as it reveals a quick shift in the journalists' writing. They spare a few lines to attribute Sacagawea's wish, which also displays curiosity and even courage on her part to speak up for herself even for a line or two in the journals. At the end of the expedition, Charbonneau and Sacagawea moved into a Mandan village. Charbonneau received $500.33 1/2 while Sacagawea received nothing. However, in other records, Clark offered to take John Baptiste and raise the child as his own son. Sacagawea said she would consider, but wanted to keep the baby until it finished weaning (Abbott 54). Clark also offered Charbonneau a job in the city, but Charbonneau turned it down, saying "he would be out of his element" (Salisbury 209).

With the small amount of information offered by the journals, many historians, anthropologists, and historical-fiction writers have portrayed Sacagawea as the woman who guided the expedition. In Paul Cutright's *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, he states that Sacagawea "was a girl of rare courage and spirit. But... it is unfortunate that so many writers have overemphasized her role as a guide, which was negligible, and have done her an actual disservice by failing to stress her aid as an interpreter, which was considerable" (220). At some parts in the expedition, as seen in the journals, Sacagawea pointed the way, such as the experience on the Shoshone grounds. But other than those few instances, Lewis or Clark made all the decisions.

Other representations further emphasize the happy image of Sacagawea leading the way. In David Heenan's book, *Bright Triumphs from Dark Hours*, Heenan shares stories from all eras of America's history to emphasize that no matter how hard challenges seem, they can always be overcome. Although Heenan attempts to send a positive message, his portrayal of Sacagawea becomes one of the most misleading portrayals of her contribution to the Corps. Heenan labels her as the "Madonna of her race" (Heenan 125). The experiences that merely mentioned Sacagawea's help, such as saving belongings from the overturned boats, recognizing the Shoshone landscape, or preparing meals when food became scarce, became a few of the stories Heenan exaggerates. Not only does Heenan romanticize her, he implies the idealism behind Sacagawea's purpose on the expedition. "Against all odds, Sacagawea—along with Lewis and Clark—had been there [West] first. And the West would never again be the same" (Heenan 125). Although Sacagawea had a tough childhood, getting kidnapped and sold into marriage, she ultimately triumphed by leading America to its success: expansionism to the west. She became the manifest destiny, the reason why America exists as it does today. This representation, though convincing, shows such an inaccuracy that many reactions took place, in which scholars and historians re-thought these master narratives, taking a fresh look at Sacagawea from new angles.

In Sifters: *Native American Women's Lives*, Donna Barbie dispels the myths surrounding Sacagawea. From visual representations to fiction writings, Barbie shows that "at the end of the twentieth century, this Native woman's story continues to endure in the society that first endowed it with significance" (Barbie 60). Barbie doesn't seek to discredit Sacagawea, but she wants people to see the "making of a myth." Barbie focuses on two reasons Sacagawea has been made into a myth. First, Sacagawea "consecrated the wilderness to national purpose" and secondly, she "has enabled those who retell it [her story] to confront diverse social and political issues in several historical periods" (Barbie 62). In the 1920's, Sacagawea became the icon for suffrage, and even so far as an icon for abolitionists. If she could guide Lewis and Clark, as the misguided history records, surely others could follow in those brave footsteps.

The fiftieth anniversary of Lewis and Clark's return from the West prompted a revival in the Lewis and Clark, and, in consequence, literature about Sacagawea. Another of the misguiding master narratives placed on Sacagawea came from Eva Emery Dye. Dye wrote a fantasized version of the expedition, even going so far as hinting a romance between Sacagawea and William Clark. Plays and musicals swiftly followed, emphasizing the love affair between Sacagawea and Clark. Scott O' Dell, writer of the Newberry Award winner, *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, even followed this trend. *Streams to the River, River to the Sea* follows the story of Sacagawea, from her humble beginnings, kidnapping, and marriage. Although critics revere O'Dell for *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, the inaccuracy of his Sacagawea story goes to show how Sacagawea's master narratives misguide even the most prominent of literary authors. Although O'Dell's romanticization seems minuscule, it has shaped readers and viewers' of Sacagawea to believe that she ultimately guided not only through the journey west, but through the journey of the heart and overcoming challenges.

Even more recently, pop culture represented Sacagawea, such as in the movie *Night at the Museum*. The movie portrays Sacagawea, played by Mizuo Peck, as a wax doll in a display along with Lewis and Clark. The museum night guard, played by Ben Stiller, breaks her casing and uses her expertise to track down the enemy. Though amusing, and somewhat satisfying, the Sacagawea portrayal from the movie perpetuates Native American stereotypes, such as the long black braids, a quiet nature, and the connection to the land. The actual Smithsonian museum today contains no display of Sacagawea or the Lewis and Clark expedition. As a part of the movie and the museum, Sacagawea falls into the myth that she "will be remembered as long as Americans love their country, for in its history no other woman ever served it better" (Barbie 68). In other words, the movie glorifies Manifest Destiny through using a simplified character, Sacagawea.

To further complicate Sacagawea's legend, controversies concerning Sacagawea's death still remain debatable. Where Clark explicitly stated Sacagawea died

in 1812 from a fever, other accounts tell of a woman living in Wyoming who said she traveled with white men and saw a whale. A whole chapter dedicates itself to "Porivo's Story" in Thomas Slaughter's *Exploring Lewis and Clark*. Slaughter argues that the story of her death in 1812 "prevents her from challenging Lewis's and Clark's status as cultural leaders" (Slaughter 87). But in making her live longer, the 1884 death gives Americans something to hold onto. The journalists "leave her underdescribed and thus a nearly empty vessel into which the makers of our national myths can pour what we need to cast the Lewis and Clark Expedition as a muticultural, multiracial, gender-integrated success" (Slaughter 101).

With the wide gap open for interpretation, an interview with Randy'L Teton, the youngest living female model for one of America's coins, helped solidify, or at least clarify, some of the issues surrounding Sacagawea's history, death, and physical traits. Teton said that Sacagawea's history has "been good and bad." Although some tribes view Sacagawea as a traitor for leading the white men west, Sacagawea had only been "doing what her husband told her to do." When enemy tribes stole family members or friends, those people "died" because the tribes thought they would never see the stolen loved ones again. This explains the emotional reunion between Sacagawea and the Shoshone people. It also says a lot on the part of the journalists. Although they kept her void of emotion, the slip of this show of emotion helped solidify Sacagawea as a real person, not as the master narratives surrounding her.

According to the tribal stories, Sacagawea didn't die shortly after the expedition but instead lived a long life outside Fort Washakie, Wyoming. Priests from the reservation recorded, in church journals, that an old lady lived on the outskirts of the fort. She spoke of traveling with white men and seeing a large whale. "She was shy," said Teton. "A lot of our elders believe that because of the hard life she had, she didn't trust a lot of people and did her own thing. She kept to herself." While Sacagawea's name lives on in *Porivo*, the bird woman who lived outside Fort Washakie, one last question remains concerning the myths and names surrounding Sacagawea: What did she look like?

Because no photographs or descriptions of Sacagawea remain, the U.S. Mint opened Sacagawea's face for interpretation. Professional artists from all over the United States attempted to capture Sacagawea, just as sculptures have created images of Sacagawea throughout the United States. In the Sacagawea sculptures, the "most prominent part of Native Americans was inanimate" (Abbott 88). Similarly, the coin, as an inanimate object, would symbolize something great and long-lasting for many generations to see. When choosing the face for the coin, some artists chose Caucasian, African American, and Mexican women and tried to capture a female face from these different races. They then placed braids on the face to make it look like a stereotypical Native American woman. This interpretation shows that Sacagawea's face has come so far as representing the combination of races that make up America. It completely takes Sacagawea away from her own ethnicity, Native American. Despite the other artists' interpretations, the U.S. Mint chose Glenna Goodacre's design, which used Teton's face. The coin "paved a new path of history for the U.S. mint," said Teton. "For the Natives to have their own coin, with a true Native American woman on it, it symbolized such a great feat of United States history" (Teton). Sacagawea's face on the coin didn't just portray a mix of America's different faces, it showed a real Native American woman. So when comparing the two, Teton noted,"it was clear who the winner was."

Although Sacagawea never had a voice, many people have tried to make one for her. Through these master narratives, Sacagawea becomes nothing more than a myth to satisfy the American dream to move out, to explore the world, and to conquer. Her name becomes an automatic buzz word for female writers and feminist movements, while the carrying of her baby triggers the birth of a nation whose expansion west will change everything. Sacagawea seems to portray the ideal American woman, yet by looking at the primary source, the Lewis and Clark journals, and analyzing the master narratives given to Sacagawea, we can now more fully appreciate Sacagawea as a person, not as the master narratives surrounding her. The whole irony surrounding Sacagawea remains in her main purpose as a voice. She worked as an interpreter and that required her to physically speak with others. But in the end, like her ambiguous death, she becomes a name, an idea that Americans of the past, present, and the future, will have a difficult time letting go.

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Ambrose attempts to present an unbiased account of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Relying on historical and geological facts to summarize the journey, Ambrose couldn't stress enough Sacagawea's role as an interpreter, not as a guide. By pulling direct quotes from the Lewis and Clark journals, Ambrose supports his claims well. Because he did this, I found it easy to use him as a credible resource. He not only goes into details of the tools, food, and route the Corps took, but he emphasizes the weather conditions, the lack of technology, and the minute details of the Corps' daily routines. He shares Sacagawea's power as a tool of not only a sign of peace, but a provider of food, and when in the Shoshone lands, a guide through the rough terrain. Teton's interview supported this research, emphasizing the fact that although Sacagawea guided through her native Shoshone lands in Idaho, it didn't mean she guided the whole expedition.

Barbie, Donna. Sacagawea: The Making of a Myth. Perdue, Theda. Sifters: Native American Women's Lives. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 61-76.
The essay explains why people view Sacagawea as the guide for the Lewis and Clark expedition. In attempts to create a female role model and Native American icon, Sacagawea became a voiceless, though, romanticized figure in history. Barbie acknowledges the different images of Sacagawea but analyzes various texts, including Eva Emery Dye's The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark, written in 1904, through a historical perspective. The analysis heavily influenced my paper, especially looking at Sacagawea through historical lenses, as opposed to a literary perspective. Barbie presented a lot of research that I followed and used as building blocks for my paper, such as Sacagawea's image as a guide, icon for suffrage, the stereotypical image of a Native American, and the encouragement of American expansionism to the west.

Cutright, Paul Russell. A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1976. 198, 220.

Heenan, David. Bright Triumphs from Dark Hours. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010. 123-138.
David Heenan's article on Sacagawea presents her as a "Madonna of her race." He emphasizes the fact that Sacagawea, despite the obstacles of child-bearing, an abusive husband, and pure discouragement against the forces of nature, overcomes all odds and guides the Corps of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean. Although Heenan intended to provide encouragement for people in dark circumstances, his portrayal of Sacagawea is not backed up, as Donna Barbie's essay is, by credible resources and he exaggerates Sacagawea's real purpose on the mission. Heenan encourages Eva Emery Dye's portrayal of Sacagawea by emphasizing Sacagawea as a guide on the expedition. He gives voice to the men in the Corps of Discovery by stating that they found courage in Sacagawea. If she could make the journey with a baby on her back, they could too. I used this article in my paper to emphasize some of Sacagawea's exaggerated portrayals as a guide and vocal supporter to the Corps of Discovery. I used the Lewis and Clark journals and Barbie's essay to dispel Heenan's exaggerations of Sacagawea.

Lauter, Paul, and Bruce-Novoa. "The Lewis and Clark Journals." The Heath Anthology of American Literature. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1990. Print.

Salisbury, Albert and Jane. Two Captains West: A Historical Tour of the Lewis and Clark Trail. New York: Bramhall House. 209.

Slaughter, Thomas P. Exploring Lewis and Clark: Reflections on Men and Wilderness. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. 86-113.
The chapter, entitled Porivo's Story, asks why some people believe Sacagawea died in 1812, as opposed to 1884, where an old woman, believed to be Sacagawea, lived and died at Fort Washakie, Wyoming. The chapter questions the credibility of the Lewis and Clark Journals, which explicitly state that Sacagawea died shortly after the expedition in giving birth to a daughter. In making Sacagawea live a short life, the journalists discredit and disallow Sacagawea to live on as a legend. Slaughter argues that Sacagawea should be given full credit for her contributions to the expedition and that she, as Porivo, or bird woman, should be hailed and remembered as a legend that lived long after Lewis, Clark, and many of the other members in the Corps of Discovery. In analyzing this chapter, I reverted to my interview with Teton, in which she said her tribe, the Shoshone-Bannock tribe, believes Sacagawea did live a long and quiet life after the expedition. Teton said Sacagawea bore no descendants, but from those who associated with her, Porivo kept to herself near the Fort Washakie reservation, and shared little to no information. Luckily, a priest recorded Porivo's stories, which told of her traveling with white men, seeing a large whale, and trading coffee grinds with other tribes. This article, combined with Teton's interview, emphasized my point that Sacagawea's legend presents another American myth, or something to hold onto for years to come.

Teton, Randy'L. Telephone interview. 3 Dec. 2012.
Although the interview was intended to focus on the Shoshone-Bannock tribe's view of their ancestor Sacagawea, Randy'L Teton, the youngest and only living female model for a U.S. currency, wanted to make sure Sacagawea's history was accurate to how her tribe learned about Sacagawea. After the overview, Teton explained that Sacagawea's contribution to the Corps of Discovery was an accomplishment. Sacagawea gave birth without the aid of other females and she was "only doing what she was supposed to do as a young lady." Sacagawea had no other options but to follow her husband. Teton said her personal view of Sacagawea differs from some of the other tribes. Some tribes view Sacagawea as a traitor for helping the Corps, but her own tribe views Sacagawea as a hero. Being six months pregnant, Teton said she "can't imagine for her [Sacagawea] to give birth while traveling." I used my interview with Teton to portray the contemporary look of Sacagawea. It fit into my argument of Sacagawea as not only the interpreter, but the sign of peace when Native American armies approached. Teton's insight into the making of the U.S. dollar coin allowed me to emphasize Sacagawea's image as the American female icon and confirmed the stereotypes people assign to Native Americans, though even these stereotypes are dispelled through Teton's face on the Sacagawea coin.

Did the West Define the Modern World?

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"You can't be a real country unless you have beer and an airline. It helps if you have some kind of football team, or some nuclear weapons, but at the very least you need a beer."
--Frank Zappa, an influential person of the "West," defining the "Modern World" based on the western ideals of sports, military prowess, mobility, and beer (which the "West" has claimed as being of the "West.")

"Did the West define the Modern World?" The question itself is more complicated than it looks, since the words "West," "define," and "Modern World" do not have absolute meanings. However, the answer is not ambiguous. In one meaning of "define," the West, meaning Europe from 1500, and the United States from its founding to the present, has dominated the world's nations in political influence, military might, monetary success and cultural dissemination, thereby setting the stage and dictating the terms for world relations. Beginning in the 1500s, conquistadors and missionaries imposed the Western world onto the vulnerable "New World" in a very concrete and physical way. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the West's political grip of their colonized nations loosened, but its economic and cultural power over the world remained strong as ever (Bentley). Therefore, the West has created a standard against which the rest of the world must measure itself. With this authority and influence, the West has shaped the Modern World, but it has also quite literally defined the "Modern World."

As every schoolchild learns, Christopher Columbus's 1492 voyage uncovered a "New World" for Europeans to explore and exploit. A new era in weaponry and seafaring technology, including shipbuilding, navigation, and mapmaking allowed Europeans to dominate the seas, conquer new land, and subjugate indigenous people in ways never before imagined (Bentley). By 1850, European powers had conquered much of the globe, including North, South, and Middle Americas, South Africa, Australia and India (McNeill, 320). In all these places, the indigenous people were taught the superiority of the European, usually through physical force as in South America, but sometimes through legal trickery, causing people to give up land rights, as in Hawai'i, or both, as in North America. Brutal physical subjugation or displacement went hand-in-hand with cultural obliteration: holocausts of indigenous literature, suppression of languages, rites and celebrations, and enforced change of dress. Conquistadors showed the non-European Western Hemisphere that their non-European ways must be inferior. Missionaries arrived behind them to show the savages how to live virtuously in European terms (Harris, 165-168).

From 1850 to the end of World War II, European and American colonialism peaked and declined. Many countries gained independence from the West in name; however, European and American imperialism's economic hold on these countries was and is still tenacious. Financial institutions such as the World Bank encourage developing nations to open up their resources to the private sector, allowing large (usually American) corporations to poach them. The loss of their resources plunges these already struggling countries into crippling debt. The World Bank gives loans to these countries for large infrastructure projects or policy changes--loans which the country will never be able to pay. The World Bank ". . . can thus exert a tremendous amount of power over the policies of developing countries, such that major decisions about people's lives are made not by their own governments but by an international financial institution that is accountable only to its wealthy patrons. In essence, the Bank institutionalizes a modern financial imperialism" (Parekh and Weinrib, 1). According to Parekh and Weinrib, the justification for supplying these loans is to help these nations "catch up to the West" (1). Therefore, the West defines the "modern world" by making the judgment: "you need to catch up," deciding what improvements must be made and policies must be changed in order to "catch up," and by maintaining the upper hand in the business sector.

This "financial imperialism" obviously doesn't extend to the entire world, but to the rest of the world, the West provides a standard to compare against. As McNeill says,

> . . . it remains true that, since the end of World War II, the scramble to imitate and appropriate science, technology, and other aspects of Western culture has accelerated enormously all round the world. Thus the dethronement of western Europe from its brief mastery of the globe coincided with (and was caused by) an unprecedented, rapid Westernization of all the peoples of the earth (320).

Postwar Japan is an often-cited example of the rapid Westernization of global society. Insert a lead in here (don't want quotation to stand alone) "For example, the ideal of postwar Japanese home life flowed explicitly from the model of the 'American way of life' of the 1950s" (Shunya, 1). Countries and cultures that denounce Western culture, such as Cuba and North Korea, are ostracized from the global community.

The most lasting, pervasive, and literal way that the West has defined the modern world is in the way westerners--historians and laypeople--talk about the West and the "Other." Terms like "first world" and "third world" contain judgments about what it means to be a part of modern society. Any third-grader knows (that is, is able to recall with complete certainty, whether or not that knowledge is absolute) that Columbus "discovered" the "New World," but this phrasing implies not only a comparison between the "Old World" and

"New World," but that it is the Europeans who have the authority to make this distinction. That he "discovered" it implies that indigenous knowledge is not worthy of the modern world. Furthermore, historians and scholars since the time of Columbus have written about the "Orient" as if there were no interplay between Eastern and Western cultures in the centuries before his voyages. Butterworth explains how Edward Said's famous work Orientalism deals with this problem: "he contends that orientalism must be understood as arising out of a particular [(Western)] culture, as being shaped by the presuppositions of that particular culture, and by shaping in its turn that particular culture as well" (Butterworth, 175). Writing about world history from a Eurocentric perspective, and studying "Orientalism" as though it were distinct and separate from "the West" defines, with scholarly authority, what it means to be a player in the "modern" world arena. In the media, countries that attempt to declare independence from the World Bank and the Washington Consensus, such as Venezuela under Hugo Chavez, are labeled as "communist" and "undemocratic" (Anderson, 1).

Since the time of the Spanish conquistadors, Europe has had the power and authority to define the Modern World. The method of defining it has changed over time. In the time of the conquistadors, Europe was still trying to gain political stability, and its power and influence was in flux. Their ability to explore the seas and conquer unsuspecting civilizations gave the Europeans the power to define modernity. The imbalance of economic power that endures today allows the Western world to decide how modern "developing" nations become. Through popular culture, missionary work, and the media, the West shows the rest of the world what modern values should be. But even if I have fallen into the trap of overemphasizing the influence of the Western world in this essay, it is precisely because of how the West's influence is generally perceived and discussed, which shows that the West, in fact, defines the modern world.

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Changing Roles of Japanese Poetry in Medieval Society

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Japanese poetry is fairly well known throughout the world, as most English-speakers have at least heard of the haiku, although many do not understand its purpose. Poetry has a long tradition in Japan, over time occupying a large place in society. However, the change in poetry throughout its existence both in form and situation is equally as important as the role of poetry itself. Through examining the historical context of poetry, changes in both style and societal role can be seen, and shows that the importance and adaptability of Japanese poetry during specific time periods as well as the unchanging traditions behind it help it to survive today. Before exploring reasons and motivation behind the development of medieval Japanese poetry, it is important to look for significance in the role of poetry at the time. From there, we can look for the causes of changes, not only just in poetry, but for the poets and Japan as a whole.

The first known poetry in Japan was the *Kaifūsō*, "Fond Recollections of Poetry", a poetry compilation written in 751, the late Nara period. There was poetry present in the country much earlier, as the *Kaifūsō* pulled works from centuries earlier in its compilation, but this was the first gathered and written book of poems. Although the compilation was Japanese in origin, it was written entirely in the Chinese language, as Japan had not yet developed its own writing system. Since the Japanese revered China, its arts and its culture — Chinese-language poetry at the time — had a higher status than those written in Japanese. The influence of the T'ang dynasty brought a huge cultural growth to Japan in the "early modern" art era of China, and Japanese scholars preferred literature to any religious or scientific pursuits, especially in later years (Varley 83-84). As such, literature gave an author a large amount of prestige as compared to his non-literary counterpart, and it became not only a scholarly pursuit, but a very fashionable element of the Japanese court. As the compilation itself shows, it was also a viable form of entertainment enjoyed by readers who were educated in Chinese. A certain scholar could be extremely well-read in Confucian texts, but would still be less popular and overshadowed by a counterpart with a poetic focus. This was the first rise to prominence of poetry in Japan, and it would continue to play a role in court society for centuries to come, although that role would not always stay the same.

Chinese poetry as one of the first manifestations of poetry was the point from which everything changed. Japanese society was already changing as a young nation, from Chinese underling to independent nation, and poetry was no exception. It and its prominent position were instrumental in the development of a Japanese writing system during the Heian period, which lasted from 794-1185. The *Man'yōshū* ("Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves") contained 4516 pieces of poetry from as far back as several centuries before its publication in the first Japanese-language collection of poetry, and used the Yamato language (Yamato being the name of the nation in early times). This was a huge change, as the language was previously used by women not included in Chinese scholarly pursuits who had to use their own language. Yamato was also being written with the new kana syllabary, invented by the priest Kūkai in some sources (Varley 51). Kana began to infiltrate the men's poetry writing as well in a shift away from Chinese poetry. These works were written in the *waka* style, full of courtly elegance. The *Kokin Wakashū*, "Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems" or *Kokinshū* for short, was published in the early 900's and contained the first literary criticism in Japan in its introduction, written in Japanese by its compiler. Tsurayuki; however, a second introduction was prepared by a Chinese scholar, showing the power that Chinese still had a language of prestige (Addiss et al.). The *Man'yōshū* was written right around the beginning of the Heian period, which made it also a near contemporary of its predecessor, the *Kaifūsō*. In fact, many authors appeared in both works and both languages, showing the period of transition in effect in the country, and having both languages published so recently represents the change that was occurring in Japan. Obviously, poetry did much for the advancement of Japanese culture, but its split from China was the real reason for this change, as Japan modified the inspiration it had taken from China and made its own culture, an important step in the nation's development.

Poetry developed even further later on in the Heian period, as *waka* poetry became an everyday indispensible part of court life, ritualized and taken very seriously. *Waka* poetry was defined by its five lines with a rigid syllable structure of 5-7-5-7-7. Not only were there a proper number of lines and syllables, but proper themes and means of expressing those themes, or even expressing emotion, which seems like it would more logically be a spontaneous exercise. While Chinese poetry may very well have had the same level of rigidness and formality, the serious, scholarly Chinese works varied slightly from the court-based *waka*. In addition, both men and women now wrote *waka* poems, and male and female roles were especially important in Heian love poetry, unlike Chinese scholarship. Love poetry was a large part of courtship and court ritual. Formalities were important, with a prospective lover judged by the fold of his letter paper or the length of her hair in what seems a shallow, superficial guideline but is rooted in traditional court values and ideals, as a husband or wife would be expected to uphold such attention to detail in court for years to come. Poetry was well ensconced within these court rituals, and such a seemingly frivolous activity was essential to the Japanese court. Even today the Japanese emperor composes poems in the spring,

and Heian courtiers' compositions helped define their place in upper society, illustrating the leisure and high status that they had.

In her introduction to poetry translations from two well-known women from the early Heian era, Ono no Komachi (mid-800s) and Izumi Shikibu (974-1034, estimated), Jane Hirshfield gives us insight into the female side of court. Women's role in society was somewhat limited, and women were expected to obey her male relatives throughout her life, from her father to her son, as well as advance the family's status via marriages. The married women in the court were, understandably, somewhat bored, and many turned to writing poetry as a means of keeping themselves occupied as well as illustrating their pursuits in love and loss (Hirshfield xiv-xv). There was also a large amount of etiquette involved in court poetry, with formal poems required for many stages of courtship. Formality ruled in the area of romance, as for court women's seemingly frivolous pastimes, "[t]he skills, subtle judgment, and taste demonstrated in... above all the writing and recitation of poetry, figured greatly both in one's appeal as a prospective romantic partner and in one's prospects for official advancement" (Hirshfield p. xii). This rigid social structure did not stop at just women, even dictating the secret rendezvous of amorous couples, with lovers expected to provide letters to their sweethearts at exact times. The men were usually the initiators of said poems, while the women had nothing to do but wait and wonder if their love was coming back to them. This resulted in many poems lamenting the absence of a beloved or mourning one whose passions had cooled. It was only through poetry that women were able to have any say in their social situations, and judging by the lasting impact of the poems left behind, they nearly perfected the form. They adapted poetry to their means, and it would seem to be one of the most significant roles that poetry played in the Heian court era of Japan, which shows that poetry is not limited to its current form but can change with a surprising amount of fluidity, especially considering how rigid the guidelines were for Heian poets.

Even in the early novels of the Heian period, poetry was still prominent, though it supported the story instead of standing alone. The *Ise Monogatari* portrays Ariwara no Narihira as its hero, a fictionalized version of a real Narihira; this was interesting, as he was a poet himself, and actually appeared through his poetry in the *Kokinshū*. Described as "a faded flower with a lingering fragrance" (Tsurayuki via de Bary 384) due to his more restrained expressive style, Narihira was nevertheless one of the more famous poets in early Japan, used here in a different context; that of storytelling. Some of his poems are contained in the *Ise Monogatari*, and their theme of love is a topic tied closely to poetry at that time in Japan's history. In *The Tale of Genji*, the world's first novel, in and of itself a marvel, its many protagonists use poetry as the go about their lives and intrigues and adventures in the stories. In it, the authoress Lady Murasaki could even pen her own literary criticisms and opinions through Genji, the main character, as in a scene where Genji first laughs off, and then seriously considers love stories, weighing their apparent meaninglessness with their "evoking the emotion of things in a most realistic way" (de Bary 201). This was not only a victory for the court ladies subject to Genji's criticism, but for Lady Murasaki herself and her tales. Although not writing about poetry, Genji's reference to emotion seems to tie the importance of fiction to similar traits in poetic works. The presence and usage of the poetry itself in these two works indicates further the huge role that poetry played in society. Not only was poetry a form of art, it was used by characters on given occasions as a part of daily life. While still within the court, it is clear that poetry was not limited to one type of composition or poet.

After the Heian period, the rise of the warrior class and subsequent warring such as that in the sengoku or warring states period brought about stagnation in court poetry and diminished its role in Japanese society. This can be demonstrated clearly by the example of Minamoto no Sanetomo, one of the Kamakura shoguns. Considered to be one of the greatest poets of the time, he was nevertheless not fit for his position, unable to rule with the political savvy that those before and even around him were capable of using. Easily manipulated, he was caught in a ruthless power struggle, and was possibly manipulated even in his position of theoretical power. In 1219, Sanetomo was murdered in a plot that is speculated to have been hatched by his own mother Masako, the "kimono-clad Lady Macbeth" (Souyri 51). However, his poetry lived on, even as Masako's power dominated in the rise of the warrior class.

Even in the courtiers, who did not share the heavy responsibilities of Sanetomo, *waka* poetry seemed to decline, if not in practice than surely in importance. The country at war would have placed much more emphasis on physical strength, battle, and wartime prowess than composing the proper verse for any occasion. I would argue, too, that even love poetry would not have been as important, as many a marriage was made for alliances and strategic planning rather than as a result of careful courtship. Although I cannot truly verify this stance, it could be suggested by the power of Hino Shigeko, wife of Ashikaga shogun Yoshinori, as well as that of Hino Tomiko who married Yoshinori's son Yoshimasa, becoming one of the "three demons" during the Muromachi century (Souyri 168). Poems could not have had the same importance to the new ruling leaders, and even its adaptability could not stretch so far to keep its former glory in the courts.

Poetry had quite a struggle to stay relevant, but the change in situations during the beginning of the Kamakura period brought about the invention of *renga*, linked poetry, a socially-oriented form of poetry popular among peasants and courtiers alike. *Renga* had the same general structure of *waka*, that 5-7-5-7-7 syllable rigidity, but without the imposing of proper themes

and word choices. In addition, the poem split in two, with one poet composing the first three lines while a second supplied the last two. The social aspects of *renga*, requiring people to work together to compose linked verses, helped bring classes together and made poetry more accessible to everyone, which was important in the time frame as power was shifting. As the court split into North and South courts for almost a century following the Kamakura period, tensions involved made the definition of the 'court' much more complicated and help facilitate another rise to power. Obviously, *waka* poets could not continue as they had, and something about poetry would have to change. The older imperial regime lost out to the new, powerful warrior class and even peasants gained some influence towards their overlords, and so too did *waka* lose ground to *renga*. This *renga* had more freedom than the stiff, regulated poetry of the court, and so contributed to the decline of *waka* poetry. Bashō's much later invention in the 1600's of the *haikai* form, a much shorter 17-syllable pattern of poetry that is known throughout the world today as haiku, would make composing poetry much easier, intentionally simplifying the traditional forms of *waka* and *renga*. These changes made poetry easily accessible by all kinds of Japanese and offered humorous and social pastimes, but also took real skill to create a masterpiece, which kept poetry alive as both entertainment and art.

As we can see from *renga*, even with the decline of court society, poetry did not fade into oblivion during the Ashikaga shogunate, but there were other forms that came about as the society changed. Keinen, a priest serving as an aide to a daimyo traveling in Korea during an attempted invasion, put down his thoughts in the *Chosen hinikki*, "Korea Day by Day". Near the end of the medieval period, poetry was more than a courtly or social activity, but could also be used to convey emotions. The *Chosen hinikki* is interesting in that Keinen would write about a subject, and then compose a corresponding poem, as seen in the following excerpt from de Barry's *Sources of Japanese Tradition:*

> Parents sobbing for their children, children searching for their parents -- never before have I seen such a pitiable sight.
>
> *no mo yama mo* The hills are ablaze
> *yakitake ni you* with the cries of soldiers
> *musha no koe* intoxicated
> *sanagara shura no* with their pyrolatry--
> *chimata narikeri* the battleground of demons.
>
> (468-469).

As seen earlier through its relationship with prose such as Genji, poetry did not stand alone in Japanese culture, although it had the strength to do so. Many of the art forms of medieval Japan influenced and supported each other; in poetry's case, this was mainly calligraphy (*shodo*) and tea ceremony (*sado*), all traditional, historical forms "characterized, among other things, by cross-generational transmissions (often reaching back through many centuries) of essential conventions and protocols." (Kamens 53) Even painting was included, since it also used the ink and brushes that were used in writing Japanese script, and included in the *Man'yōshū* anthology was even a poem about painting (Addiss et al 31). As it related to writing and brushstrokes, calligraphy would obviously have a strong connection to poetry, although it was not limited to just poems and put more emphasis on writing style than content, while tea ceremony's connection to poetry is more hidden. Tea ceremony was full of complexity and feeling, and relied heavily on concepts valued in Japanese culture, such as elegance, simplicity and humility, similar to the feelings expressed in poetry.

A large part of poetry was its aesthetics, or that which was considered beautiful in the medium. This was not limited to Japanese poetry, but is distinct to the culture, not only for the time period of medieval Japan but even continuing to present times, and it, too, developed throughout Japan's history. Its presence in tea ceremony can be seen in *wabicha*, *wabi*-tea - tea ceremony with attention to the *wabi* aesthetic, one defined by "a simple, unpretentious beauty; an imperfect, irregular beauty; and an austere, stark beauty" (Varley 160). This *wabicha* was invented by the famous tea master Sen no Rikyū in the 16th century, and while the presence of such aestheticism may seem too weak a link to poetry, the master used a Heian court poem to explain the *wabi* concept:

> To those who wait
> Only for flowers,
> Show them a spring
> Of grass amid the snow
> In a mountain village.
>
> (via Varley 160).

As we can see, poetry's influence spread from other forms of literature such as the novels of the Heian court to even influencing and mixing flawlessly with other art forms and their aesthetics. In the Heian period came the more solidified forms of these aesthetics, including *wabi*, *aware*, *yuugen*, and *sabi*, adding to *miyabi*, court elegance or refinement, that defined poetry as a courtly pursuit and dictated the structure and topic matter of the poems as well as the manner of the courtiers themselves. Some of these concepts stretched back to the times of the *Man'yōshū* anthology in the 8th century; for example, *sabi*, from the word *sabita*, meaning rusted, which depicted something worn or weathered, such as an old temple. Japanese poets found their inspiration in things lonely, barren, worn, nostalgic and sentimental. Another was *aware*, which has a slightly more interesting history, as it shifted and adapted much like poetry did. At first, '*aware*' was "used as an exclamation of surprise or delight, a person's natural reaction to... the "ahness" of things" (de Bary 197), and then changed to a meaning

of sadness, melancholy, and longing, often translated as 'moving'. As someone relatively unfamiliar with Japanese culture, I would still say that such a word describing complex human feelings, used in the context of poetry, conveyed more meaning than simpler, flatter words: "surprise", "sadness", "pity". In a discussion of *The Tale of Genji*, the word 'moving' or '*aware*' is used no less than six times in describing different parts and aspects of the work. This shows the power and importance of *aware* in Heian Japan. Woven into traditional poetry topics such as seasons, aesthetics created a distinct Japaneseness that influenced all of the culture throughout the centuries.

In my opinion, the presence of aesthetics in Japanese poetry is one of the strongest points for the way that poetry in Japanese society lasted. Poetry and aesthetic senses both changed, one gaining broader situations and the other deeper meanings, and it could even be said that they changed together in a deep cultural connection. Although it is arguable that poetry was the cause of the development of aesthetics and ideas of beauty in Japan, poetry both influenced and reflected the culture it was in, as well as echoing the history of the art form. Even today there are still remnants of Heian-era poetry. In my personal experience I have found that an understanding of Japanese history and culture, especially poetry, has helped me understand much of the literature, poetry, and even song lyrics I have come across from modern Japan. In fact, poetry continues to change and adapt to circumstance, as even modern-day Japanese women are composing *tanka* (another term for *waka*) on their cellphones (Dvorak). Poetry is deeply a part of Japan, and these changes show that it is not going anywhere anytime soon.

Poetry at the end of the medieval period was very different from its beginnings. From the change in language to change in authorship to change in context, it is not very hard to see the shifts that occurred. However, it is equally significant that some things stayed the same, reflecting the essence of Japanese culture and tradition as seen through the words of its people. As put by Fujiwara Teika, himself a Heian compiler of poetry, "There are no teachers of Japanese poetry. But they who take the old poems as their teachers... who of them will fail to write poetry?" (de Bary 204). It was essential that poetry change from scholastic to ritual to social to practical usages, but at the same time there was a historical connection that kept it firmly within Japanese culture from the very first break from China's poetry, and its importance only increased with time. In another quote from Fujiwara, "the art of *yamato-uta* (Japanese poetry) seems shallow but it is deep; it seems easy, but it is difficult. There are few who understand it." (Addiss et al. 34) The supposed shallowness of the poetry makes it an accessible art form, but the complex layers and difficulty of definition is what gave Japanese poetry depth and strength it needed to survive through the centuries.

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Drawing Poison from the Inkwell: The Ethical Implication of Fairy Tales

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Literature, whether constructed as written history, fictitious prose or any of its countless other forms, has proven itself to possess the succinct ability to influence the beliefs and morals of the culture it originates from. In spite of this, most western audiences have hastily formulated the view that the contributions of fairy tale authors represent a relatively benign presence in determining the composition of their society's ethics. On the contrary, fairy tale writing carries with it the intrinsic capability to infiltrate younger, more impressionable generations of readers, and so the morals that are dispensed by these fairy tales should be of great concern to everyone. During the nineteenth century, fairy tale authors, who began to recognize and exploit their position as dispensers of morals to a younger generation, associated themselves more closely with children's literature in an attempt to perpetuate the concept of deontological ethics; a school of thought that correlates an individual's morality to the fulfilling of one's duties and obligations as defined by the society that person lives in. However, in recognition of the severe detriment wrought by numerous decades of having institutionalized intolerance, discrimination and abuse through the medium of classic fairy tale literature, modern storytelling has seen authors advocate for a utilitarian perspective, allowing morality to be more liberally defined by the individual and his or her given situation. Myriad revisions to classic tales (as well as original works, aimed at sharing diverse perspectives) have been spawned by this utilitarian movement in the hopes that beloved characters and archetypes can be elevated from their sordid past as constructs of propaganda.

Many of the early works from the western world, such as that of the Brothers Grimm, were used to institutionalize cultural norms, gender roles and other various social idiosyncrasies; the idea being that every tale contributed to reaffirming some sort of rule or expectation held by members of society. These fairy tales promoted blatantly misogynistic values, delineated submissive roles for women and obscured readers from making their own ethical judgments: "nearly all heroines in Grimms' fairy tales are beautiful—from Cinderella to Sleeping Beauty to Rapunzel to Little Red Riding Hood—and therefore 'good'. Specifically, Cinderella is good because she is beautiful, passive, innocent, and beguiled" (Zipes 31). An adult reading passages written by the Brothers Grimm may possess the analytic savvy to readily identify the profoundly damaging gender biases within their stories; however, a child reading the same tales is far more susceptible to subconsciously adopting the misogynistic tendencies presented therein:

> the cultural norms represented in fairy tales play a large part in the socialization processes of the child who reads them. Contained within these cultural norms are the shared beliefs about gender roles held by the child's society… In this capacity, fairy tales can be powerful cultural agents, telling the child who reads them how they should behave with regard to gender (Kuykendal & Sturm 39).

Children are virtually incapable of the type of critical analysis needed to distinguish whether or not a supposition proposed by a fairy tale author is truly conscientious; they merely adopt the cultural fallacies presented by these authors because they have no background reference to help them evaluate the accuracy of a given cultural implication. The polarizing messages typically conveyed by classic literature "reflect and reproduce the patriarchal values of the society that crafted them… These stories portray women as weak, submissive, dependent, and self-sacrificing while men are powerful, active, and dominant" (Kuykendal & Sturm 39). Children who go through their early development stages while exposed to these types of messages begin to integrate them into their lives, resulting in the cyclical perpetuation of obstructing women from roles that are deemed to be exclusively masculine in nature.

Furthermore, by using fairy tales to reinforce the use of deontological ethics, society not only adopts the cultural imperatives derived from literature, it also enforces those imperatives as though it were codified law. Authors imply grave consequences for individuals who attempt to subvert society's ordained framework: "as in the fairytales, the female attempting to step out of her role is met with punishment" (Neikirk 38). Sometimes these punishments are physical, such as the threat of death upon the female protagonist in Charles Perrault's "Bluebeard" for her defiance of her husband's explicit instructions. Other times the punishment takes the form of alienation and malicious ridicule, such as the confinement of Rapunzel to the highest tower for exploring her curiosity. Disdainfully, the mortifying reality is that these repercussions have historically been given parallel in the treatment of women in real life: "notions of femininity and masculinity influenced the way in which crime was viewed. Consequently, criminality was perceived, judged, and explained in terms of the offender's sex" (Zedner 9). While storytelling has proven itself to be a powerful determinant of cultural formation, the simultaneous use of deontological methodology has also had a sizable impact on the efficacy of literature's didactic potential. The integration of deontology into ethics has demonstrated literature's astounding capacity to promote legally enforceable compliance with cultural norms.

It wasn't until several decades later that observant readers began to identify the crimes committed by classic fairy tale authors in corrupting their youthful audience. Contemporary audiences have found that the deontological model of ethical reasoning approaches

a dangerously restrictive level of moral absolutism, instilling an image of morality that lacks the progressive, open-minded tendencies of twenty-first century society. Thankfully, there has been a rally by modern fairy tale authors to elucidate the intentions of traditional authors and to adopt a system of utilitarian ethicality that would enable readers to explore a diversification of cultural identity. Championing the rebirth of fairy tale literature with her short story collection, The Bloody Chamber, Angela Carter endeavors to disillusion modern audiences from the harmful paradigms found in classic literature by revising an assortment of traditional tales and placing them in a context more suitable to contemporary society. The first story in her collection, which attempts to reimagine Perrault's "Bluebeard," changes a number of critical plot elements in order to create a sense of equitability between genders. For example, rather than the protagonist being saved by her three brothers, as in Perrault's version, she is instead rescued by "the maternal telepathy that sent [her] mother running headlong from the telephone to the station" (Carter 40). Carter also simultaneously mocks male valiance by portraying Jean-Yves, the narrator's paramour, as incapable of aiding the "damsel in distress" during Bluebeard's onslaught. Thus, the protagonist's mother subverts the notion of heroism being an exclusively masculine trait by vanquishing Bluebeard on behalf of her daughter when Jean-Yves fails to rise to the occasion. Some of Carter's other short stories, namely "The Werewolf" and "The Company of Wolves," again address the overabundance of male heroism and female victimization by empowering the character of Little Red Riding Hood to combat the wolf herself, rather than relying on the intervention of the axe-wielding lumberjack. In "The Werewolf," Little Red manages to cut off a paw from the wolf, a victory in the physical arena that is seldom attained by female characters in this type of literature, and ends the story triumphantly by outing her grandmother as a beast, inheriting her wealth. Carter's other tale, "The Company of Wolves," hilariously subverts the entire combative process by having Little Red and the wolf fall in love. Though entirely bizarre, both retellings elevate Little Red by putting the outcome of the story in her hands, rather than casting her to the wayside as a hapless child.

Fellow authors Margaret Atwood and Salman Rushdie also join Carter in her crusade to revolutionize the world of fairy tale literature, although they both approach the task of returning equitability to fairy tales with a slightly different spin than Carter. Atwood's The Robber Bride draws from the Brothers Grimm tale, "The Robber Bridegroom," and deviates from the source material by transforming the formerly male antagonist who, in the Grimm collection is a literal cannibal, into Zenia, a woman who prides herself on being a "man-eater," one who aims to befriend other women for the explicit purpose of stealing away their significant others. Despite the initial implication that Zenia's portrayal may be detrimental to the perception of women in society, it must be remembered that "the men who leave their wives for her have not been taken away by force. They are grown men and have a will of their own. They choose to be unfaithful and to follow Zenia, forsaking their partners" (Kraege 14). In this context, Zenia's involvement with the husbands and boyfriends she steals away are meant to serve as a satirical lampoon of the way "failings are overlooked without a word" when those failings are committed by a male figure in a patriarchal society, "representative of the feminist movement in the way that the author depreciates Roz, Tony and Charis. In her eyes, they were too lenient with their companions…" (Kraege 21). Atwood's text encourages women to directly confront the source of their abuse, instead of projecting their frustration onto a less imposing scapegoat conveniently manufactured for them by the deontological imperatives of a chauvinistic society.

Meanwhile, Salman Rushdie's Haroun and the Sea of Stories, which frequently alludes to works like Alice in Wonderland, The Wizard of Oz, and One Thousand and One Nights, more broadly addresses the idea of using literature and language as tools for influencing ethical, political, and interpersonal constructs in society. In fact, the entire story can be seen as an extended metaphor for the way storytelling provides guidance in an otherwise incomprehensible world, and the profound responsibility authors, particularly those who intend to write for a younger, more impressionable audience, have to provide guileless content: "Anybody can tell stories…. Liars, and cheats, and crooks, for example" (Rushdie 58). Rushdie's words target authors who purport fabricated realities and construe literature to manipulate and delude their audience into blindly supporting discriminatory, exclusionary or otherwise prejudiced societal regimens. In Rushdie's eyes, the world of literature has become "a political arena for contesting coercive erasure and an ethical space for asserting the final insubstantiality of evil that only children's stories can make with impunity" (Mukherjee 176). As with the battle contested between Haroun and Khattam-Shud, Rushdie must utilize his storytelling to rally followers against the terribly prevalent social injustice present in the world, such as the social inequity perpetuated by the popularity of the Brothers Grimm fairy tale canon.

With nearly two centuries' time since the Brothers Grimm first created an inextricable association between fairy tales and children by publishing their collection under the name of Children's and Household Tales, history has certainly felt the ramifications of the abundantly discriminatory framework of many traditional fairy tales. However, recent decades have seen contemporary authors like Carter, Atwood, and Rushdie attempt a hopeful journey to exorcise the moral absolutism and ethical corruption present in children's literature. And while the works of contemporary authors have begun to cleanse a genre long contaminated by destructive social agendas, much more work is necessary in order to rectify the years of malign toxicity that have attenuated the integrity of western society.

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