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A Note about this Issue
This issue of 115 Vernon offers a broad range of disciplines and topics assembled as a representation of the best writing produced by many of the Writing Associates who participated in the Writing Associates program during the 2014-15 academic year. The submissions were wide-ranging and vibrantly creative, showcasing both academic projects and personal writing.

About the Writing Associates Program
All Writing Associates are current Trinity College Students who exhibit excellence in the art of writing and share a passion for improving the writing of their peers using a collaborative approach. Writing Associates are selected from a wide variety of academic majors, and are identified by their professors as outstanding writers. Writing Associates undergo a rigorous training curriculum that includes completing RHET 302, Writing Theory and Practice. The 26 year old Writing Associates Program was created in 1989 to supplement faculty efforts and encourage a positive writing culture at Trinity. The Writing Associates Program is housed in the Allan K. Smith Center for Writing and Rhetoric.

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The Study of Athenian Maritime Convention
An Examination of Ancient Naval Practices Through Archeological and Literary Analyses

Griffin Hunt

Foreword

Examining the function and purpose of the early and developing Athenian navy is critical in the understanding of Athenian dominance in the ancient world. For not only did the navy afford formidable military advantage to the Athenians, but it also facilitated expansion of the empire and of the trade network. I propose that in order to adequately understand how the Athenians obtained and maintained their empire, as well as the fruits that empire brought, we must examine the early objectives of the Athenian navy, the introduction of innovative technologies, and the culture that arose due to the new maritime activity. The second Persian invasion threatened the very survival of Athens. However, because of the urging of one man, Themistocles, the Athenians had a navy equipped with the most elite of warships—the trireme—and were so prepared to expel the invading Persian fleet. Whether this was a matter of luck or of amazing capacity for foresight rests in the studies of others. Regardless of the motivating factor, it is plain that the construction of a highly equipped and capable fleet was inherently expensive. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Themistocles faced massive resistance in his recommendation to dedicate state funds toward the construction of the fleet.

A new silver deposit at Laurium (town located in southeastern region of Attica, Greece) provided the necessary wealth for such an enterprise. Laurium is famous for its silver mining operations—one of the primary sources of revenue for the Athenian state; metallic silver was struck into coinage, which was used across the empire. Circa 483 BCE, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to devote the profits of the Laurium silver vein strike to the trireme building project. By circumventing the traditional employment practices of mining profits, Themistocles financed the trireme building project; the endeavor would not have been been possibility without this massive capital. And without this capital, Athens would not have had the technologically advanced ships with which it defended its state during the Second Persian War. By studying the state of the Athenian navy before Themistocles’ trireme project, we can understand how and why such a proposal would have been accepted.

I have outlined the various pieces of evidence from which historians have come to understand Athenian naval efforts. I examine the controversy that naturally arises from such study—the contradictions, the provenances of error, the ambiguities. I have cited many different sources, each relying on varying proportions of written accounts and archeological information to back up each work’s respective arguments and create my own conclusions. By consulting opposing works, I hope to shed as much dogma as possible, within the scope of my study. In this way, I hope to accurately illustrate the study of early Athenian naval activity, before Themistocles.
For with this paper, I strive to argue that Hellenic maritime study is shrouded in suppositions and is, as a whole, convoluted in a mess of anachronisms and suppositions. More than anything, I have attempted to make sense of this disorder and narrate a brief history of the early Athenian naval activity and how historians have come to understand it. The willingness to be creative and critical in reasoning affords for a deeper comprehension of Athenian naval practices.

The Study of Athenian Maritime Convention
An Examination of Ancient Naval Practices Through Archeological and Literary Analyses

Greek civilization peaked, in many ways, due to the successful interplay of sea-borne activities. Productive trade networks, extensive travel capabilities, and advanced naval warfare helped to establish the Hellenic civilization as the cultural and political epicenter of the ancient world. This dedication to maritime ventures ultimately propelled Athens to the center of the Mediterranean spotlight. Its location, its imperial aspirations and expansionist practices, and its strong financial footing afforded Athens a series of advantages over competing city-states. Of course, much of the documentation on ancient naval efforts is oriented strongly towards Athens—perhaps jading the relevance of Athenian maritime influence.

However, other Greeks did praise Athenian naval prowess, such as the writer Xenophon. Let us pause and examine Xenophon’s Hellenica, in which he reports a speech of praise from Procles the Phliasian to Athens and its glorious naval power.¹

[3] In the first place, you have a position most excellently adapted by nature for supremacy by sea. For most of the states which are dependent upon the sea are situated round about your state, and they are all weaker than yours. In addition to this, you have harbours, without which it is not possible to enjoy naval power. [4] You likewise possess as peculiarly your own all the arts and crafts which have to do with ships. Again, you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea; hence, while attending to your private concerns, you are also at the same time gaining experience for encounters by sea. Here is another point also: there is no port from which more triremes can sail forth at one time than from your city. And this is a matter of no slight importance with reference to leadership, for all men love best to join forces with the power which is first to show itself strong. [5] Furthermore, it has also been granted you by the gods to be successful in this pursuit. For while you have engaged in very many and very great combats by sea, you have met with an exceedingly small number of

misfortunes and have achieved an exceedingly large number of successes. Therefore it is likely that the allies would like best to share in such perils if they were under your leadership.

From this, scholars deduce that Athens was well versed in naval matters in such a capacity that far exceeded the powers of other city-states. Procles (in effort to form a Lacedaemonian-Athenian alliance) not only commends the sailing prowess of the Athenians, but also addresses their maritime culture, artistry, and infrastructure. He cites the harbors, the homes of the Athenian fleet. He acknowledges the Athenian mastery of the sea: “you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea.” Most notably, he endorses the employment of the trireme. To understand the significance of these acknowledgements, one needs to explore the history prior to Athens naval superiority.

When assessing such a source, one clearly rooted in strong opinion, one must consider the context of the author. Xenophon lived in the 4th century BCE, 430-354. Notable for his depictions of life in ancient Greece, he was a journalist of sorts of the golden era of Athenian life. His assessment of the Athenian navy is largely accurate. His opinion is rooted in fact: at the time of his life, the navy was a constantly expanding, wealthy, prosperous, dominating force. But it was not always like this.

“The Athenian Constitution,” an essay attributed to Xenophon, though not by him, reveals a telling perspective on the role of naval power in Athens prior to Xenophon. Dating of this text is controversial, though it is likely that the text was written before the start of the Peloponnesian War, circa 443 BCE, as argued by G.W. Bowersock. The author of the Psuedo-Xenophon, referred to as the “Old Oligarch,” writes the following:

…it is the people who man the ships and impart strength to the city: the steersmen, the boatswains, the sub-boatswains, the lookout officers, and the shipwrights—these are the ones who impart strength to the city far more than the hoplites, the high-born, and the good men.

The Old Oligarch is referring primarily to the class disparity between sailors and infantry, who were generally wealthier and had greater opportunity for promotion through the ranks. Though sailors were thought of as crude and unrefined, they represented an ideal that the Old Oligarch finds lacking in the rest of society—dedication. The sailors subjected themselves to harsh conditions, absent of the luxuries he describes later in the text. Furthermore, he illustrates this dedication as one of lifetime civil service: “Many are able to row as soon as they board their ships, since they have been practicing beforehand throughout their whole lives.”

Until just before the life of Xenophon, Athens was primarily land-based. Its concerns with naval affairs were marginal—the sea was chiefly a highway for importing and exporting

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4 Ibid. 1.20.
goods. Yet, even then, Athens relied minimally on foreign trade. Agrarian regions contiguous to the city of Athens provided much of the grain that the populous relied upon. Athens was vehemently dedicated to the protection of its productive country—autonomy was security. The integrity of borders was essential, as argued by historian Christopher Haas.5

[The] primary foreign policy objectives of the Athenians during this period consisted of the acquisition and consolidation of border areas on the north and west…Thus, the prowess of the Athenian hoplite army was shown to be equal, if not superior, to the forces of powerful neighbors. Moreover, [border] conflicts emphasize the priority that the Athenians attached to the protection of their all-important arable countryside. It should be noted that until the fifth century, Attica remained a predominantly agricultural community.

Analysis of port facilities in Athens can provide clues as to the state of the Athenian “navy.” Haas writes, “While Polycrates was building ship-sheds and his great harbor-mole, and the Corinthians enjoyed their long established harbor works, Athens relied on the open, indefensible beaches of Phaleron. This was Athens’ port until Themistocles began construction works at Piraeus, and it does not even appear to have had sheds for tackle—a feature that well-appointed harbors possess as early as Homer.”6

The question must be asked then, what changed in the Athenian socio-political paradigm that necessitated a preference for naval advancements? To answer this, one must examine the history of Athenian naval power from when it just began to grow.

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Historical reconstruction of the Archaic period is based on fragmentary and, often, circumstantial evidence. “The earliest literary references to Athenian maritime activity occur in the so-called ‘Catalogue of Ships’ (II.494-759) in the Iliad and in the various legends concerning the travels of the Athenian hero, Theseus.”7 The vague explanation that these literary illusions provide are hardly concrete. Historians have addressed the accuracy and reputability (or lack thereof) of these indexes, acknowledging that said sources do not undisputedly provide the basis

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from which one may draw substantiated conclusions on Athenian naval power in the Archaic Age.  

Literary sources come in two forms: “the writings of contemporary authors, predominantly lyric poets; and later accounts by fifth and fourth century historians, lexicographers, and political philosophers.”  

One finds distinct advantages and disadvantages in these two different forms. Poetry, though more immediate to the events, has a tendency to hyperbolize; later accounts, though less ambiguous, may contain generational falsities. For instance, the Catalogue of Ships claims 50 ships of Athenian origin (In 2.546). However, there is evidence that suggests that this entry was interpolated in the mid-sixth century.  

If true, the Athenian entry ought to be accepted hesitantly, as the claimed 50 ships could simply be a rounding error, though this is unlikely, considering the other represented ethnicities in the Catalogue mostly provide ships in multiples of ten. Yet, some ships under a uniform ethnic identity sent rather odd numbers: 3, in the case of the Symians (In 2.671), 9 from the Rhodians (In 2.653), or 12 from the Salamineans (In 2.557). Thus, the possibility for an “accounting error” in the retrojection should not be be completely defenestrated.

Besides literary instability on the matter at hand, one finds similar weakness in the analysis of another source material—pottery. Attic pottery, ranging from the Geometric period (last half of the eighth century) to the fifth century, depicts ships, seafaring, and naval warfare. But this pottery depicting sea-battles (though offering an obviously visual alternative to text) has its own set of ambiguities. For example, the celebrated mid-eighth century Attic Dipylon vases invite a wide range of conflicting interpretations. As Haas writes,

...the single greatest difficulty surrounding this material is that of interpretation. It is an often-neglected truism that archaeological sources are mute. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the pottery sources have produced numerous and contradictory interpretations, ones which have a direct bearing on an analysis of early Athenian naval power.

An inherent step in the process of interpreting art is discerning the motivation for the artist’s selection of that particular scene; understanding this inducement is nearly impossible. (Haas elaborates: “While acknowledging that these ship depictions attest to the interest that nautical activities held for the vase painters (as well as for their patrons), it should be recognized that they yield little specific evidence regarding the early growth of the Athenian navy.”) From this point, there typically branch two scholarly schools of thought: the contemporary view and the heroic/saga school. Sometimes pottery art was dedicated to a recent victory, celebrating the state’s glory and power—art depicting contemporary events. Other times, the art honors past

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9 Haas, 30.
10 Gary Reger, Professor of Classics, Trinity College (Hartford, CT). 12/1/13.
11 Haas, 30.
conquests or actions of heroes, relating myths and epics—a retrojection.\textsuperscript{14} The uncertainty of what the art is portraying casts a shadow of doubt on the chronology of the depiction; even with radiocarbon dating or archaeological stratigraphy, one cannot conclude the date of the event shown. “Radiocarbon is too rough a guide for these matters; and even a good stratigraphic date for a pot yields only a \textit{terminus ante quem}. Stylistic dating remains the chief technique in use.”\textsuperscript{15} Even then, stylistic dating cannot account for the time period of the depicted scene. Additionally, the highly stylized nature of Geometric design affords even more unclarity to the pottery.

\textbf{Figure 1a:} Terracotta krater detailing a sea battle. Dipylon in style. The boat has a ram, or something similar, on the bow (right side); the boat’s shape and oar ports describe this vessel as one of war. Late 1\textsuperscript{st} quarter of the 8\textsuperscript{th} century BCE.\textsuperscript{†}

Figure 1a is a close-up photograph of a terracotta krater (Figure 1b), dated in the late 1\textsuperscript{st} quarter of the eighth century BCE. With a height of 99.1 cm and a diameter of 94 cm, the medium sized vase was likely used for mixing wine. The Metropolitan Museum of Art describes the piece with the following:\textsuperscript{16}

…Of particular interest are the images of battles on and around the two ships. The center of one ship is occupied by a figure seated under an awning as two warriors fight with swords near the stern. The central portion of the other ship is missing. The archer on the prow of this vessel, the warrior just above the prow, the proximity of the foot soldiers as well as the birds perched on the sterns of

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\textsuperscript{15} Gary Reger, Professor of Classics, Trinity College (Hartford, CT). 11/5/13.
\textsuperscript{†}Unknown, “Terracotta krater,” (1\textsuperscript{st} quarter of 8\textsuperscript{th} century BCE), ARTstor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, (1934) (34.11.2) http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=%2FDFMaiMuOztdLS04eTt%2FR3guXw%3D%3D&userI
d=hDRHcTEi&zoomparams=
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both ships suggest that the vessels are beached or at least close enough to be boarded from the shore. The person of rank under the awning, the variety of combatants, and the number of foot soldiers—even if they are repeated for decorative purposes—indicate that a specific event is depicted.

The vase is a token of commemoration for a past battle. Dipylon in style, the vase is most likely a retrojection—a contemporary article depicting a past battle. As seen in the Figure 1a, traditional combat techniques are being employed. The shields depicted—with their telltale sharp-hourglass shape—resemble war shields used by the Trojan hoplites. Therefore, it could be argued that the terracotta krater in Figure 1a and 1b is likely illustrating a Homeric scene, perhaps the amphibious landing at Troy’s beaches. The presence of a ram on the ship, however, calls this theory into question. The ram was introduced sometime after 1000 BCE, some two decades after the Trojan War. The krater was produced roughly three decades after the estimated birth of the ram. Therefore, we can either theorize that the inclusion of the ram in Figure 1 to be an anachronistic error (the artist included a nautical feature that did not exist in the portrayed time), the established date for the ram’s birth is simply incorrect, or that it is a scene other than the landing at Troy (though evidence points otherwise). By understanding temporal realities and the content of a depiction, including the subtle nuances of positions and relationships, a historian can make highly probable and informed assumptions about the piece in question and the subject of its decoration.

There is, however, the possibility that the protrusion is actually a prolongation of the hull-or keel-lines. G.S. Kirk explains the history of the ram:17

...the ram had a long history before it became a standard part of the ninth- and eighth-century Greek warship. Lack of knowledge about early navies in the Aegean and the tactics they used makes it dangerous to say definitely that the ram was not at first an instrument of battle, but rather a necessary structural part of the ship; but I suspect this to have been the case. Certain horizontal protrusions beyond stem and beyond stern occur frequently in Geometric painting...The only feasible explanation of these protrusions is that the method of construction of these ships demanded that the main horizontal timbers of the ship's side should be left protruding a little way on either side of the stem and stern, for strengthening purposes (perhaps in default of an adequate technique of dovetailing they were lashed together on each side of the vertical post), and to protect the stem from casual damage. This is the clue to the origin of the ram. When the Bronze Age

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shipbuilder first turned from the construction of the merchant-ship type, with its curved stem and stern formed by a direct prolongation of a curving keel, to the building of narrow, shallow-draught vessels which, to reduce water-resistance, had to have a narrow upright cutwater, he must have found that a simple joint between the ends of two timbers set more or less at right angles—keel and stern—was too weak to stand the shock of a head sea or of beaching at speed. To protect this joint from horizontal shocks, and to prevent damage to the base of the stem, the keel and sometimes other longitudinal timbers were continued ahead of the stem, and slightly pointed to reduce water-resistance. The underside of the ram so formed was given a pronounced upward curve—not visible in the earlier ships, where...the water- and not the keel-line is given—so that even on the steeply shelving beaches common in the Aegean there would be no jarring impact, but a gradual sliding up on to the sand, with the main longitudinal timbers taking any strain. Thus, the ram, far from preventing stem-first beaching, actually aided it, according to this theory of its origin. Doubtless its use as a method of holing an enemy ship in a head-on attack was discovered very early, and this additional use ensured the preservation of what was from the constructional point of view perhaps a rather clumsy device.

The ram, as we know it, may have descended from a simple structural requirement on ships, one necessary for beaching in bow-forward orientations. There exists a common misconception of ancient nautical practices that ships were always beached stern-to. This erroneous belief may be attributed to Homer, whose depictions of the amphibious landing at Troy were not faithful to standard practice. In fact, the Greeks landed at Troy with the assumption that they would need to prepare for a quick get-away—a motive present elsewhere in Homer, further adding to the literary trend of stern-to landings. When rapid amphibious landings were desired and/or required, ships were “rowed straight on to the beach without unnecessary maneuvers by oar,”18 as in Odyssey 13:113-15 when the Phaecians land at Ithaca: “the ship, driven by the muscles of her crew, was running so fast in her swift passage that she beached by half her length.”19 Because of instances like these, structural integrity of the bow was vital. That protrusion of a beam was used to guide a beaching ship up along the sand seems likely. If this theory holds true, it may be that the previously mentioned temporal discrepancy of Figure 1 is not a discrepancy at all. It may simply be that Figure 1 depicts a vessel constructed in the fashion Kirk describes.

In addition to studying the content of the art itself, it can often be helpful to understand the context of the art or vase at hand. By understanding the stylistic “language” of a piece, one can glean its possible origin—both potential place and potential time. This information can often be just as helpful as the contents of the art in that a discovery in location A may expose a trade relationship with another location B. These implications can be both revealing and groundbreaking, offering the archeological evidence to assert a complementary association

18 Kirk, 127.
between two cultures. This method lacks concrete certainty in that “A and B relations...[cannot] say how the item was moved nor how many intermediate steps may have taken place.”

A great amount of evidence exists that suggests Athens traded pottery extensively. John Boardman’s *The Athenian Pottery Trade* examines the trade networks and practices of the ancient Mediterranean. During the Archaic Period, Etruria served as a crucial market for Athenian pottery. Boardman writes:

> …there was a brisk second-hand export trade in Athens, aimed principally at Etruria...whole dinner services were ordered for specific symposia and...these, once used, would be shipped off. This...would explain the appearance on vases of the *kalo* names, congratulating contemporary Athenian youths on their beauty, and of no interest or significance to any Etruscan purchaser...That there was some sort of second-hand trade is perfectly possible...[Sometimes] particular shapes, or particular scenes, or the works of a particular studio may be unusually well represented on a site, implying a special demand or some deliberate direction of trade.

Although Boardman neither specifies nor speculates on the logistics of the export model, he does provide compelling evidence to suggest that potters were heedful to foreign market demands. For example, the kylx differs greatly from the amphora—each served a specific purpose functionally and aesthetically, and the significance of these purposes differed between cultures and markets. Specialist shape production was rare, though there is evidence that supports its practice: the “rhyton in the form of a figure vase, which has its origins in the East.” Furthermore, decoration was designed to appeal to the customer of specific regions. The painter became an arbiter of sorts in regard to the scenes he painted, emphasizing certain elements of myth that were contemporarily in vogue.

Furthermore, much of what we think we know about Athenian maritime practices from vase analysis is grounded on uncertainty. Kirk writes, “although almost all the ship-scene vases are of Attic manufacture, they might portray scenes of the general life of the Aegean, rather than specifically Attic ones.”

As will be discussed later, the pottery export business expanded accordingly with the expansion of maritime activity.

Underwater archaeology can shed light on some aspects of nautical life that pottery simply cannot. For example, examination of intact wrecks can illustrate the layout of ships, supplies, cargo, etc. Unfortunately, the information that these wrecks provide is quite often heavily damaged or corroded. Furthermore, the vast majority of the ships that have been examined are primarily merchantmen, not warships. Even still, underwater archeology can

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20 Reger, 11/5/13.
22 Boardman, 34.
23 Kirk, 145.
provide insight into ancient nautical engineering and construction methods, as well as trade routes (by examining the cargo, one might find trade goods from a distant origin).\textsuperscript{25}

Both literary and archeological sources have their respective pros and cons; both forms can present an enormous wealth of information, but in different ways and through different means. Literary sources are generally presented as more reputable, as essential information is more discernible. While art hosts intrinsic ambiguities from differing interpretations, written language is usually more clear-cut. Numbers or specific figures can be obscured in illustrations, but are spelled out clearly in text. Historian G.S. Kirk asserts that many scholars, in their analyses of ancient ships, “customarily employ either the literary evidence or the archeological material and deny any merit to the class of evidence not favored. Surely such an approach yields, at best, a one-sided picture of the issue being addressed.”\textsuperscript{26} For example, Philip De Souza, on the subject of ancient practices of piracy, writes that “it is important to establish at an early stage that all evidence of piracy in the Graeco-Roman world is textual. Piracy is not a phenomenon which can be documented from the material remains of Classical civilizations.”\textsuperscript{27} To this point, De Souza contradicts himself, as noticed by Csaba La’d, who credits De Souza’s argument, citing “the archeological remains of the so-called ‘Saxon Shore’ and [their] generally accepted interpretation as a defensive system against piratical attacks, with which the author [De Souza] explicitly agrees (pp. 225-9).”\textsuperscript{28}

Because of the lack of concrete evidence on eighth and seventh century maritime activities, historians tend to cite examples that favor their own argument. This is done, perhaps, in an effort to compensate for a lack of discernible evidence. Kirk refers to this propensity for bias as an erroneous breach in historical analysis, which ought to present all the evidence at hand and make sense of it in that way.\textsuperscript{29} Attempts at remedying this synthetic method of tying together the classes of evidence have resulted in more complete understandings of eighth and seventh century Greek naval activities.\textsuperscript{30}

Moving into the mid-to-late seventh century, the literary and archeological source materials become more plentiful. With more data to work with, a “more vivid picture of maritime life around the Aegean emerges. The elegists and lyric poets of this era depict a world in which many individuals (including themselves) crossed the seas to trade, travel or fight in foreign armies.”\textsuperscript{31} Alcaeus describes the state as a storm-tossed ship at sea.\textsuperscript{32} However, besides select few snippets of Alcaeus and Solon, very little writing has a direct bearing or reference to Athenian naval power. That said, the expansion of maritime activity during this time reached into the contexts of regular, land-oriented life; more trade meant more goods in and out of Athens. What we are left with is an upsurge in the exchange of ceramic goods in the seventh and sixth

\textsuperscript{26} Haas, 30. In regards to: G.S. Kirk, “Ships on Geometric Vases,” \textit{Annual of the British School at Athens} 44 (1949), p. 139.
\textsuperscript{29} Kirk, 139.
\textsuperscript{31} Haas, 32.
\textsuperscript{32} Alcaeus frs. 6, 74, 306C, ed., Campbell.
centuries, traceable through the Archaic period, and telling of the flourishing maritime activity.\textsuperscript{33} The distribution of these ceramic goods extended throughout what is now Spain, central Europe, southern Russia, Persia, and the North Africa coast.\textsuperscript{34} Found in both shards and complete vases, this pottery, with its differing shapes and decorations, has been studied in extreme detail. In effect, dating of this pottery is “closer than any artifact of the period.”\textsuperscript{35} Despite inherent ambiguities previously, as previously discussed, this pottery is, interestingly, often more useful to historians of Athenian maritime history than the scarce, vague writings of the time.

\textbf{Figure 2:} Production of ceramic goods grew throughout the Archaic period, due to the expansion of the naval shipping industry. Reconstruction of a figure in Boardman’s “The Athenian Pottery Trade” (36).

As time passed and styles changed, vase painting began to adapt a radical new form. From the comparatively elementary Geometric style, painters transitioned into the black- and red-figure pottery style, so often associated with the peak of Athenian culture. As this Attic style developed, “a heightened sense of naturalism and an ability to render more detailed subjects make [these] depictions of ships a valuable source of information regarding the naval capabilities of Athens.”\textsuperscript{36} Because of the more realistic nature of the new style, historians today can trace developments of naval technology (e.g. sail styles, rams, proportions, crew accommodations)—ultimately being able to distinguish between disparate vessels. Again, however, artistic liberties on the part of the original artist convolute the ship design—making direct analysis of red-figure and black-figure pottery a somewhat sketchy process.\textsuperscript{37}

With contradictory evidence, historians are often left with nothing more than a hunch—a best guess based on attempted understandings of that contradictory evidence. Obscure connections lead to suppositions and extrapolations, which are as close to vetted facts as one can get without all the information. One is obliged to sort through the doubt, the confusion, the unclarity, and to surface with what seems most believable. As more archaeological and literary information is unearthed, Hellenic study can shed assumptions and replace them with warranted, proven claims. Therefore, much of our understanding of Athens and its maritime activity is subject to change. Until we can increase that knowledge base, we must make due with what we have now and strive to draw conclusions that seem most believable and most realistic.

\begin{figure}
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\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Production of ceramic goods grew throughout the Archaic period, due to the expansion of the naval shipping industry. Reconstruction of a figure in Boardman’s “The Athenian Pottery Trade” (36).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{33} Boardman, 33-39.
\textsuperscript{34} Boardman, 33.
\textsuperscript{35} Boardman, 33. Boardman notes that in many cases the individual potter and painter can be identified and, occasionally, even named.
\textsuperscript{36} Haas, 32.
What is universal among all categories of source material is the diverging forms of seafaring vessels and their functions. The basic ship design and layout can prove to be most revealing of that vessel’s purpose and use application.

Similarly, records of which cities employed which kinds of ships will, to a certain extent, reflect the naval policies of that state and time. In the mid-500’s, Greek fleets were primarily composed of pentekonters. These 50-oared ships afforded the ability to sail long distances, swiftness, as well fighting potential. These traits made the pentekonter ideal for transport and for piracy. The ancient world had a loose definition of piracy as a concept; it was somewhere within the realms of what modern historians might consider warfare and trade. According to Haas, “booty acquired through piracy normally had to be sold, making the pirate also a trader.” Moreover, “piratical depredations often took the form of low-level warfare, as conflicting states would employ private vessels to harass the shipping and coastlines of the opponent.”

Even more informal than disorganized piracy, recreational use of boats perpetuated the immature (here, meaning undeveloped or unrefined) nature of maritime culture. Generally, aristocratic recreational pursuits were land-based endeavors: “vase paintings, by and large, depict scenes of athletic contests, symposia or activities concerned with horsemanship.” There is evidence, however, that aristocratic pursuits extended beyond the commonly perceived terrestrial boundaries. Competition racing and travel to distant lands, religious shrines, or to distant events were the primary uses of private vessels. The finance and operation of warships may have been an attractive alternative to serving in battle, as Greek citizens fulfilled their obligation to serve their country. Similar to how countrymen went to war on their own horses, wealthy individuals might provide use of their ship to the state during wartime. Pentekonters were appealing to build—they were “affordable enough to be owned by private individuals such as merchants and aristocrats…the optimum vessel for privateering, an activity useful to the state and profitable to the individual.”

There was no clear evidence of naval efforts being anything more than a financial endeavor—a way to move goods or people from point A to B, a way to temporarily cripple an enemy’s trade network. There was not even a clear definition of a fleet; the Athenian “fleet” was a hodgepodge collection of privately owned vessels and cargo ships. Hesiod’s Works and Days in fact dedicates certain passages to the practice of commercial freight shipping by ship; it discusses beaching methods, packing techniques, and trade routes. There was no formal state navy, in its modern definition. The question still remains though—why did the Athenian “fleet” (to use the term loosely) shift from transportational to military?

In the Archaic period, an upsurge of exchange of ceramic goods necessitated the expansion of trade capacity. Increased production led to increased maritime activity. With more goods out at sea, piracy likely swelled accordingly. And so the need to defend cargo became a pressing matter. Corinth, for example, established a naval “police” of sorts; Thucydides asserted that Corinth was the first state to rely heavily on a strong naval power to regulate its water.

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39 Haas, 38.
40 Haas, 39.
41 Haas, 46
43 Thucydides, 1.13.2-5.
This center of commerce instituted decidedly militaristic naval policies to rid waters of pirates. Csaba La’da, in his critique of De Souza’s *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, writes that “actively suppressing piracy became a powerful propaganda means of establishing one’s moral superiority, political legitimacy and a favorable reputation in the [ancient world].”44

As time progressed, threat of piracy dwindled. Kirk describes:45

> Athens must have been considerably more active in the naval sphere in the eighth century than is probable on general historical grounds. It is true that the naval fights represented [on Geometric vases] need not have been set engagements in which ships of a regular Athenian navy took part: they may have represented the activities of individual trader-privateers, or even, it has been suggested, the repelling of pirates from the Attic coasts, or again, incidents of the early secondary colonisation activity. Against all these suggestions there is much to be said. Respectable privateering had ceased to be common practice by the late eighth century in the central Aegean at any rate, for the Homeric allusions are presumably archaising and Hesiod some time later does not mention piracy as a danger of navigation.

Ought a trader employ an escort ship, one filled with armed soldiers to protect the goods? In Homer, the warship served much the same purpose as the chariot—a vehicle by which troops could be transported to and from the scene of a battle. In many instances, ships merely served as floating platforms for combat that would otherwise occur on dry land (as seen in Figure 1a). Engagement between warring vessels is not documented, not until the development of the weapon that would change the face of warfare for millennia to come.

Sometime after 1000 BCE, an element was introduced that would revolutionize warfare technology—the ram. This development transformed the warship, a ferry for troops, into a “huge oar-powered spear designed to pierce or cripple an enemy vessel.”46 With its employment in

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44 La’da, 252.
45 Kirk, 145.
naval combat first documented in 540 BC by Hipponax, the ram granted its bearer enormous power in naval combat—both in offensive and defensive situations, attacking a ship or defending a coastline from invaders. This date of 540 BC, although the first literary record of the ram, can not adequately suggest a definitive timetable for the invention. For, as evident by the presence of a ram in Figure 3, the ram predates this 540 BC date in archeological evidence. With the introduction of this invention, ships were now designed with a reinforced bow area, one that could withstand the massive impact of ramming. More oars had to be added to provide for more power. Extraneous space and were minimized to ensure the greatest amount of speed.

**Figure 3:** Side B, François Vase. Theseus’ ship (likely a triakonter) landing on the beach, stern-forward. The mast has been lowered and the crew (the eleven Athenian youths, rescued from the Minotaurus) wait to debark. One, labeled Phaidimos, has already debarked and waits on shore. The posture of the crew connotes excitement or jubilation. The sleek shape of the boat illustrates a war vessel—corroborated by the presence of a metal ram, in the form of a boar’s head. Circa 570BCE.¹

maneuverability, and lightness.

There was now a distinct difference between the sleek, powerful warship and the clunky, cumbersome merchant vessel. With expanding maritime activity, Athens established itself as a productive powerhouse and a hub of trade, one that needed a strong naval force to both defend its port, as well as to conquer profitable regions and settle distant colonies. In order to do this, Athens would have to invest in a state-owned fleet—one more coherent, advanced, and powerful than it had ever held before.

A great portion of the early-Archaic Athenian fleet was primarily composed of merchantmen. These vessels were designed for long voyages. The design was maximized for the purpose of profit—or at least for exchange.⁴⁸ Like the transport barges of today, these vessels were therefore deep, broad ships. Often with a length not more than twice their width, this vessel type was colloquially referred to as the “round-ship” (στρογγύλη).⁴⁹ For example, the oft-examined Kyrenia wreck (4th century BCE) measured ~39 ft. long by ~16.5 ft. wide.⁵⁰ These dimensions, along with an interior design that maximized cargo capacity, afforded the “round-ship” with the ability to carry a maximum payload of 70 to 150 tons.⁵¹ Because of the inherent costs of employing a crew, the number of onboard oarsmen was minimized. Ships used sail power for long voyages across open water, as it was the most efficient method to propel such a clumsy craft. That said, ships did still accommodate a set of oars—useful for shallow water navigation, moving to and from shore, and for “making headway in the frequent calms of [the] Mediterranean summer.”⁵²

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⁴⁶ Haas, 33.
⁴⁷ Hipponax fr. 45.
⁴⁹ Herodotus 1.163.1; Thucydides 2.97.1.
⁵² Haas, 34.
“The merchantman’s opposite, the [warship], saw its full flowering in the development of the trireme…which probably was first produced sometime late in the seventh century,” J.F. Coates regards Corinth as the birthplace of the trireme, in 650 BCE. It was the the most technologically advanced ship of its time—featuring innovative construction methods, design, and ram implementation. The trireme was everything the “round-ship” was not—light, nimble, powerful, highly maneuverable, and fast. The vessel’s length was kept to a minimum, while power was maximized by super-imposing three banks of oars on each side. Combined with the ram, the trireme was utterly lethal in naval combat. The ship was constructed out of lighter wood, in an effort to reduce overall weight. This compromise, however, made the trireme more susceptible to rotting compared to other vessels, which used denser timber. This debility required that the ships be drawn up to shore at night. Though an obvious handicap to an otherwise ideal offensive warship, this weakness did not affect the fleet as one might imagine. The interior of the trireme was so tight and cramped that it could not adequately sleep the roughly 200 members of the crew, nor could it store the provisions necessary for such a lot. The trireme lay quite low in the water. Therefore, in shallow water, the ship could be boarded by soldiers wading out to it (like in the Figure 1 scene, though this ship is not a trireme).

Unfortunately, no remaining intact triremes have been found. However, an experimental archeology program, Olympias, has attempted to reconstruct the Athenian trireme. She was designed by naval architect John F. Coates in consultation with historian J.S. Morrison and classics teacher Charles Willink. They relied on Greek literature, art and archeology (both above and below water) to faithfully reconstruct the trireme’s blueprints. The construction itself used modern conveniences, but employed Archaic nautical architecture and building practices—a faithful reconstruction of the ancient ship. The designers of Olympias, having five seasons of experimental trials and data at its analytical disposal, collected their findings in *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship* (Second Edition). Supplemented by additional historical, scientific, and physiological research that the first edition lacks, the book provides insight into the real-world performance gains of the ancient trireme, as well as the cultural influences that went into its construction and use. This experimental archeology program generated and tested archeological hypotheses by replicating the very subject of the study. Practices such as this are innovative fields of archeology that improve our understanding of important aspects of history. By replicating the Athenian trireme, the Olympias team compensated for a lack of empirical evidence on the vessel. Creative applications of historical study like this lead to new revelations and expose new fields for potential study. In cases such as this, creative approaches to historical study lead to the expansion of the knowledge base and are occasionally the only way to properly understand a given subject.

53 Haas, 34.
57 Thucydides 2.90.6.
By looking at even just a small portion of the evidence that exists to paint a picture of the Athenian maritime history, we stumble into many provenances of error. Temporal contradictions are often remedied by theoretical work-arounds, but even these are not undisputed. Thematic discrepancies and anomalies distract from otherwise clean arguments. Because of the uncertainties that history present to us, the understanding of a given subject—the Athenian maritime convention—is, by and large, a puzzle. But the willingness to work in the dark and make sense of the mess history presents to us is precisely key to understanding history itself. And so, by analyzing a portion of the available Archaic evidence, we discover that the willingness to be creative and critical in reasoning affords for a deeper comprehension of Athenian naval practices. For it is through this understanding that the very fabric of later Athenian culture and politics can be rightfully explored.
Why It’s Time for Universal Pre-Kindergarten
A step toward American educational equality

Elaina Rollins

Introduction:

When concerned Americans talk about education, they often bring up international test scores. Worried parents, teachers, and activists lament over the United States’ “lagging” global achievement or “stagnant” international rankings; even Education Secretary Arne Duncan sees America’s international scores as a “wake-up call” for this country (Layton). Angry or disgruntled citizens often latch on to these international tests in an attempt to show concern for their children, but what these adults do not realize is that their concern is misdirected. The core of the United States’ education issues is not international performance. America’s most concerning achievement gap is the one amongst its own students.

Sixty years after major educational inequality reform efforts such as Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the United States is moving past legal “separate but equal” schooling into an era of “separate and unequal” education. In this nation, poor students, many of whom are of color, fare significantly worse than those who are white and affluent, meaning that poor and minority children are less likely to receive early education services, enroll in advanced placement courses, graduate from high school, and attend colleges and universities (Darling-Hammond 33, 51, 3, 19). America’s divided public schools create strikingly different futures for many children, simply because of one’s race or class (Darling-Hammond 25).

The physical inequities in public schools are sometimes easy to spot - outdated textbooks, dilapidated buildings, overcrowded classrooms - but other problems lie hidden beneath the
surface. Incompetent teachers, poorly designed curriculums, and few student support services are just a few issues that plague many American schools and ultimately culminate in extremely powerful lifestyle inequalities (Ravitch 274, 235, 253). In the United States, poor and minority students that attend racially and socioeconomically segregated schools experience a unique kind of isolation that distances them from positive learning environments and a space to be seen as one out of a few, instead of one out of many (Eaton 124). So while many politicians attempt to blame failing urban schools on rowdy children or unsupportive parents, the real truth is that many American schoolchildren suffer because their own nation cordons them off from the schools they would do anything to attend (35-36).

The American educational policy debate is at a crossroads: while many teachers support renovating and reinvigorating public schools, others demand districts build more choice schools, such as charters and magnets, which usually select students based on some type of lottery system (Ravitch 4-5). However, regardless of whatever reform method governments adopt, the current inequalities are the same: poor neighborhoods create poor schools and wealthy neighborhoods create wealthy schools (“House Rules”). This socioeconomic disparity combined with racial isolation harms not only students in underprivileged schools, but also those children who will never meet a classmate from a different racial or class background than themselves. By 2025, America expects more than half of its children to be students of color (Darling-Hammond 3). Classrooms with students of predominantly one race or class thus do not expose children to diversity and all the social and cultural experiences that come along with it (Eaton 136).

In order to address America’s educational inequality, one approach is to start at the beginning of a child’s life. Universal early-childhood education is a feasible and effective policy solution that can move the United States and its schools towards greater equality and student
success. Bill Clinton once said a child’s education is a testament to the American dream (Hochschild 1). If this country believes in our former president’s words, we should invest in students during their youngest years - the time their American dream is just beginning to form.

**Background:**

Disparities in the American education system exist within two intertwined strands of stratification: income inequality and racial inequality.

Income inequality begins with a family’s socioeconomic status. Children who come from privileged backgrounds consistently outperform their peers, especially when those other students are impoverished or are students of color. A 2003 study by education researchers Grace Kao and Jennifer Thompson concluded that, “Family [economic] background explains one-half to two-thirds in the differences between white and non-white educational achievement and attainment” (425). Families with low levels of income cannot provide as many support services, school materials, or additional educational experiences outside of the classroom that affluent families often offer their children on a regular basis. Low-income families may also be burdened by multiple jobs that hinder them from investing as much time in their child’s education as an affluent parent can provide (Heckman 15). When family socioeconomic status is controlled for, large gaps in educational attainment often fade away: Kao and Thompson found that Mexican-American students and white students perform at the same level in schools when research controls for family income (431).

America also perpetuates educational inequality by funding schools through local property taxes. Due to unequal income distribution across the country, impoverished neighborhoods have less tax revenue to designate towards education (“House Rules”). Schools
that suffer from minimal funds are less likely to have certified teachers, proper classroom spaces, adequate technology, and a wide variety of courses when compared to their suburban counterparts (Hochschild 825, Kao and Thompson 425). These physical inequalities in schools are widespread in poor urban neighborhoods and often manifest themselves in student performance (Berliner 4). Children who attend schools where more than 75% of the student body is poor are shown to score 60 points lower on international math and science tests than do children in schools where less than half the students are impoverished (Berliner 4). Studies show that all students, both rich and poor, perform better in affluent schools; yet income inequality and public schools funded through property taxes often limit educational opportunities for those students who need it most (Perry & McConney 1153).

Racial stratification often accompanies income inequality by intensifying external factors that hinder academic performance in the classroom. Research shows that before minority students even step foot inside a school, many struggle to relate to their academic environment in a positive way. Anthropologist John Ogbu found that black students’ underperformance in school may be due in large part to their parents’ past experiences with discrimination. Black adults who have encountered academic, social, and political limitations because of their race often translate this mindset of skepticism and doubt towards white Americans onto their children, ultimately causing young black students to “distrust the dominant society, and make them less likely to believe that schooling leads to socioeconomic mobility” (Kao and Thompson 434). Young black children, therefore, may enter school unprepared to adapt to academic environments because they carry the burden of past discrimination which their white peers do not face.
Inside schools, poor children and children of color face additional challenges which contribute to their underperformance. While white students frequently enroll in advanced placement courses, “Poor children and racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately placed in low-ability groups early in their educational career” (Kao and Thompson 423). These groups can harm students because placements are not always based on true academic ability.

Educational researchers J. Oakes and G. Guitton found that high school teachers, in both diverse and predominantly white schools, tend to view student ability as “static,” or dependent on race or ethnicity (10). Tracking and ability grouping negatively affect children in low-ability placements, because remedial courses often discourage students’ aspirations for higher education or upper-level jobs (Kao and Thompson 424). Students of color, especially those who are poor, therefore face extreme barriers in educational environments: not only may these students enter school with skepticism and doubt, but research shows that low-ability course selections can severely dampen future prospects.

Despite the clear inequalities in the American education system, test scores and achievement gap data are often taken out of context to exaggerate the status of “failing” schools. Corporate reformers who want to privatize public education must convince the public that charter schools and magnet schools are the only feasible options for their children, and therefore project unclear data to parents and the public (Ravitch 3, 4). For example, reformers who claim that the achievement gap between whites and non-whites is large and getting worse are simply off the mark. As Diane Ravitch explains in her book *Reign of Error*, “If white achievement had stood still, the achievement gap would be closed by now, but of course white achievement has also improved, so the gap remains large” (56). Over the past 25 years, the number of black students in fourth grade who score “below basic” on the National Assessment of Educational
Progress (NAEP) math test has dropped from 83% to 34% (56). These measurements of achievement, which look at long term progress rather than snapshot data, show that while there is major room for improvement in American schools, the entire system has not failed.

Solution:

Universal pre-kindergarten is a movement to provide high-quality education to children beginning at age four. Effective pre-kindergarten programs combat the achievement gap by addressing inequalities early on in a child’s life, rather than later down the road when disadvantaged students have already fallen behind (Heckman 5). Although expensive to implement, universal pre-kindergarten is economically beneficially in the long run. American economist James Heckman found that, “The longer society waits to intervene in the life cycle of a disadvantaged child, the more costly it is to remediate disadvantage” (5). When implemented properly, universal pre-school programs teach young learners not only the essential academic skills they need for kindergarten, but also a wide range of social skills which allow them to interact meaningfully with their peers (4). High-quality, easily accessible, and widely affordable universal pre-kindergarten is a crucial foundation for children's future academic success that the United States should invest in today (4).

A successful national pre-kindergarten program would require four key components: highly qualified teachers, emphasis on both social and academic learning, all-day program availability, and little to no tuition fees. Highly qualified teachers improve the overall experience of pre-kindergarten programs for the children they enroll. Based on a study of 238 pre-kindergarten classrooms throughout six states, the National Center for Early Development and Learning found that teachers with bachelor’s degrees specifically in early childhood education “provide higher quality learning experiences for children in their care” (Pianta 147). Also, pre-
kindergarten teachers who undergo professional development during their work are more likely to interact with their students in stimulating ways (148). Teacher certification and quality is a crucial component of pre-kindergarten programs, because teachers often assume multiple roles when working with young children. Hartford teacher Alesia Thomas said it best when she explained, “My work here is everything: it’s teacher, it’s social worker, it’s friend, it’s mother sometimes” (Thomas).

A balanced curriculum that emphasizes both social and academic learning is also a key element of successful pre-kindergarten programs. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 emphasizes academic skills and test scores, but children need more than just “book smarts” to succeed ( Heckman 10). Hartford kindergarten teacher Christine Tanski, who has worked with young children for 25 years, believes quality pre-school programs must teach children to participate in group discussions, foster independent work skills, cultivate good listening skills, and engage with peers in a constructive way - all skills that a textbook cannot teach (Tanski). Pre-school teacher Susan Powell, who has worked in Columbus schools for 35 years, notes the importance of academic skills, like knowing numbers and the alphabet, but believes that young children can only learn once they feel comfortable: “We know young children have to feel secure and loved before academics can happen” (Powell). Successful pre-kindergarten programs offer a blend of class activities, such as outdoor playtime, quiet reading periods, and art projects (Powell). Any national effort for universal pre-kindergarten must acknowledge that schools that limit pre-school instruction to just academic skills consequently limit student success later in life ( Heckman 11).

In order to combat educational inequality and address racial and socioeconomic stratification, universal pre-kindergarten should offer all-day programs at little to no cost,
especially for low-income families. Pre-school programs that dismiss children at lunch pose major transportation and care issues for parents with full time jobs (Powell). These programs also often become somewhat like childcare programs rather than school readiness initiatives, because children are in the classroom for only a few hours. Pre-kindergarten should host children from morning until afternoon in order to support parental employment (Morrissey 621). Ideally, these programs would also be free of charge for all families. The United States invests in publicly funded K-12 education, yet has not made this same commitment for its four-year-olds. Hartford currently offers a variety of pre-school programs that provide free breakfast and lunch to students (McEachern-Bermingham). Disadvantaged children especially need publicly funded pre-kindergarten programs to ensure they do not fall behind while children of socioeconomic advantage surge ahead (Gormly 53).

Universal pre-kindergarten has been extremely successful in a variety of different test environments, including isolated projects with sample student populations and statewide initiatives that are still in place. One of the most cited studies, The Perry Preschool Project, offered an intensive pre-school program to 58 disadvantaged black youth in Michigan during the 1960s and ultimately found that Perry children performed better on achievement tests than their counterparts at age 14 due to improved noncognitive abilities (Heckman 20). The Abecedarian Program, another example of a successful pre-kindergarten initiative, provided over 100 disadvantaged children born during the 1970s with an all day, year round intensive pre-school program that continued until the students turned eight. Results show that at age 21, participants in the Abecedarian Program attained higher levels of education, were more likely to own a home, and were less likely to be on welfare than control students (20). Oklahoma’s current universal pre-kindergarten program also shows promising results: the state’s children enrolled in the
program had “test score gains of seven months for a letter/word identification test, six months for a spelling test, and four months for an applied problems test” (Gormly 52). These studies reveal that universal pre-kindergarten is essential for children, especially for those who are disadvantaged, because it is often those children who start with the lowest percentile rankings who make the greatest gains over time (Fischer 136).

Universal pre-kindergarten faces major criticism in terms of funding and applicability of research findings. Pre-school programs are unarguably expensive to finance, especially when those programs require top-tier materials: highly certified teachers, well-designed curriculums, ample space. Many legislators hesitate to implement publicly funded pre-kindergarten programs, because, in the short run, the costs often run sky high. In Connecticut, Governor Dannel Malloy recently proposed a $51.1 million a year universal pre-school bill that was quickly struck down due to unmanageable costs (Rabe Thomas). Research applicability is another issue concerning universal pre-kindergarten. Director of the Brown Center on Education Policy Grover Whitehurst sees The Perry Preschool Project and The Abecedarian Program as “prodigious leaps of faith” in terms of implementable findings (Whitehurst). Whitehurst notes that not only were Perry and Abecedarian multi-year intensive interventions, the costs per participant were staggeringly expensive, with each Abecedarian child’s education costing $90,000 (Whitehurst). Adversaries of universal pre-kindergarten often cannot move past these criticisms regarding funding and applicability of test groups: the cost and risk is just too high.

**Conclusion:**

Currently, ten states require full-day kindergarten through law, and over thirty others offer publicly funded half-day programs to four-year-olds (“Children’s”). However, without a nationwide requirement for full-day care, disadvantaged children will continue to struggle
academically. Yet while the evidence in favor of universal pre-kindergarten programs shows promising results, the initiative poses serious political concerns. Americans pay relatively low income tax rates compared to people living in Nordic nations, thus putting the United States in a difficult position in terms of funding (Berliner 8). Assuming a substantial tax increase to fund free pre-kindergarten for every child would not bode well politically, the United States needs another strategy to offer affordable, high-quality pre-school.

A somewhat altered version of the universal pre-kindergarten movement is a targeted pre-kindergarten initiative, which invests state funds to provide programs for children with the greatest need. Universal pre-school offers publicly funded classroom time to all children, regardless of socioeconomic background, while targeted pre-kindergarten attempts to specifically rectify inequality for those students who face the most challenges (Whitehurst). In an ideal world, all American schoolchildren could attend high-quality pre-school for free. However, political turmoil in Connecticut over universal access should serve as a lesson for the United States. Governor Malloy’s $51.1 million per year plan offered schooling for all four-year-olds in the state, while the Democrats’ more popular plan cost only $10 million a year. The more affordable option was adopted because it cut costs by giving low-income families a priority when filling preschool seats while also requiring middle-class families to pay tuition if awarded spots (Rabe Thomas).

Today, 28% of four-year-olds are enrolled in state-funded pre-kindergarten programs (Whitehurst). While this number is double the amount compared to 10 years ago, the other 70% of American schoolchildren must afford pre-school programs on their own, or simply forgo the opportunity (Whitehurst). A national targeted pre-kindergarten program would increase the number of impoverished four-year-olds attending pre-school, and this initiative is more
politically practical compared to universal pre-kindergarten. However, a balance must be struck. Targeted pre-kindergarten addresses the needs of poor children - who unarguably need additional care the most - but still fails to offer valuable classroom time to children from middle-class families. In order to combat educational inequality through pre-kindergarten programs, the United States should adopt a slightly altered version of universal pre-school. An effective, and politically feasible, policy would split costs between the federal and state governments and higher-income districts in order to offer fully-funded pre-kindergarten spots to impoverished children, while still allowing middle-class (and possibly even upper-class) students the chance to attend programs for a small tuition fee, depending on family income.

Nordic countries, such as Finland, Sweden, and Norway, have already mastered publicly funded universal pre-kindergarten. Due to “sustained, long-term investments and the prioritization of early childhood development,” these countries are able to offer free pre-school to all of its children (Ravitch 233). Any American national policy suggestion would be foolish to try to immediately adopt the same practices as these Nordic countries, as the United States does not foster the same values and long-held practices as its European counterparts. However, a slightly altered version of universal pre-kindergarten which splits costs between federal and state governments and wealthy districts would move the United States toward improved early childhood care. If all low-income children could receive a free high-quality pre-kindergarten education, while their more affluent peers could join them for a small tuition fee, educational inequality founded in socioeconomic and racial stratification would begin to fade away.

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Melville’s Solution and Final Condemnation for the Pursuit of Truth

Forrest Robinette

In my interpretive essay, I concluded that Melville views the pursuit of knowledge as dangerous by examining the tragic fates of the novel’s two truth seekers, Ishmael and Ahab. By reading C.L.R. James’ *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways*, I discovered that Melville crafts the members of the crew as individuals who do not pursue truth and who are much better off as a result. The crew proves that one can avoid Ishmael and Ahab’s fate through the everyday doing of work. While Ishmael and Ahab are scheming, meditating, and philosophizing themselves towards destruction, the crew blissfully goes about their constant duties on the ship. In the final image of the book in which Tashtego goes down with the Pequod still hammering the flag to the mast, he becomes the embodiment of this work lifestyle. Tashtego’s complete commitment to his work—which creates his freedom from the pursuit of truth—makes him immune to the catastrophe of the scene.

For Melville, constant work is the cure for self-destructive thoughts that Ishmael and Ahab experience. This revitalizing power of work is exemplified in the chapter “Stowing Down and Clearing Up” in which the crew is repeatedly cleansed and born anew through their doing of work. After processing the whale oil, the members of the crew clean themselves and, once finished, look “fresh and all aglow, as bridegrooms” (428). The crew exhibits a great immunity to the ugliness of whaling. Even when they become dirty throughout the gruesome process, they emerge cleaner than ever before. The crew also exhibits a renewed life force. After their ablutions they, “with elated step… pace the planks in twos and threes and humorously discourse”
(428). The crew embodies bliss and freedom. And this process of work and cleansing eternally renews itself. This is shown by Ishmael’s comment that just as the crew are “buttoning the necks of their clean frocks,” they are “startled by the cry of “There she blows!” and away they fly to fight another whale” (429). The crew is constantly and consummately working which leads to their continual rebirth. It is their complete ignorance and disregard for anything but work that allows them to remain, as James puts it, “sane and human” (48) while Ishmael and Ahab spiral towards madness in their pursuit of truth.

During the sinking of the Pequod, Tashtego is immune to the horror of the destruction because he is only focused on his work. In the heat of the battle with Moby Dick, Ahab orders Tashtego to nail a new flag to the masthead and Tashtego works to complete that order even as he is being submerged in the sea. As he works to nail the banner, Ishmael comments “the red flag, half-wrapping him as with a plaid, then streamed itself straight out from him, as his own forward-flowing heart” (570). Just as the Pequod is about to be sunk and the world of the novel is about to be swallowed by a maelstrom, we see Tashtego at the highest point of the ship with his heart leaving his body, shooting out into the sky, and escaping the cruel sea below. His heart is representative of his soul, which, because he is wholly devoted to his work, escapes the Pequod before it sinks. In reading James’ analysis of the crew, I saw that work is a way to transcend the horrors created by the destructive pursuit of knowledge. Tashtego’s body serenely submerges beneath the waves as he continues hammering. This is not a tragedy, but rather a triumph for the crew because the eternal in Tashtego, his soul, left his body and escaped the horrific sinking of the Pequod brought about by Ahab’s single-minded pursuit of truth.

In addition to freeing him from the catastrophe, Tashtego’s hammering of the flag ensures the complete destruction of Ahab who embodies the pursuit of knowledge. In his final
moments, Ahab realizes the folly of his pursuit and addresses the ocean, “from all your furthest bounds, pour ye now in, ye bold billows of my whole forgone life” (571). Shortly after, the flag is personified and Ahab becomes the flag, which “calmly undulated, with ironical coincidings, over the destroying billows they almost touched” (572). The flag—Ahab—is completely calm as the massive, destructive waves slowly consume him. And the flag’s—Ahab’s—movements ironically coincide with the waves because Ahab has been consumed by the sea and he has become one with his eternal enemy. At the beginning of Ahab’s final speech, he yells to Tashtego, “let me hear thy hammer” (571). In asking this, Ahab has completely admitted the superiority of work over the pursuit of knowledge. The hammer, a symbol of Tashtego’s constant and consummate work, is the last sound that Ahab wishes to hear.

James’ analysis of the power of the crew’s work allowed me to see this final image of *Moby Dick* as Melville’s ultimate and most intense condemnation of the pursuit of knowledge. Tashtego, through his work, completely triumphs over the bird and the flag which both symbolize the pursuit of knowledge. James comments that Tashtego “had seen to it that [the Pequod’s] banner, and its archangelic bird, with its vain soarings into the heaven, should go down too” (68). Tashtego’s absolute freedom and power in this moment is contrasted by the complete entrapment and annihilation of those who seek out truth. In these final images, Melville allows Tashtego’s working soul to fly away and then Melville sinks and destroys everything that represents the pursuit of truth. The flag, the Pequod, and the bird all embody Ahab’s single-minded quest for knowledge and Melville drowns all of it in the abyss of the sea.
The bicycle was collateral damage
by Molly Jane Thoms

There was a collision,
You were swept into the eddy
Of sliding, braking, honking
Tumult. Spit out as an
Afterthought. The truck didn’t see you.

Later, as the sterile chill invaded the
Thin defenses of your linen johnny,
The nurse and her stethoscope confirmed,
It was just a close call,
You were fine.

Yet along with the aluminum, glass,
And charred upholstery,
The back hoe guzzled a twisted,
Twelve gear Cannondale.

The greasy chain will never be untangled.
The chassis will scab over with rust.
But on days when it snows,
The faint song
Of tires soaring down country roads
Will call to you from the landfill.

Others came out worse,
Those who should have been
Illuminated by his headlights
Were broken by the current of
Chaos along with that truck driver.
His gaze fixed in the rearview mirror.

And for days, months, and years,
The iridescent rainbow blood
Of the punctured tanks
Of the splintered vehicles
Will seep through the asphalt
And into the ground.
The breakdown of Omerta in Sicily
Sara Smith

For decades, behavior in Sicilian society was guided by the values included in the code of honor, Onore, under the rule of Cosa Nostra. These values include vendetta, the norm of revenge, omerta, the norm of silence, and gender norms. The Mafia was able to retain their structure and power by upholding these codes. Without maintaining omerta, or absolute loyalty and secrecy of the mafia’s operations, the mafia would lose its edge in information, its reputation, and ultimately cease to exist. Therefore, the mafia went through great lengths to ensure that individuals stayed committed to this wall of silence. The commitment to omerta was achieved through several tactful mechanisms by the mafia: by making it a rational choice for individuals to pursue, either through business operations or the use of psychological pressures like fear, and by influencing the social norms in Sicilian society. Over time, these motivations for following omerta changed and as omerta began to fall apart, so too did the mafia. In the film I Cento Passi directed by Marco Tullio Giodana, the photography work of Letizia Battaglia, as well as the confessions of Tommaso Buscetta cited in Excellent Cadavers by Alexander Stille, the breakdown of omerta is apparent as individuals begin to break the code of silence and overcome the Mafia’s control.

By providing private protection services, the mafia is able to align its business interests with the interests of members in the community. As individuals become involved with the mafia they become interested in its operations, thereby causing them to commit to omerta. Psychological motivations, mainly fear, also add further pressure to follow the code of omerta.
Letizia Battaglia, mafia photographer, explains the mafia’s ability to implant fear through the use of credible threats; “the techniques pioneered by the Corleonesi have proved their efficacy. Maximum violence. Total extermination of your rivals. Intimidation of the state.” She claims that the “Mafia murders whoever breaks the code of omerta,” explaining the pressure to comply with the code of silence. The fear of having the mafia as an enemy outweighs any benefit from betraying the mafia and sacrificing their omerta. Therefore, it is in the best interest of those involved with the mafia to uphold omerta, because it affects their well being, financially and emotionally.

Consider a prisoner’s dilemma scenario where two individuals involved with the mafia can either confess or stay silent. Omerta would be the dominant strategy for both individuals because each party would have more to lose, or a worse payoff, by confessing. This is because by confessing they risk a vendetta against them or their families or even their own death. Staying silent would only cost them a prison sentence, less permanent than the alternative of a vendetta or death, and also a more appealing option. In this model, the equilibrium outcome would be that both parties would stay silent. Peppino’s father models this behavior in his attempt to silence his son’s negative opinions of the mafia. Because the father was involved with the mafia and he feared what they might do to Peppino, it was in his own self-interest to uphold omerta to the best of his ability. Peppino’s mother also shows this behavior after Peppino publishes an article claiming, “the mafia is a piece of shit”, as she attempts to collect them all, upholding omerta, in a moment of fear. Battaglia sees this behavior in her neighbors; “when [she] bought an apartment in one of the roughest parts of town, intending to share the people’s problems, she was repeatedly burgled under the eyes of her neighbors who, true to form, never saw a thing”. The threat of violence is so convincing that the fear of the mafia, or simply one’s involvement with
the mafia, causes individuals to maintain *omerta* even in difficult circumstances.

At first, Peppino is the only one in his town who does not fit this model. After his father passes away Peppino is told that his “father is no longer around to protect [him]”, in an effort to instill enough fear to silence him, however this does not work. He realizes that there are alternative options and the chance to overcome the motivations to uphold *omerta*, if individuals are able to become independent from mafia operations or their interests no longer align with the mafias. Furthermore, if there were no longer reasons to fear the mafia, than the mafia’s threats would no longer be credible. Battaglia acknowledges the opportunity for change; "the mafia can be beaten, but only if people stop voting for dishonest politicians. It's no longer just a Sicilian problem. It's all over Italy." The discovery of alternative business endeavors would allow individuals to end their involvement with corrupt politicians and lessen the mafia’s control over society. In the film, no one breaks the silence or discusses the mafia’s operations in Palermo because the community is not only afraid of the mafia’s power, but is also involved in mafia activities. Therefore, the community is financially reliant on the mafia. The opportunity to become independent from the mafia’s operations would break down *omerta* because it would separate individuals’ interests from the mafias. Consider a second model of the prisoner’s dilemma where an alternative outcome is introduced by authorities. For instance, if the authorities changed the set of payoffs so that the Mafiosi who confessed were given a new life in the witness protection program, the threat of vendetta for his betrayal by the mafia would no longer be credible. This introduces a new motivation: the opportunity for a new life in the witness protection program, and relief from the threat of vendetta. This model explains Tommasso Buscetta’s behavior in his testimony, because he was offered a more appealing option: the chance to restart, free from the mafia’s influence, rather than staying silent and
enduring a prison sentence. His testimony proved how omerta could be overcome with the right motivations.

Lastly, the most gripping motivations behind omerta are social norms. The status quo is to follow omerta, therefore it is difficult for any one individual to separate from the rest of society and defy the norm of silence. This is seen in the reaction to Peppino’s publication claiming, “the mafia is a piece of shit”. His piece sparks so much controversy because it is socially rebellious. Battaglia notices fear of social rebellion in her city revealing “she avoids contact with the city’s middle classes, deemed guilty of what she calls moral absenteeism”. It is not attractive to defy social norms, and Battaglia’s questioning the mafia’s behavior was, “asking a question that no one at the time wanted, or dared, to hear”. The movement needs to be a societal effort in order to overcome the norm of omerta.

Although it is highly difficult, and similar to individuals being financially independent or having to overcome fear, social norms have the ability to change over time. This could be due to the counterculture movement of the 60s that was occurring at roughly the same time that caused social norms to shift and become more accepting and supportive of rebellious movements like Peppino’s. It became commonplace and socially acceptable to protest against institutions. This occurred in Palermo after Peppino was killed, when members of the society joined in the movement against the mafia. Peppino had the disadvantage because he was the first mover, and seen as a social outcast because he chose an alternative outcome from omerta, without much information about the outcome of his actions. Eventually, with the change of social perceptions, his community finally marched in his honor, breaking the wall of silence. Battaglia was in a similar situation, where as the first mover, “she insist[ed] on being heard”. Her efforts through her photography were to capture the masses and persuade them to join her on her mission to end
*omerta*. Buscetta is another example of a first mover in his testimony against the mafia and decision to end the silence by joining the witness protection program. As more of the individuals involved joined him, *omerta* began to break down and more people testified. Through his lead, the authorities managed to recruit a large amount of individuals “defecting” and choosing the witness protection program outcome, and *omerta* lost its grip.

The breakdown of *omerta* has been the trend since 1992, as more individuals began vocalizing the mafia’s activities, and escaping from under the control of the mafia. As more individuals separated their interests from the mafias, it became even more appealing to follow their lead, as it was no longer rational to commit to *omerta* without the financial reliance or credible threats, and lastly, with the change in social norms.
The Secret of Secret-Telling

Abigail Whalen

We were sitting together on a bench and she told me she wanted to tell me a secret. I said, “Sure,” but I asked her, “Why do you want to tell me your secret? How do you know I am trustworthy?” “I just know,” she said. So I said, “Sure, tell me your secret.” She went on to tell me about the last time she was at the park. She was feeding bread to the ducks and one of the ducks asked her, “Why do you only feed us bread? Just because we’re ducks doesn’t mean we only eat bread.” I asked her what she said back, and she said “Nothing.” I wondered why she didn’t say anything and while I was thinking she said, “Now it’s your turn.” “My turn for what?” I asked. “To tell me a secret.” She said. I told her, “I never agreed to tell you a secret.” She said “Yes, that is how secret-telling works.” I asked her, “How would I know if you were trustworthy.” She said, “You should just know.” I figured she was trying to pass the time. Ducks just don’t talk. So I told her about the last time I was at the park and how when I was feeding the ducks, they also spoke to me. One of the ducks asked me, “Why do you only feed us bread? Just because we’re ducks doesn’t mean we only eat bread.” I asked the ducks, “I fed you bread because it’s your favorite.” I knew that ducks liked bread because some other ducks had told me once before. When I told them this they said, “You’re right, we do love bread, it’s our favorite.” She told me I was lying and that my secret wasn’t real. I told her, “It is a real secret and if you want to know the truth, you should go ask the ducks.” So we walked over to the ducks and started to feed them pieces of bread. None of the ducks spoke to us, even when we asked them questions. We sat back down on the bench and sat in silence.
**How Tootsie Did Gender**

Alice Khabituyeva

Just one look at politics, the social institution that claims responsibility for the regulation of social rights, in the Western world is all that’s needed to identify the greatest ails and issues under debate. There’s one issue that’s been overlooked for so long, that it now seems natural for it to remain an issue. Gender equality has long been debated and, as far as policy goes, has made minor progress since the passing of the 19th Amendment. How did gender inequality even come to be an issue? This question is much too rarely asked and when it is addressed, there seems to be no right or logical answer. At the root is a deep misunderstanding and neglect of gender as a whole. For most people, gender is as simple as being a man or a woman, determined by either the M or the F that’s written on their birth certificate. West and Zimmerman propose the idea of *doing* gender rather than simply having a gender based off of sex. In fact, gender is an unavoidable identity that is accomplished and maintained through social interaction, and reinforced by constant assessment. This theory holds particularly true in the social institution of media, through works like the classic gender reversal movie *Tootsie*.

The “Doing Gender” perspective theorized by West and Zimmerman finds its roots in one the most important sociology theories of the modern world, symbolic interactionism. It is a micro-level theory in which people’s behaviors and actions are explained by the shared meanings, orientations, and assumptions given to them (Lecture Andersson). These shared meanings are a product of social interaction, how people respond to social signals, and are accepted without being explicitly communicated. For West and Zimmerman, gender is a “routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction” (125). Their use of the word “accomplishment” refers to gender as being an emergent product of social situations in which the
individual “does” gender, but the presence of others and therefore the social interaction is what creates its essential nature (126). Gender, according to West and Zimmerman, is optional, but fundamentally unavoidable due to the self-regulation of social interaction.

Symbolic interactionism does not stand to fully oppose its fellow modern theories, but its application often contradicts that of functionalism. Functionalism, practiced by sociologists such as Durkheim, describes society as a machine of interrelated parts in which each part has a specialized purpose (Lecture Andersson). Applying this theory to gender creates the need for gender roles and therefore gives women a place in society to perform their job as women and men as men. Symbolic interactionists West and Zimmerman claim, “the notion of gender as a role obscures the work that is involved in producing gender in everyday activities” (127). Gender therefore is not a predetermined role with guidelines to abide by to keep society running, as functionalisists would have it, but is a continuously organized identity that doesn’t necessarily contribute to the order and stability of society. That is not to say that gender is seen as acceptably malleable by society, but that an individual’s gender identity does not come with a specific job to serve “the machine”, as functionalisists theorize.

West and Zimmerman consistently cite the works of Goffman, an American theorist who popularized dramaturgy – a symbolic interactionist theory that proposes that we are all actors on metaphysical stages with frontstage and backstage behaviors. Each person’s “presentation” involves impression formation and management, how one forms and manages impressions of and from others. As a result, people portray specific identities in order to increase their social approval - a concept that ties back to the constructed shared meanings of symbolic interactionism (Lecture Andersson). Therefore, according to Goffman, gender is a formulated display based on interactions between the actor and the audience. Brandon and Rachel, an infant development
film, involved an audience of students who assigned either ideally male or female traits to two babies, Brandon and Rachel. The students ended up assigning mostly male traits to Brandon, and female to Rachel, even though “Brandon” was really a girl and “Rachel” was a boy. Goffman would explain this false gender identification as a result of the gender display given off by the babies. Since the baby named Brandon was wearing boy clothes and Rachel was wearing girl clothes, the audience attributed traits, such as aggression to Brandon and shyness to Rachel, based off the perceived genders put on by the frontstage of the babies.

Gender, from the sociological perspective of West and Zimmerman, is not merely the display, but more importantly the act of doing. For those that lack the understanding or critical eye of gender, sex, sex category, and gender may be synonymous. West and Zimmerman claim that although they are interrelated, the differences between them must be understood in order to properly interpret gender. Sex is determined through biological criteria, while sex category, which exists as either male or female, is socially determined through appearance. Since “placement in a sex category is both relevant and enforced, doing gender is unavoidable” (137). Since one’s sex category is at all time relevant, or “omnirelevant”, one’s performance, or gender, is always subjected to evaluation (145). This constant assessment causes gender to be accountable and “essential” in society. This social script performs our culture’s idealization of gender at all times and in front of an audience that is well schooled in its ideals (130). When someone goes off script, or is revealed to be playing a gender they weren’t born to play, it does not go unnoticed by society, which credits only the two identifactory displays of male and female.

In their discussion of doing gender, West and Zimmerman allude to the ‘80s film *Tootsie.* Dustin Hoffman plays Michael Dorsey, a struggling working actor who auditions for a female
role on a soap opera in order to earn money and act in defiance against his agent. He successfully convinces the director he’s right for the role, without revealing the fact that he’s really a man. Dorsey’s alter ego Dorothy quickly becomes a fan favorite, while Dorsey himself falls for Julie, who plays a nurse on the soap. Realizing he is in too deep and affecting too many people, Dorsey decides to reveal Dorothy’s identity on a live showing of the soap. The reveal turns Julie away, but by the end Julie realizes that Dorsey still has the qualities she liked in Dorothy and forgives him.

West and Zimmerman claim that, “Tootsie makes visible what culture has made invisible – the accomplishment of gender” (131). The concept of doing gender is most evident in the changes Dorsey undergoes in his transformation into Dorothy. Prior to becoming Dorothy, Dorsey possesses many traits that West and Zimmerman would describe as “ideally masculine”. The traits he plays out to his social audience include exaggerated, violent hand movements, an argumentative personality, and a sarcastic sense of humor. Dorsey talks through his chewing gum and swigs his beer, while using formulated one-liners on women. People observe his sex category as male, and consider his ideally masculine behavior as anything but remarkable. When Dorsey is faced with the challenge of performing as a woman, he must first change his appearance. As Dorsey, he only has one outfit: jeans, a raggedy tee, and a worn jacket. As Dorothy on the other hand, he has to build an entirely new wardrobe of skirts and dresses and consistently voices his anxiety about things such as not repeating outfits and getting Dorothy’s hair just right. Appearance, especially for the female, is only the first step to doing gender, for only it directs the required sex category for those around him.

Doing gender is also made clear by Dorsey’s adaptation of the normative conceptions surrounding the female sex category. His mannerisms shift from being expressive and aggressive
to being delicate and submissive, especially towards the men around him. He actively has to perform as a woman in order to support his appearance, since his female category is omnirelevant and is under constant assessment. This constant assessment is without suspicion of his true sex, but nevertheless, according to West and Zimmerman, doing gender is to “engage in behavior at the risk of gender assessment” (136). As Dorsey spends more time in a woman’s shoes, he realizes how mistreated women are based entirely on their gender – a fact he’s overlooked due to his taking gender for granted while in his male gender. The soap opera director’s sexism and the objectification Dorsey experiences by other men inspires him to change Dorothy’s role on the show into an empowering one. Power expressed by a woman receives strong attention because, as West and Zimmerman would conclude, gender is only remarkable when people behave outside of the normative conceptions of their gender.

The doing gender concept, and even the concept of dramaturgy reveal the often-ignored intricacies of being male or female. In Tootsie, Dorsey seamlessly convinces those around him of his femininity and seems to know how to naturally act like a woman. What West and Zimmerman reveal about this natural instinct is that it is only easy once the sex category is established. That is, once Dorsey looks like Dorothy, being a woman becomes a simple thing. Dorsey’s change in sex category to female changes how others interact with him, which provides Dorsey with “endless resources” to do gender. This interaction points back to Goffman and the relation between the actor and the audience. Much like Brandon and Rachel, Dorsey puts on a convincing frontstage for the audience.

Gender does not exist without the perspectives of those observing it. “It ain’t a ball or a strike until I call it” (Lecture Andersson). We are all observers and constructors of our gender and those of the people around us, an identity that is not claimed but accomplished. West and
Zimmerman’s concept of *doing gender* certainly makes the familiar strange. It provides us with a quality of mind that can be used to identify what it is in our day-to-day social interactions that establish us as male or female. Sex category is omnirelevant, unavoidable, and constantly assessed. We cannot escape our identities as men or women, but we can certainly question their solidity. We have established our differences through sex categorization, our inescapable gender inequality, and continue to reinforce it every day through doing gender. Even in *Tootsie*, Dorsey claimed to have had Dorothy inside of him all along. It is only with the interactions Dorsey faced, being on stage as a male for example, which determined how he did gender.

**Bibliography**

Balance of Theory: Equating Political Science with Natural Science

Shannon Burke

As it exists today, the Western world has an undoubtable obsession with classifying everything. Almost every facet of life can be categorized, from the music we listen to, the religion we practice, the jobs we have, and the subjects we study. The list would never end. Conditional on this plethora of categories is the desire to look for patterns in human action, and form more systematic categories of explanation. In the study of International Relations, this desire manifest as different political theories, recently with theories attempt to operate similarly to the objective explanations of scientific theory. This goal is complicated by that fact that human behavior, particularly in society, is susceptible to greater constant variability than any controlled experiment in science. Variability prevents political theories of international relations from having an identical functionality to scientific theory, though theories such as neo-realism, neo realism, and constructivism have attempted to demonstrate scientific objectivity in their use of consistent models, thought structures and focus on data. But the baseline assumption of neo-realism and neo-liberalism, while giving the theories predictive capability, makes them inherently less objective in their explanations than constructivism.

In order to make a comparison between scientific and political theory as functional equivalents, it is first necessary to clarify the functionality of scientific theory. In his treatise The Philosophies of the Sciences, Rom Harre states, “Theories are the crown of science, for in them our understanding of the world is experienced. The function of theories is to explain”58. Here there is implied an intrinsic relationship between experience and understanding. Not only are

theories produced in experience, but theories from their conception can influence are experiences from that point forward. Experience relies on use of the senses, and the scientific method of hypothesis, experimentation and conclusion is used to mitigate the human error in experience through a consistent process. As such for a scientific theory produced by experience, the experiences on which it is based must be unbiased and objective. The use of repeated experimentation and data analysis in scientific query removes human bias as much as possible from the equation, and produces theories that are made more accurate over time through re-testing the explanations of theories. In order for a political theory to replicate its scientific counterparts, this same commitment to objectivity over human bias must be present; a tricky proposition when the object being studied is human behavior itself.

Both neo-realism and neo-liberalism hold their origins in classical political theory, but with an added emphasis of removing human behavior as the central causal factor. By looking at international interactions on a structural level, theorists can evaluate the system as an object with consistent motivators of action, rather than human motivators. Neo-realism builds on realism by looking at international relations as the allocation and movement of power within a system. A major theory within this school of thought is structural realism, which analyzes the choices of autonomous states operating in an anarchic world based on balancing threats. This expands upon the realist notion of balance of power, defined by Hans Morgenthau as, “...man’s control over the minds and actions of other men. By political power we refer to the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large”59. As such, political power is closely connected with control over masses. With other states seeking to exercise control over the masses of other states, survival becomes a matter of perceiving the

threats of other states to one’s autonomy. Neo-realism defines two main approaches states can use to react to other states when power is in play. Stephen Walt explains, “When confronted by a significant external threat, states may either balance or bandwagon. Balancing is defined as allying with others against the prevailing threat; bandwagoning refers to alignment with the source of danger”60. The choices are straightforward, including the companion strategy of buck-passing the costs of different choices onto the largest powers, with threats as the motivators behind decision-making. All choices made by states are in response to threats, real or potential. While useful in classifying states, is the supposition that most basic influence behind state action is a threat, is this enough to explain all the potential motivators in play in international relations?

Threat as the crux motivator behind structural realism can be a useful tool in designing predictions of state behavior. It offers clear categories of action for states to use, and given indicators of which action a state will use based on its relative strength and weakness. However, the assumption that threat is the driving force of action does not generate an accurate prediction of international relations over time, nor does it allow for non-aggressive motivations on a state level. Neo-realism provided a logical explanation for the arms race of the Cold War, and for the creation of NATO, but not the war’s peaceful conclusion. This failing may have been due to the design of neo-realism in which all state actions are responses to externalities; reactions to the positions of power and actions of neighboring states. It did not consider that states may come to an internal preference for peace. In his explanation of bandwagoning, Walt claims, “In general, the weaker the state, the more likely it is to bandwagon rather than balance. This situation occurs because weak states add little to the strength of a defensive coalition but incur the wrath of the more threatening states nonetheless”61. Notice how a weak state is defined in what it can

61 Walt, The Origins of Alliances, 21
contribute to other states, and the amount of influence other states hold over it. By having the identity of a respective state rely on external relative conditions, it eliminates internal conditions specific to a unique state from affecting the analysis. As such, it appears that neo-realism cannot control for all variables surrounding state decisions within its externally-focused framework of study.

Neo-liberalism, like neo-realism, serves as a modern extension upon the principles of classical political liberalism. Expanding on the liberal concept of an international federation of states, neo-liberals focus on economic interaction as a mechanism through which states collaborate. This interaction is called complex interdependence, where specialization in the production of different goods leads nations within the economic system to depend on each other through trade. Interdependence is the moderated through international regimes and institutions. Robert Keohane expands, ‘International regimes could be created and emphasized their overcoming what could be called a “political market failure” ’. These “market failures” are cases of asymmetric information, indirect and direct transaction cost of political decisions between states, and lack of clear legal liability surrounding those decisions. Such inhibitors, Keohane claims, “Without consciously designed institutions…will thwart attempts to cooperate in world politics even when actors’ interests are complementary. From the deficiency of the self-help system…we derive a need for international regimes”. The combination of structural market failures in a self-help based anarchic international political system create a need for international institutions to help bring states to a pareto-optimal level of commerce and cooperation with one another. These institutions can be formal structures, or informal points of

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63 Keohane, "After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord," in Essential Readings in World, 294
converging expectations. In any case, the defining characteristics of neo-liberalism reject power as the ultimate goal of institutions in favor of a viewpoint of increasing political gains for all parties engaged in political and economic cooperation.

At first, neo-liberalism offers a much more objective and plausible approach to looking at international relations objectively. It relies on the economic model of Nash Equilibrium to find multiple pareto-optimal outcomes for participant as a consistent predictive model of behavior to study. However, this structure still does not wholly explain the internal motivations of a state which lead to market inefficiencies. Trade quotas and tariffs in particular offer and interesting situation in which international institutions offer little assistance in mitigating market failures. Quotas and tariffs are inherently inefficient; they protect import-competing industries within a state, thereby simultaneously preventing increased specialization of resources and limiting cooperation in the international market place, preventing the market from reaching a natural pareto-optimal level of trade. Take for example the sugar tariffs imposed 1990 “Farm Bill”, which uses government subsidies and quotas to protect domestic sugar producers, resulting in the U.S. paying nearly double the world price of sugar. While this situation can be interpreted as an example of the neo-liberal stance of power as economic autonomy and resource control, it does not address how a tariff generates anything more than relative economic autonomy. It does not address the complications of how a higher price of a major food commodity like sugar can inherently reduce the general purchasing power of a country, reduce the U.S. demand for sugar imports from other countries, and encourage sugar heavy industries to leave the U.S., reducing domestic production in that industry. The tariff essentially benefits no cohesive group except for

sugar producers, who operate under an institution of government protection that has remained sticky over time. This market failure is not caused by asymmetric information; the transport costs for Latin American sugar are manageable, and no international institution exists where can legally mandate the nature of a sovereign nation’s domestic production. Therefore, it seems unlikely that international externalities can influence a market failure born in internal state institutions, and that internal institutions are not controlled for by the framework neo-liberalism proposes for political study.

One theory which does have the potential to account for both internal and external motivators of international relations is the theory of constructivism. The critical feature of constructivism that allows it to be most purely objective is its lack of basic assumptions about the international system. It eliminates the use of distribution of power and self-help in anarchy to explain phenomena of international relations, instead breaking down relation into the composite parts of actors and objects with formation of intersubjective meanings to create identities, norms, and institutions relative to actors. Alexander Wendt states, “A fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them. States act differently toward enemies than they so toward friends because enemies are threatening and friends are not. Anarchy and the distribution of power are insufficient to tell us which”66. If an actor forms an identity based on the perceived placement of himself relative to the surrounding social structure, he will form interests that reconcile his identity with the structure. When introduced to other actors, his intersubjective meaning of that actor relative the social structure will change, and those identities and interests

that stabilize over time will become institutions. This methodology provides several benefits in creating a political theory equitable with scientific theory. It can track the progression of a given political system, by mapping the developments of meanings and roles of actors over time. It also allows for human interest to operate as a basis for the function of an institution, while avoiding the causal reliance on human error that neorealism and neoliberalism negated by eliminating individual interest from the framework entirely. It can also bridge the gap between internal and external motivators in foreign affairs, by discussing institutions in a framework of norms from one small system, but ultimately interacting with different institutions in a larger system. This way, not only can state agencies be considered actors in international relations, but also individuals under the classification of norm entrepreneurs. While accurately classifying these frameworks can be difficult and time consuming; both from plotting historical progress and gathering data on actors; the end result is one which actors and institutions are studied based on their own actions independently within a system. Political entities can be studied and explained as objects in their own right, with the potential for the effects of different actors on intersubjective meaning to be studied as individual independent variables acting on a dependent institution.

Political science can appear to many as a misnomer at first glance. The actions of politicians and states in general seem overwhelmingly situational; case upon case of responding to a situation in the best way available to decision makers. But contemporary political theories have made a strong attempt to organize these constant actions in a way which mimics the reliability and consistency of scientific theory. The theories try to separate political actions on the international level from intuitive human instincts, and instead look at the structure of international relations using models and statistical tools from economics, chemistry, and even
biology. However the objectivity of focus in each of these disciplines makes them hard to replicate in a subject with as many active human participants as international relations. A plant cannot consider whether or not it photosynthizes, and a person cannot debate whether it has a functional brain. It will continue to operate as it always has regardless of what we call its process of living. In the end, scientific theory has the advantage of being based on years upon years of experimentation under the scientific method, with data collection acting as the basis for conclusions, a process beginning in new analysis-focused political studies. As a discipline with its origins in philosophy and the internal logics of individuals, the study of international relations must continue to separate its contemporary studies from its founding philosophies in order establish the same plane of experimentation and study as the natural sciences.

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Rain spits at her forehead as she tears towards the clouds.
The cold rips into her skin and extinguishes the fear furrowed on fire inside. A gasp from her lips dissolves aloud distracting her ears from the peak’s profound ode.

The summits stretch to kiss the streaked spots of sky.
A cracked, crumbling path draws her out of the mist; tipped with metal tracks and sprawling wooden ties.
Fragments of a derailed car allude to the plummeting rift.

Her toes dare the edge; rocks skip into the earthen gutter.
Moss creeps under her feet and begs her to be still:
saving her from the drop. Dandelion seeds flutter,
following the course down, they lace the air with delicate frill.
Social-Cultural and Economic Concerns in Geriatric Psychopharmacology

Sierra Slade

Within the realm of medicinal research and practice, there is always a need for special consideration of the vulnerable populations. These are people who are easily coerced, discriminated against, or marginalized. Some of the largest populations that fall into this category are children and the elderly. However, the issues facing the geriatric community are significantly overlooked in comparison. As their mental and physical disabilities decline, the elderly become increasingly dependent upon their medical treatment and caretakers. Many social-cultural and economic concerns surround the psychopharmacological treatment of the elderly, a population disproportionately prescribed psychoactive drugs. The inappropriate prescribing of psychotropic drugs, the high risk and low benefit of medications, and the many costs to society and the individual of these treatments and their abuse provide revealing examples of the many ethical and practical concerns that overwhelm this topic.

There is no doubt that the elderly present a vulnerable population. A 2010 study found that of 5,777 people surveyed over the age of 60, 11.4% of them reported experiences of mistreatment within the past year (Acierno et al., 2010). Of nursing home residents, 44% of one study reported abuse, and a shocking 95% reported neglect. The elderly with mental illness present an intersection of two vulnerable groups and are at even higher risk of abuse. It is estimated that about 50% of those with dementia suffer abuse (NCEA, 2014). How does this general abuse factor into the psychopharmacological treatment of these populations? Ultimately, these numbers reveal general cultural neglect and disrespect for the elderly. Such carelessness, and sometimes malice, on the part of caretakers leads to abuse, pharmacologically and otherwise.
With the growth of this population and their use of psychoactive drugs, these issues of abuse and neglect are of increasing importance. Currently, those over the age of 65 comprise approximately 13% of the United States population. Because of increased life expectancies and the aging of the baby boomer generation, it is estimated that the elderly will make up nearly 20% of the population by 2030 (Dunn & Hauptman, 2013; Jackson & Hafemeister, 2013). Not only do the elderly make up a great deal of the overall population, but they are the largest consumers of medication. Averaging over 15 prescriptions a year, the elderly have four times the number of prescriptions of the young. In 1992, the elderly accounted for approximately 30% of all prescription use, 40% of non-prescriptive drug use, and 40% of sedative and hypnotic drug use (Kahl et al., 1992). These numbers have only risen over time as needs for mental health care have increased. Alzheimer's, one of the most serious and common neurological afflictions of the elderly is estimated to affect 13 million adults by 2050 (Dunn & Hauptman, 2013). The issues involved in the psychopharmacological treatment of the geriatric community will only become more prevalent and pressing in the coming years.

One such pharmacological issue is that the elderly are often over-drugged, even with medication that is not proven safe. The Inspector General of Health and Human Services reported that between January and June of 2007, 75% of Medicare claims for atypical antipsychotic drugs were prescribed off-label to elderly individuals with dementia. These are prescribed despite the fact that physicians are alerted by the FDA boxed warning that the use of the drug is associated with increased mortality in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis. In addition, half of these drugs were given excessively, not in line with proper administration recommendations (Levinson, 2011). Criteria set by physicians and pharmacologists have been used to compile the Beers revised list of drugs. The drugs on this list are known to often cause serious side effects in
the elderly, and it is advised that these drugs be avoided. In spite of this, one study showed that 21% of prescription claims were for drugs on this list, the most common of these being the psychotropic and neuromuscular drugs (Gottlieb, 2004). Unfortunately, these antipsychotic drugs are often used as chemical restraints for mentally ill patients; they are turned to in lieu of adequate staffing and proper training. They do so with the claim that such drugs increase the quality of life for these individuals. While this may be true for some, drugs that appear to sedate outward aggression can increase the confusion and agitation that a patient experiences (Wipond, 2011). Inappropriate prescriptions may even lead to fatal outcomes. Psychopharmacological drugs are used far too often as an easy way out for caretakers rather than as an actual aid for the patient, putting this vulnerable population at serious risk of worsening psychiatric symptoms and death.

Even when psychotropic drugs are properly and carefully prescribed, the elderly are at high risk for adverse side effects. One such example is found in the increase of falls experienced by those on psychoactive medications. These medications can decrease physical and cognitive capacities in already frail individuals, more than doubling their risk of falls (Moden et al., 2010). Indeed, falls can be reduced by 30-75% by reducing the use of psychotropic drugs (Swift, 2001). Falling is far from a negligible issue: falls are associated with increased mortality in the elderly (Sylliaas et al., 2009). Furthermore, nearly 20% of hospital admissions of older people are due to adverse reactions to drugs (Rochon & Gurwitz, 1997; Lee, 1996). The risk to benefit ratio of cognitive enhancing and antipsychotic medications is controversial at best (Walaszek, 2009). Should we really be medicating the elderly with so many psychoactive drugs when the benefits barely outweigh the risks? Are we just turning our elderly away with a potentially dangerous prescription rather than truly improving their quality of life? Especially in such cases when the elderly is incapable of giving consent due to cognitive decline, we must be wary of when a
caretaker or family member may be making an uneducated pharmacological decision that takes into account the ease of a pill but ignores the serious adverse effects of psychotropic medication.

All of these statistics reveal alarming societal concerns. The lack of discussion and research into these problems makes society complicit in the ongoing psychopharmacological abuse of the elderly. One of the largest sources of unintentional abuse of the elderly is the inappropriate prescribing that occurs because we have a severe lack of research on the influence of psychoactive drugs on the elderly. Extensive research is carried out on younger populations, but the results of these studies rarely translate accurately to the care of the elderly. The elderly are physiologically and psychologically different than younger populations. They suffer more comorbidities and are often on multiple medications, making psychopharmacological treatment far riskier and side effects more severe. Lack of knowledge regarding how these drugs affect this particular population leads to dangerous overdosing and under-dosing (Sheikh & Cassidy, 2000). Without more discussion and research, these controversial matters will continue to harm elderly populations.

The psychopharmacological risks facing geriatric communities are not only an issue of humanity and care within our society, but also an economic issue that effects the population as a whole. There is no doubt that some people perceive the cost of caring for the elderly as a burden on society. Compared to other groups, the proportion of money spent on care for the elderly is large, and a great deal of this money is public (Kovar, 1986). But how does psychopharmacological treatment of the elderly exacerbate this problem? Inappropriately medicating the elderly with excessive amounts of expensive psychoactive drugs contributes to the costliness of their care. The mental health issues of the elderly are often treated immediately with pharmacological means without looking for alternative treatments. In this way, something that should have been treated through psychotherapy or other means can become a chronic illness for the patient. When
compounded with the questionable benefits of these drugs, psychopharmacologically medicating the elderly is not cost effective. The cost of donepezil, a cognitive enhancer used for those with Alzheimer's Disease, has an estimated cost of over $120,000 per quality-adjusted year of life (Walaszek, 2009). And this says nothing of the costs of inappropriate prescribing and the dangerous side effects of these psychoactive drugs on the elderly.

Inappropriate treatment and the side effects of inadequate care result in even higher costs. Medication errors affect approximately 1.5 million people and result in an estimated 7,000 preventable deaths each year (Kong & Mondul, 2014). The annual costs in United States hospitals of these drug-related injuries add up to at least $3.5 billion (Bootman, 2006). Psychopharmacological treatment of the elderly also often results in a "prescription cascade" where certain side effects of psychoactive drugs are misdiagnosed as a separate condition and addressed with extra medications, adding extra unnecessary costs to their care and decreasing their quality of life (Dunn & Hauptman, 2013; Rochon & Gurwitz, 1997). The falls which are increased by use of psychoactive drugs are also a high cost to society. In 2012, elderly falls cost roughly $30 billion. This number is expected to rise to $67.7 billion as early as 2020 (CDC, 2014). Medical care for the elderly will always be costly because of their greater medical needs. However, their needs are often inadequately addressed and exacerbated by inappropriate practices in psychopharmacology. Curbing these issues will also curb the economic cost of elderly care while—most importantly—giving the best care possible to our aged citizens.

Unable to contribute in the work force and facing the decline of their physical and mental capacities, the elderly are often pushed away, neglected, and viewed as a burden—especially within the Western world. This vulnerable population experiences substandard care, especially in the realm of geriatric psychopharmacology. Drugs are sometimes used as crutches, not for the
elderly but for their caretakers. Even when these medications are prescribed with the best intentions, psychoactive drugs are often over-prescribed and usually provide minimal benefit with serious risks, further increasing the public costs of their already expensive treatment. This is, in part, due to the lack of research into how such drugs influence the elderly; research done on younger generations does not perfectly translate to the geriatric community. Failing to address these issues is not only a cost to the economy, but a detriment to the humane treatment of our elderly.

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The New Negro: Reclaiming Black Identity

Domonique Griffin

While the Harlem renaissance marks the rise in acknowledgement of black art, this period also witnesses the emergence of diverse ideologies on what modern blackness entails. These competing views yield tension within the black community as black scholars dispute the qualities that should define the modern Negro—or the “New Negro” as philosopher Alain Locke describes. Unlike in the past, black people now have the opportunity to construct their own identity. For some, this is a chance to take pride in all facets of black life, past and present alike. For others, this the moment in which the black race can be redeemed as a competent or well developed people by forsaking their “primitive” roots and assimilating into “high class” culture as much as possible. As the black community debates over who the new Negro really is, white society indulges in black entertainment as a means of temporary escape from the modern world and black artists are discriminated against based upon their inability to replicate high class art. As the protagonist of Invisible Man encounters different individuals throughout Harlem, he is confronted with different aspects of the new Negro experience—white fascination, working class formations of consciousness, and black elite formalism.

As the protagonist is lying in the factory hospital the reader is able to witness the constraint of identity and white fascination that is embedded in modern society. Trapped inside of a glass box and questioned by the doctors, the protagonist’s predicament is reflective of the constraining nature of modern black identity. Before the doctors perform what would be the equivalent of a prefrontal lobotomy, the narrator protests to the amount of space that he has inside of the box. Instead of accommodating him, the doctor responds, “don’t worry about it, boy. You’ll get used to it after a while” (Ellison 235). This scene suggests that although black people may have an opening to try and shape their own identity, what they are able to present to the world will be regulated by white society. This notion is later confirmed when one of the doctors explains the benefits of the procedure that is to be performed on the narrator: “The patient will live as he has to live, and with absolute integrity. Who could ask more? He’ll experience no major conflict of motives and what is even better, society will suffer no traumata on his account” (Ellison 236). In a sense the doctors are doing the protagonist a favor by altering the portion of his brain where the consciousness is because he finally has second sight. However,
this new consciousness that the protagonist possesses is given on society’s terms. Despite how society limits black expression of identity, the white world is still intrigued by black life. While sending electrochemical shock waves through the protagonist’s body, one of the doctors stares at him in amazement of how rhythmic his dancing is, instructing him to “get hot”. What the doctor perceives to be dancing is actually the protagonist’s body convulsing from the shock waves. After completing their procedure, the doctors commence to investigate the identity of the protagonist but soon turn to questioning him about African American folklore. The doctors may have heard of Brer Rabbit and Brer Bear in their attempts to learn more about black life and practices that they can use as a means of relieving stress from their busy life, yet they cannot comprehend the meaning of the figures because they do not have the understanding that the protagonist has.

Once the protagonist is released from the factory hospital and gets nursed back to health by Mary Rambo, he returns to the Men’s House where he finds that his presence is no longer welcome. His experience in the hospital has finally opened up a second line of vision and now that he has this vision he no longer feels the need to try and please the “Bledsoe’s” of society. The narrator’s newly found consciousness is evident to the residents of the Men’s House who are seeking after the same goals that the narrator once chased. He describes the men as follows: “groups still caught up in the illusions that had just been boomeranged out of my head: college boys working to return to school down South; older advocates of racial progress with utopian schemes…” (Ellison 256). The narrator can sense that these men will look at him in disdain because he has chosen to forfeit his place in helping advance the race in the eyes of white society. The Men’s House residents appear to be a group that identify with the black elitist view of who the new Negro must be and therefore look down upon anyone who does not fit into that mold. In philosopher Alain Locke’s description of the new Negro, he states, “the only safeguard for mass relations in the future must be provided in the carefully maintained contacts of the enlightened minorities of both race groups” (Sundquist 166). Groups who support Locke’s view often exclude others whose lifestyles do not align with the modern views of enlightenment or success. Like the protagonist and the Men’s House, black intellectuals criticized or discriminated against black artists whose craft was not “classy” enough. In Blues Women, Black Feminisms, political activist and scholar Angela Davis explains that some view black intellectuals as treating the blues and jazz as primitive music that needs to be “elevated to a higher level of art” if it is to
be respected as an art form (Davis 149). In spite of the limitations that black and white society alike attempt to place on the modern identity of the Negro, the newly developed conscious of the working-class Negro is not extinguished.

Just as the narrator is feeling burdened down by his internal struggles with different ideas of black identity, he meets the yam man. Yams are representative of the Negro past in the south and as the narrator is approaching the yam man, a flood of old memories comes rushing upon him. When the narrator takes a bite into the yam he is suddenly overcome with a sense of liberation. “I walked along munching the yam just as suddenly overcome by an intense feeling of freedom…it was exhilarating. I no longer had to worry about who saw me or about what was proper” (Ellison 264). Before when the narrator was living to uphold some elite standard or appear to be just as civilized as white society, he and his leaders likely would not want to be caught in the streets eating yams because it traces back to life before modernity. However, now that the narrator has a developed a sense of understanding of how society really works and who he is, he is no longer ashamed to enjoy what he likes even if it is condemned for being non-modern. After enjoying his yam the narrator exclaims, “…to hell with being ashamed of what you liked. No more of that for me. I am what I am! I wolfed down the yam and ran back to the old man…” (Ellison 266). This eye opening experience that the narrator has symbolizes the working class consciousness that many blacks have. Instead of remaining tied down to the ideas and culture of the past or fully submerging into the ideas and culture of the modern world, there is a group of people that are able to find an equilibrium between the two. The new Negro for the working class is an individual who is able to participate in the activities of their choosing without being restricted to what is old or what is modern. This consciousness shows the flexibility and diversity of black people because it is centered on individual preference as opposed to some sense of obligation to remain loyal to modern or pre-modern ideals.

In a time when the eyes of white society are fixated upon the talents and culture of the black population for various reasons alongside black life being a release valve for them, the black community has the chance to redefine themselves as a people. According to black scholars, this is the moment for the Negro to demonstrate his capacity to be seen as a true competitor in the modern world by proving that he is a developed race. However, others believe that in order to survive in the modern world, one must find a balance between modernity and their past. Regardless of what intellectuals believe or what white society desires to be fed, the new Negro
should have the space to express himself in the way that he sees fit because he is not just Negro, he is human. In this struggle to find identity, many attempt to relegate the Negro to one desired archetype when the Negro is just as (or even more) complex and diverse as any other race. The protagonist will achieve balance when he acknowledges that southern culture helped him become who he is but he must now use what he has learned to help him navigate the modern world on his own terms. If he revels in the past or revels in the modern then he will be useless.
I have never written about my father. Ask me what my motivation is, what I live for, or what I look forward to at the end of any journey. The answer, without a doubt, will always include my father. Yet, I have never talked about him, at least not in a way that depicts how central he is to my life. Time and time again I have asked myself why I cannot put into words who he is and what he means in my life.

Sitting here, staring at this partially blank paper, I still cannot piece together what it is I want to reveal about him. Do I start from the beginning or do I say where he is now? Is there really a “right” way to go about this? I guess no matter where I start the end will always be the same, so, maybe, I should say the easy part first.

Without hesitation I can describe my father’s life in two simple words – work and miracle.

WORK

A scrawny, eight – year old boy with mud filled feet and a bag of freshly baked doughnuts walks around a small Mexican village every weekend morning. He goes from door to door, chatting up each person he meets, and sells what is in his bag. Sometimes it will only be an hour before all the doughnuts are gone, but other days he will have to walk farther into town to make sure he returns home with just the profits. Once he heads back home and hands the doughnut profits to his mom he heads straight to his uncle’s restaurant. There, he is in charge of cleaning all the tables, and sets them up for the next customers. His uncle does not pay him for his services; instead the deal is that the boy can keep any tips given to him. Between the
doughnuts and the restaurant he does not make much, but that never stops him from having a
smile on his face every time he hands over his earnings to his mom.

That is my dad’s life at age eight. Add in the fact that he had no shoes to wear, survived
on two pairs of underwear, and dealt with an alcoholic father and the picture does not get any
nicer. Fast-forward thirty-nine years and my dad is in a new country, but still holds the same
work standards for himself. He gets up at four in the morning, and instead of going out to sell
doughnuts he sells taxi rides. Once he is done, he does not head to his uncle’s restaurant, but puts
on a maintenance uniform and clocks into work. He may not hand over his entire paycheck to his
mother, but he will divide it between house bills, groceries, clothing for my brothers, and me. He
leaves no money for himself and is willing to put off a new pair of glasses, a nice pair of jeans,
or even a good pair of shoes for as long as he can.

MIRACLE

My father never went to high school. He admitted that it was not so much that he could
not balance academics and work, but he skipped out on it because he was embarrassed. Just
before going into high school his grandmother sent him out to get firewood. It was a task he had
done many times, but something went wrong that day. He used a machete to cut the wood and
during one swing he accidentally sliced his finger off. It was his wedding ring finger. He tried
going to school right after, but was teased so much that he just dropped out. Reflecting on it now
he wishes he had stuck it out, but resorts to encouraging my brothers and I to never abandon
education.

While he did not make it to high school, he did attempt to get trained as an electrician.
His mother knew an electrician in Iguala, the city closest to his village, who was willing to teach
my father all he knew about the job. Seeing it as the perfect opportunity to make more money,
my father jumped right in. He could not afford the bus fare so he rode a bike. Everyday he made
the hour long trip, and absorbed everything the man taught him. My father was excited and
thought he might actually have an opportunity to be a successful electrician. However, during
one of his bike rides back home he was run over by a van. The vehicle came up behind him and
drove off immediately after hitting him.

He lost four of his front teeth and was paralyzed from the waist down. The doctors told
him he would never have children, and that while he would regain some strength in his legs, he
would be confined to a wheelchair all his life. He was only eighteen. My father experienced a
severe depression during this time and had lost all hope for a brighter future. He had always been
his mother’s source of financial support, and the ability to keep helping his family had been
taken from him. However, he was fortunate enough to have a large support from friends and
family. Everyone encouraged him to not give up, and told him that the doctor did not have to get
the final say in his future.

My father did walk again. Aside from the year he remained in the hospital and underwent
therapy, he never needed a wheelchair. Seven years later he even managed to have a child, and
now, twenty-eight years further down, he has three healthy children. That difficult time in his life
is nothing but a far away memory and a prominent scar all the way down his back.

HIS IMPACT

There is really no easy way to go about this, because as I stare at the screen everything is
becoming a blur as the tears stream down my cheeks. To say my father’s life was bad is a
complete understatement, and quite honestly such a statement is useless, but it gives me a sense
of direction continue to make sense of the words I am putting onto this paper. See, sharing my
father’s story means I have to admit to the guilt that burns deep down inside of me. A guilt that consumes my entire existence and thus defines, in every way, the person I am today.

I do not remember how old I was when my father began to share some of his life stories with me, but it feels like they have always been a part of me. I used to think that they were just his method of parenting, as psychologists would explain, that it was all a comparison effect. As though he was saying, “See, compared to me you have it pretty good, so don’t misbehave or do poorly in school because there is no excuse.” Thinking about in this manner made me have a lot of resentment during my teen years. Every time he began describing his childhood I wanted to yell, “Just stop! I’m not in your shoes, and I never will be. It isn’t my fault you had such a terrible childhood.” However, I could never bring myself to say this to him.

I thought his stories were his way of telling me to live up to the pain and suffering that he had endured. Behind all his words I saw the message, “Be worth my struggle because it is all I have left.” I hated the pressure, and what was worse was that I felt like no matter what I did, or accomplished, it was not enough for him. No, he never explicitly told me it was not enough, but it just seemed as though all the academic awards, honors, and straight A’s that I received did not make up for the scars down his back. I know I had it wrong back then, and I probably still do, because grades and academics could not compare to the suffering he had endured. Yet it was all I had, and it is what I continue to have.

Since age eight he had been providing financially for his family, while at age eight my only concern was making it through a school day. That is where my biggest flaw lies in – comparing my life to his. I really should not be doing it, but I have no other reference point. I cannot say, “I work hard in school because my father went to college and I need to live up to those standards.” Instead, I have to say, “I work hard academically because hard work is all my
father has ever done, and I need to live up to that legacy, the legacy of his determination.” Like many people, I need a source of motivation, and I chose the most self – destructive source.

I AM HIS LEGACY

I am twenty years old, sitting on a hard wooden chair in one of the most expensive colleges in the country. Many would say that I am here because I am hard – working, focused, determined, and intelligent. However, I know I am here because my father made that happen.

Everything that has led to my success could not have been possible without him. His hard work, suffering, and persistence allowed me to be in a country with opportunity. Yes, I had to put in the effort to get to where I am at, but there would be no effort without motivation. I see my accomplishments and success, as an extension of what he started. That is why I feel the guilt.

Attending college, expanding my knowledge, visiting other countries, landing internships with large corporations, and leading a life without financial worries are experiences my father should have. I have had these successes because of him, and yet he does not get to indulge in them. I want to justify the unfairness in all of this, but I cannot. I know my father wants this for me, and without my effort I would not be where I am. However, I will always be an extension of my father’s life, and that carries an immense amount of commitment and responsibility.

As my father’s first child I feel the need to carry on the legacy he left for me. His hard work and determination have made a name for my family, and I must live up to that. I need to make sure that his suffering is not in vein. I need him to see that, even if he cannot indulge in the life I have grown up with, he will not have to worry about history repeating itself. I will be the result of all of his effort. I will be the first person in his family to have a college degree, and earn a name for myself in whatever profession I choose. I will not settle for mediocre
accomplishment, because that is not what I learned from my father. I will be the life he never had, and let him live through me because it is all I have left to give.
Subverting the Patriarchal Paradigm: An Analysis of Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* from the Perspectives of Both Feminist Literary Theory and Gender Studies

Madeline Burns

**Feminist Literary Theory Analysis of *Wuthering Heights***

A feminist literary analysis is typically rooted in one of two agendas: exposing the misogyny within a work and exploring what the work infers about the operations of the patriarchy, or evaluating the structure of the feminist literary canon. Elaine Showalter refers to these categories in her essay, “Toward a Feminist Poetics”, as “woman as reader” and “woman as writer” (Showalter 1377). The woman as reader, or what Showalter calls “feminist critique” focuses on woman as “the consumer of male-produced literature” (Showalter 1377). The woman as writer, or what Showalter refers to as “Gynocritics”, is concerned with the “structures of literature by women”, and how women writers influence the female literary canon (Showalter 1377). Some works of literature, however, such as Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights*, take the misogynistic tropes that are brought to light in feminist critique and use them to shrewdly subvert the patriarchy and introduce deeper levels of meaning that go against societal convention. In this way, Brontë is able to undermine the stereotypical portrayal of the role of women in literature while still playing by the rules of the dominant culture.

Although explicitly Emily Brontë embodies cultural stereotypes of women throughout *Wuthering Heights*, intrinsically, she denounces them. Literary critics Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar discuss this destabilization of authority in Emily Bronte’s writing in the second chapter of their book entitled “Infection in the Sentence: The Woman Writer and the Anxiety of Authorship”, where they provide examples of female authors who cleverly undermine the patriarchy through hidden messages in their writing:
In short, like the twentieth-century American poet H.D., who declared her aesthetic strategy by entitling one of her novels Palimpsest, women from Jane Austen and Mary Shelley to Emily Brontë and Emily Dickinson produced literary works that are in some sense palimpsestic, works whose surface designs conceal or obscure deeper, less accessible (and less socially acceptable) levels of meaning. Thus these authors managed the difficult task of achieving true female literary authority by simultaneously conforming to and subverting patriarchal literary standards. (Gilbert 1533)

While women writers like Emily Dickinson and H.D. may be the original “palimpsestic” writers, Brontë’s rewriting of feminine literary tropes deviates from their method of subversion. Emily Dickinson presents a feminine front in her writing, or an archetypally feminine poetic voice, and then buries deeper meanings that are less socially acceptable beneath the surface. Brontë, conversely, presents her writing in a characteristically masculine style, and then uses this masculine voice to deconstruct tropes about women’s role both in literature and the world.

Brontë accepts that the dominant form of writing is masculine writing, but then subverts this standard by writing, as a woman, under a gender-neutral name in a masculine style of writing. All three Brontë sisters adopted male pseudonyms when publishing their work; Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell were the pennames that Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë chose, respectively. Charlotte Brontë speaks to this decision in her essay, “Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell”, in which she maintains that they selected intentionally gender-neutral names so that they could write freely without being constrained by the narrow parameters of female writing and how it was perceived:

we did not like to declare ourselves women, because – without at that time suspecting that our mode of writing and thinking was not what is called “feminine” – we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice; we had noticed how critics sometimes use for their chastisement the weapon of personality, and for their reward, a flattery, which is not true praise. (C. Brontë xi)

Charlotte’s recognition of the prejudice that faced women writers at this time, and the lack of merit behind an appraisal of a woman’s writing illustrate the Brontë sisters’ awareness of the feminine tropes in literature. Charlotte, however, self-internalizes some of these stereotypes, as
she seems to believe that characteristically male writing is stronger than characteristically female writing. She praises Emily for the masculine nature of her writing, remarking that she was greatly impressed with a collection of poetry of Emily’s that she read due to its masculine style: “these were not common effusions, nor at all like poetry women generally write. I thought them condensed and terse, vigorous and genuine. To my ear, they also had a peculiar music – melancholy, and elevating” (C. Brontë x). Charlotte Brontë believes that there are distinct differences between male and female writing, but observes that her sister’s writing style is much like that of a man. Charlotte recognizes the fact that in her culture, stereotypically male writing is valued above female writing. Emily takes advantage of this, and as her writing is somewhat “masculine” in nature, she adopts a gender-neutral name so that her writing may be seen as that of a man.

Emily Brontë’s success in her endeavor to subvert literary gender roles is evidenced in her ability to deceive literary critics of the time into thinking that her writing is that of a man. This is due partially to the content of her writing, which includes morbid and animalistic themes that would not be considered suitable for a female writer, but primarily to the masculine style of her writing. Carol Ohmann notes in her essay, “Emily Brontë in the Hands of Male Critics”, that contemporary critics overlooked the amorous aspects of Wuthering Heights, and instead chose to focus on the features that were typically indicative of a male author: “Although an occasional review acknowledged that it was a story of love, its essential subject was taken to be a representation of cruelty, brutality, violence, of human depravity or wickedness in its most extreme forms” (Ohmann 71). As the presumed sex of the author was male, critics praised the violent and power-driven themes of the novel, and ignored the romantic elements. Those who did address the passionate language and imagery present throughout the novel often still attributed
the writing to a man. In his essay, “Novels of the Season”, nineteenth-century literary critic Percy Edwin Whipple draws comparisons between the romantic elements of *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*, submitting that although *Wuthering Heights* is clearly the work of a man, *Jane Eyre* is most likely written by two authors – one male and one female – and that the male author is the same author as *Wuthering Heights*: “There are also scenes of passion [in *Jane Eyre*], so hot, emphatic, and condensed in expression, and so sternly masculine in feeling, that we are almost sure we observe the mind of the author of *Wuthering Heights* at work in the text” (Whipple 389). For Whipple, this idea of condensed and emphatic expression in language is inextricably linked with masculine ideals of writing. Therefore, although he recognizes aspects of *Jane Eyre* that are inherently feminine in nature, he is unable to deny the masculine style of prose, and therefore associates those passages with another (male) author – the author of *Wuthering Heights*.

By playing by the rules of the dominant literary authority and publishing her name under a male pseudonym, Emily Brontë allows her work to be valued intrinsically without the expectations placed on female writers. The work that she publishes is not meant to imitate the writing of men. As Whipple notes, her writing style is inherently emphatic and compact in expression. Brontë makes no alterations to her writing style to fit the needs of the patriarchy; rather, she plays by their rules in order for her work to be published and recognized for its accomplishment as a piece of literature – not as a piece of literature written by a woman. Ohmann talks about the discrepancy between what the readers believe they are reading (a characteristically male, patriarchal work) and what they are actually reading (a feminist deconstruction of a male-dominated society) and how this effects how they then evaluate the work based on these assumptions: “It is clear, I hope, in these instances…that there is a
considerable correlation between what readers assume or know the sex of the writer to be and what they actually see, or neglect to see, in ‘his’ or her work” (Ohmann 73). When the reader assumes that Wuthering Heights is male-authored, they see the condensed, systematized sentence structure, and harsh and violent themes. What they are blind to as a result of their accreditation of gender are the obvert feminist themes woven throughout the novel.

Although Brontë uses the conventional voice of a male narrator, Lockwood, to tell the story through his diary entries, through her use of framed narrative, Nelly is the one that relates the history of Catherine and Heathcliff, and thus, is the more significant narrator of the novel. This is exactly the type of subversion that Gilbert and Gubar refer to, where the framed narrative serves as the palimpsest, enclosing the female narrator within the outer shell of a male narrator. While the narrator of the story is technically male, and thus Brontë is playing within the discursive limits set by the male-dominated literary community, she handicaps him by depriving him of the knowledge of the history of Wuthering Heights that Nelly has, and thus forces him to rely on Nelly as the main informant of his tale. He is reliant on her so much that he is unable to recount her story in his own words in his diary entries, and instead, Brontë shifts the first person voice from Lockwood over to Nelly as she begins her tale: “She returned presently…and…drew in her seat…Before I came to live here, she commenced, waiting no further invitation to her story, I was almost always at Wuthering Heights…playing with the children” (Brontë 28). Brontë ceases all use of quotation marks around Nelly’s speech, and from now on, her voice is the “I” of the story, only broken by Lockwood’s infrequent interruptions. In this way, she shifts the authority from Lockwood to Nelly.

Brontë uses elements of traditional nineteenth-century Gothic literature in order to explore the theme of confinement enforcing gender roles for characters throughout Wuthering
Heights. In her book, Emily Brontë, literary critic Lyn Pykett explains that nineteenth-century Gothic literature was a genre through which women writers could both conform to societal standards for male-dominated literary writing, but also provide women with an escape from this oppressive society:

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Gothic was a genre particularly identified with women writers, and many recent feminist critics have argued that Female Gothic may be seen as a complex genre which simultaneously represents women’s fears and offers fantasies of escape from them. Female Gothic enacts fantasies of female power in the heroine’s courage and enterprise, while simultaneously, or by turns, representing the female condition as both confinement and refuge. (Pykett 76)

Through her depiction of the confinement of repressed characters such as Isabella, Brontë is highlighting the restrictions that society places on women, but through brave, rebellious characters such as Catherine, she is also providing women with a fantasy world where they can be free from these constraints.

Catherine is typically confined to feminine spaces, such as the house and the kitchen, but she uses this imprisonment to her advantage and asserts her dominance over men. Through the fantasy of Catherine’s power over men in these situations, Brontë provides the woman reader with an escape. This subversion of a domestic space can be observed in the scene shortly after Heathcliff returns from his brief disappearance where Catherine and Heathcliff are arguing in the kitchen at Thrushcross Grange. Edgar enters and tries to assert his status as man of the household and force Heathcliff to leave his property; however, just as Heathcliff motions towards Nelly to summon his men, Catherine locks herself, Nelly, and the two men in the kitchen. She then entreats her husband to confront Heathcliff by emasculating him and calling him weak: “If you have not the courage to attack him, make an apology, or allow yourself to be beaten. It will correct you of feigning more valour than you possess” (Brontë 90). She then throws the key into the fire, which symbolizes the control she has taken over the terms of her own confinement. By
locking both herself and the men in a traditionally feminine space, Catherine overthrows the
gender roles that confinement imposes and uses this subversion to force Edgar and Heathcliff to
reconcile. She uses a space that has traditionally subjugated her to assert her dominance over the
men.

Though the men around Catherine consume her identity, and ultimately her life, she is
able to both enact revenge and reveal the injustices of her subjugation during her time on earth
through her presence as a ghost throughout the novel. Catherine’s death is ultimately caused by
the expectations placed on her as a woman. She is expected to bear Edgar’s children and provide
him with an heir, which ultimately kills her; however, Catherine was dead inside long before she
died in childbirth, as she shrewdly reveals to Lockwood in a dream. When Catherine appears to
Lockwood in a dream, she tells him that her spirit has been wandering the halls of Wuthering
Heights for twenty years: “‘It’s twenty years,’ mourned the voice, ‘twenty years, I’ve been a waif
for twenty years!’” (Brontë 21). When Lockwood first visits Wuthering Heights, he notes that
the year is 1801, “1801. – I have just returned from a visit to my landlord” (Brontë 3). Catherine
dies in 1784, and so when she appears to Lockwood as a ghost in 1801, she has only been dead
for twenty years. Three years before her death, Heathcliff leaves, and Catherine comes down
with an illness that never truly leaves her. It is at this point in the novel that Catherine begins to
be treated as a young lady, and subsequently, begins to be oppressed in her role as a woman.
Shortly before she dies, Catherine speaks to Nelly about how she feels as though she is trapped:
“the thing that irks me most is this shattered prison, after all. I’m tired, tired of being enclosed
here. I’m wearying to escape into that glorious world, and to be always there” (Brontë 125). It is
unclear whether the prison she refers to is her physical body, or the house that she is confined to,
but either way, she is speaking to her desire to leave this world of restraint and go elsewhere,
where she can be free. She achieves this through her death. In this way, while her death is
ultimately caused by the expectations placed on her as a woman, it is through her death, and her
womanhood, that she is able to be free.

Brontë both shows the ways in which confinement forces characters into their ascribed
gender roles, but also the ways in which confinement propagates itself, as those who were
confined in their youth grow up to restrict others. Jamie Crouse discusses both of these
consequences in her essay, “‘This Shattered Prison’: Confinement, Control and Gender in
Wuthering Heights”, where she focuses on Catherine and Heathcliff’s development in a space of
confinement, and how this shapes their actions as adults. She asserts that, “Catherine and
Heathcliff’s tendency to exert control by confining others is developed during their childhood
because they were controlled and confined by Hindley and Joseph” (Crouse 182). This exertion
of control can be seen in the second generation of Linton and Earnshaw, where Heathcliff
confines Hareton and young Catherine within Wuthering Heights.

In the second half of the novel, using the characters of the second generation, Brontë
breaks the pattern of generational subjugation, and reclaims the domestic sphere as a place of
familial collaboration. Pykett suggests that in the second half of the novel, there is a discernible
shift from the Gothic to the Victorian Domestic novel, and that this shift allows Hareton and
young Catherine to shed the chains of the cycle of control and confinement that restrains them.
There is a clear change in tone from the first half of the novel, where Hareton aids Heathcliff in
the kidnapping of young Catherine, to the second half, where Hareton is able to separate himself
from the need to control that has pervaded his family for generations, and instead join together
with his cousin in what Pykett refers to as, “the conventional closure of a dominant form of the
Victorian Domestic novel”, where Hareton and Catherine learn to treat one another as equals,
and “overcome the obstacles of an obstructive society and withdraw into a private realm of
domicity, where social, co-operative values are renewed within the bosom of the family”
(Pykett 75). Hareton and young Catherine are able to defy the gender roles that controlled their
parents, and by doing so, are able to rebel against the restricting, dominant society and emerge
victorious, as the first functional romantic relationship seen in the novel. As the only descendants
of the Linton and Earnshaw families alive at the end of the novel, Hareton and young Catherine’s
divergence from the destructive, misogynistic history of their bloodlines represents a fresh start
both for them, and for generations to come.

**Gender Studies Analysis of Wuthering Heights**

Gender studies, like feminist literary theory, exposes issues of marginalization in a
literary work. Gender studies, however, goes beyond just the evaluation of the marginalization of
women, and is also concerned with elements of the text that emphasize, or deemphasize, the
perceived gender binary, and how issues of sexuality and sexual identity are portrayed
throughout the text. In her essay, “Gender”, Myra Jehlen suggests that this type of analysis is
possible within the context of any work of literature: “It is a quality of the literary voice hitherto
masked by the static of common assumptions. And as a critical category gender is an additional
lens, or a way of lifting the curtain to an unseen recess of the self and of society” (Jehlen 265).
Analyzing the function of gender in a literary work helps to break down the stereotype that men
represent the norms of human experience. In the case of Wuthering Heights, an analysis of the
portrayal of gender and sexuality throughout the novel helps to convey Brontë’s subversion of
the gender binary. Through her portrayal of the fluidity of sexuality and gender in characters
throughout Wuthering Heights, Brontë emphasizes the destructive consequences of socially
determined binaries, and shows that only by deconstructing these binaries are these characters able to feel free.

The love that Heathcliff and Catherine feel towards one another is not a heterosexual attraction, but rather a longing for their souls to be connected, and because it does not fit within the heteronormative structure of their culture, they are unable to be together, and are stuck in a constant state of misery. Catherine and Heathcliff long to be united as one; however, the attraction they feel is not a heterosexual attraction, and so they are unable to consummate their desire to be together. As there is no socially acceptable term for Catherine’s asexual desire to be with Heathcliff, she struggles to explain it to Nelly when debating whether or not to accept Edgar’s marriage proposal: “he shall never know how I love him; and that, not because he’s handsome, Nelly, but because he’s more myself than I am. Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same” (Brontë 63). This “sameness” that Catherine uses to describe her connection to Heathcliff shows her inability to separate their genders. She loves him not because she is attracted to him, or wants to be with him, but rather because she feels like she already is a part of him, and that their souls are made of the same material.

Brontë relates Heathcliff and Catherine’s asexual connection to allusions of Greek mythology in order to emphasize the idea of their souls being inextricably linked, and the torture that follows when they are divided. The idea of one soul being housed in two bodies that Catherine refers to when she states, “Whatever our souls are made of, his and mind are the same” is analogous to the Greek myth that Plato cites in his Symposium, where humans were originally created with double the amount of arms, legs, and faces, but Zeus split them in two, condemning them to spend the rest of their lives searching for this missing half (Brontë 63). As Catherine continues her conversation with Nelly about why she and Heathcliff are one unit that cannot be
separated, she references another Greek myth, the fate of Milo, in her assertion that without Heathcliff the earth means nothing to her: “Who is to separate us, pray? They’ll meet the fate of Milo! Not as long as I live Ellen – for no mortal creature. Every Linton on the face of the earth might melt into nothing, before I could consent to forsake Heathcliff” (Brontë 64). In the myth that she is referring to, Milo, an Olympic athlete, tries to tear a tree apart with his bare hands, but instead, his hands become trapped in a crevice in its truck, and trapped, he falls prey to a pack of wolves. In the case of Heathcliff and Catherine, the overarching entity that condemns them to live their lives constantly seeking the other, and the “Milo” that tries to pull them apart, is the heteronormative culture they live in.

As a result of societal expectations, Heathcliff and Catherine both become involved in loveless, heterosexual marriages, in which both parties are unhappy, and both couples produce children that are then ignored and resented as productions of a loveless union. Heathcliff’s marriage to Isabella is built out of his desire to punish Catherine for doing him wrong by marrying Edgar. When Catherine sees a relationship between Heathcliff and Isabella beginning to develop, she questions him about it, asking, “If you like Isabella, you shall marry her. But do you like her? Tell the truth, Heathcliff!” (Brontë 88). After avoiding the answer, Heathcliff finally responds, “If I imagined you really wished me to marry Isabella, I’d cut my throat” (Brontë 89). Three days later, Heathcliff and Isabella elope. Just as their marriage is born out of spite, their child, Linton, is born out of a loveless relationship, and therefore Heathcliff grows to resent him as a result of the forced gender role that causes him to marry Isabella and procreate instead of remain in a nonsexual union with Catherine.

The unhappiness derived from their inability to be together due to the atypical nature of their relationship stays with Catherine and Heathcliff even after her death. Catherine’s presence
as a ghost throughout *Wuthering Heights* reflects her inability to move on to the afterlife, as she is bound to earth by the part of her soul that is still living. Similarly, Heathcliff is unable to be completely tied to his earthly life, as part of his soul is no longer on earth. After learning of Catherine’s death, Heathcliff says to Nelly,

> May she wake in torment!...Catherine Earnshaw, may you not rest, as long as I am living!...The murdered do haunt their murderers, I believe – I know that ghosts have wandered the earth. Be with me always – take any form...Only do not leave me in this abyss, where I cannot find you!...I cannot live without my life! I cannot live without my soul! (Brontë 130)

Although Heathcliff begins the passage by speaking to Nelly, by the end he is speaking to Catherine’s ghost, as illustrated in the shift from referring to Catherine in the third person to the second person. Heathcliff recognizes that when Catherine died, a part of his soul died with her. Thus, he begs Catherine to haunt him, although he knows that this will be torturous for the both of them, because he would rather be in a state of constant misery being haunted by Catherine’s ghost than have to live on an earth without half of his soul. This scene is parallel to the scene in which Catherine tells Nelly that hers and Heathcliff’s souls are inextricably linked. Literary critic John Stevenson talks about the significance of this parallel in his essay, “‘Heathcliff is Me!’: *Wuthering Heights* and the Question of Likeness”, where he asserts, “Catherine’s statement to Nelly is beginning to look tautological. She is him, and he is her, and that little copula ‘is’ asserts a likeness it is hard to find” (Stevenson 63). He then extrapolates that the cause of this unfulfilled desire for their souls to be linked is unknown, “The First Mover in this passion remains unseen, a force of causation we recognize only by the destruction it leaves in its wake” (Stevenson 63).

What is important, however, is not why they feel that way, as Brontë is not interested in exploring the origins of human sexuality and desire; rather, she is concerned with emphasizing the fluidity of human sexuality, and the destruction that is caused when humans are unable to fulfill their natural desires as a result of the constraints of their society.
Bronte uses the structure of the framed narrative to seamlessly transition from the voice of a man (Lockwood) to the voice of a woman (Nelly), thus emphasizing the fluidity of gender and demonstrating the freedom of authority that comes with not being confined by socially determined binaries. Nelly and Lockwood are arguably the less constrained characters in the novel. This is because they are able to separate themselves from restrictive society into which Catherine and Heathcliff are born (or adopted). As the observers of the story, Nelly and Lockwood are not forced into the same socially determined binaries as the rest of the characters. Thus, Brontë emphasizes their freedom from socially restrictive binaries through their narration of the tale in two parts: one female and one male, both inextricably joined as one narrative and one gender-neutral recitation.

Unlike Lockwood and Nelly, Catherine and Heathcliff are both unable to tell their stories themselves, as they are constrained by their oppressive society, and unable to express themselves freely. In her essay, “‘This Shattered Prison’: Confinement, Control and Gender in Wuthering Heights”, Jamie Crouse talks about how Catherine does not feel as though she is able to write freely due to societal constraints, and thus she limits her writing to the margins of her diary: “Her writing itself is confined to the margins, just as she is marginalized within her own family, a motherless girl in a home dominated by men, and she must strive to create a space for herself” (Crouse 182). The space that Catherine and Heathcliff both create for themselves is the moors, where they are outdoors and able to be free from constraint in the wild and uninhabitable terrain far away from social standards and gender binaries.

Brontë places the binary of calm/storm in juxtaposition with the binaries of uncivilized/civilized behavior and male/female stereotypes in order to illustrate the ways in which characters cannot be confined to one category or another, and the futility of trying to do
so. The division between calm and storm can be seen most apparently in *Wuthering Heights* through the distinctly separate houses of Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange. The microclimate surrounding Wuthering Heights is tumultuous and unpredictable, which Lockwood notes when he first arrives at the threshold of the property, “‘Wuthering’ being a significant provincial adjective, descriptive of the atmospheric tumult to which its station is exposed in stormy weather” (Brontë 4). Similarly, the residents of Wuthering Heights (Catherine and Heathcliff) are tumultuous in nature, and thus are associated with the storm, or the uncivilized aspects of society, or the male figure. The residents of Thrushcross Grange (Edgar and Isabella) represent the calm, or the civilized world, or the female figure. Brontë creates these binaries in order to represent the types of binaries to which people are expected to conform.

The characters’ inability to stay within one of the two allotted categories (calm/civilized/female or storm/uncivilized/male) demonstrates the fluidity of both gender and human nature. Stevenson acknowledges that Heathcliff and Catherine are not the only characters who personify traditionally masculine mannerisms in the novel: “The lovers are certainly alike in behaving violently, self-indulgently, self-destructively – as indeed, at one time or another, does almost every character in the novel” (Stevenson 62). The characters’ failure to stay within the confines of their prescribed gender norms shows that the human aspects of the characters prevent them from being categorized. Although externally, Catherine and Heathcliff could both be categorized as belonging to the world of the storm/uncivilized/male, and the Lintons could be construed as representatives of the calm/civilized/female, there is constant fluctuation between the two groups. Catherine’s identity is torn between the civilized world of Thrushcross Grange, and her life with Edgar, and her home of Wuthering Heights, and her ties to Heathcliff. Similarly, Isabella is torn between the civilized home that she grew up in, and the draw of an
uncivilized life with Heathcliff at Wuthering Heights. Both characters embody elements of both the calm and the storm, as really they are all a balance between the two, neither purely male nor female, and neither uncivilized nor civilized. Thus, Brontë suggests that humanity cannot be subdivided into different socially determined categories.

Catherine and Heathcliff’s likeness in their refusal to submit to the gender binary unites them in their opposition against the dominant culture, but causes them to turn on one another when separated. Stevenson discusses the socially unacceptable nature of Catherine and Heathcliff’s relationship:

This claim that she and Heathcliff share some identity of being has been taken largely at face value. Critics have differed in the language they use to describe that likeness, but almost all have tended to see these lovers as united on one side of a polarity that opposes nature to culture, or the inhuman to the social, or the energetic to the placid. (Stevenson 60)

Catherine and Heathcliff’s “likeness” serves as a united front that opposes the patriarchal society; however, they are not able to combat the societal norms together, as they are unable to be united as one. This splitting of their souls causes them to attempt to dominate one another, and further aggravate the state of misery they are in. Crouse suggests that the destructiveness of their separation is rooted in the enforcement of their assigned gender roles: “From this point on, Catherine and Heathcliff, now separated, begin a long course of trying to control one another. Their androgynous whole is broken as they each assume their respective gender roles and enter a stage of sexual politics” (Crouse 184). Catherine and Heathcliff are forced, through their assigned gender roles, to begin to try and dominate one another. They are only able to end this fight to gain control over one another in death, when they are both freed from their respective gender roles, and their souls are able to unite as one.

**Reflection on the Effectiveness of the Two Readings**
Throughout my research and analysis, I often found it difficult to disentangle the ideas of feminist criticism and gender theory. The two theories have many points of overlap; however, the main distinction between the two can be seen in the idea that gender studies builds on the ideas of feminist literary theory, and applies them to a wider range of marginalized peoples, using literary theory to support their assertions. As one of the main ideas of gender studies is to focus on the marginalization of women, almost all of the analysis for the feminist literary criticism section could have also been applied to a gender studies analysis of the text. To avoid repetition, however, I only include ideas in my gender studies reading of *Wuthering Heights* that are relevant exclusively to gender studies and would not work as feminist interpretations.

There are, however, some themes and literary devices that I include in both sections due to the distinct differences in how each theory interprets that element according to the structure of their theory. For instance, in both sections, I discuss the theme of the restraint placed on characters as a result of the gender stereotypes of their society. This idea of confinement is interpreted in feminist literary theory as highlighting the restrictions that society places on women, and also how women use this imprisonment to their advantage to assert their dominance over men, thus providing women readers with the fantasy of escape. In gender studies, however, confinement is expanded to both women and men, as Catherine and Heathcliff are equally restrained as a result of their forced separation due to the heteronormative standards of their society.

There are elements that I ignore in my feminist analysis of the text in order to make the reading more applicable. For instance, in the feminist literary theory interpretation, I suggest that the significance of the framed narrative is that it serves as a palimpsest, enclosing the female narrator within the outer shell of the male narrator. This is ignoring the fact, however, that Nellie
and Lockwood are both unreliable narrators throughout the novel. Nelly dislikes Catherine, and is jealous of her, and she also has a propensity for drama in her storytelling, as she tells Lockwood early on in the novel, “if I am to follow my story in true gossip’s fashion, I had better go on” (Brontë 49). Nelly admits that she is one who is fond for gossip, and gets much entertainment from sitting with Lockwood for hours and retelling the history of Catherine and Heathcliff. Lockwood only intensifies the unreliability of Nelly’s narration, through the addition of his naïve observations and biased opinions alongside his recounting of Nelly’s story. Just as Nelly is biased as a result of her jealousy of Catherine, Lockwood is biased in his extreme fondness for the younger Catherine. The romantic figure that he portrays is certainly biased by his feelings towards her, which Nelly notices and comments upon: “why do you look so lively and interested when I talk about her? and why have you asked me to hang her picture over your fireplace?” (Brontë 196). The unreliability of both Nelly and Lockwood as narrators contradicts the idea that Brontë incorporates Nelly as a narrator to subvert the patriarchy of the male narrative, as Nelly’s narrative is no more reliable than Lockwood’s. Therefore, it makes more sense that Brontë is breaking down the gender binary by having Nelly and Lockwood tell the story in equal parts.

In order to perform a modern reading of Wuthering Heights through the lens of a modern feminist, one must reveal both the subordination of women, and also the ways in which gender and sexuality are portrayed in the text. Courses taught in feminism and feminist literary theory at liberal arts schools are now under the department of Women, Gender and Sexuality. All three must be addressed in order for the reading to fully answer questions about what elements of the text are feminist, and what the text reveals about issues of sexuality and gender. While Brontë was most certainly interested in breaking down the stereotyped roles of women in society, she
was also concerned with breaking down stereotypes about men. As Brontë emphasizes the marginalization of many groups, and not just women, I feel as though my analysis of the text through the lens of gender studies does a better job of addressing Brontë’s underlying messages – the inner layer deconstructing the marginalized world she lived in.

People so often misinterpret *Wuthering Heights* as being a tale of the passions of a sexual relationship between a male and female lover. Gender studies reveals, however, that the love that Catherine and Heathcliff have for one another is not a heterosexual attraction, but instead, an asexual longing for their souls to be joined. One of the most famous lines from the novel, “he’s more myself than I am. Whatever ours souls are made of, his and mine are the same”, is often misconstrued as representing the fiery passions of an amorous relationship between a man and a woman (Brontë 63). Instead, as a gender studies analysis reveals, Brontë is denouncing the loss of identity that one feels – man or woman – when they become consumed with trying to meet the patriarchal standards of heterosexual love. Therefore, the gender studies reading is illuminative in that it allows for an interpretation of one of the most important passages of the novel that defies traditional analysis of this passage, and is still relevant to the themes of the novel.

When generating ideas for each analysis, I found that I was able to come up with just as many ideas from my reading of the text that I could apply to a gender studies approach as I could for a feminist literary theory reading. The discrepancy came later, in the number of literary criticisms I could find to support my ideas. The feminist literary theory approach to reading *Wuthering Heights* was already clearly established, and my analysis is one of thousands out there looking at themes of feminist critique throughout the novel. For gender studies, however, I struggled to find one or two sources that explored the field of gender studies within *Wuthering Heights*. For me, this does not signify that there is nothing to analyze in terms of gender studies
in *Wuthering Heights*; rather, there is simply no established literary tradition in analyzing the role of gender and sexuality in the text.

Despite the fact that one is forced to ignore certain elements in the feminist literary theory analysis of *Wuthering Heights*, and that gender studies is in many ways a more developed version of feminist literary theory, I believe that ultimately, the feminist literary criticism functions as just an effective reading of *Wuthering Heights* as the gender studies approach. Although Brontë’s commentary on androgyny throughout the novel is illuminative, it is mainly because it is through this androgynous state that Catherine and Heathcliff are freed from their gender roles. The idea of the oppressiveness of gender roles can also be analyzed in a feminist literary critique, and therefore, the gender studies analysis reveals few implications about the novel that feminist literary theory does not already expose. In this way, both feminist literary criticism and gender studies produce an effective reading of issues of marginalization, gender stereotypes, and sexual identity in Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights*.

**Works Cited**


The Role of Money in the Keynesian and Neoclassical Models

Brendan Dowling

The great crash of 1929 called into question the notion that market participants, behaving competitively and rationally, will efficiently allocate resources within an economy. The consequential depression forced not just economists but the entire world to consider the possibility that perhaps markets are not efficient, and that rigidities exist which may have disastrous consequences. Certainly, with 25% unemployment in the United States, it would have been a difficult task for classical economists to convince a man who just lost his entire life savings that markets are efficient, and that free markets are the best mechanism for growth.

As with any perceived failure, alternatives began to be considered. One such response, which proved to be controversial, was that of John Maynard Keynes. The Keynesian model included the idea that markets fail, which at the time of publication was a notion that likely didn’t take a great deal of convincing. The Keynesian school offered an entirely new economic vantage point compared to the classical school of thought that dominated for so many years.

Keynesian and neoclassical ideologies can be described using differences regarding the idea of maximization. J.A. Trevithick eloquently expresses this idea, stating, “at the core of neoclassical economics lies a vision of an economy where the self-seeking of individuals entails the maximization of some objective function” (Trevithick pp. 90-1). This means that economic agents behaving in their own interest will pursue, and achieve, maximization of some sort, be it utility, output, or any other variable. Conversely, “Keynesian economics…was supposed to be built upon non-maximizing, ad hoc assumptions and constructs…” (Trevithick p. 175). With thousands upon thousands of families waiting in bread lines during the Great Depression, it was
certainly logical to abandon the assumption that free markets result in objective function maximization. Another way in which the Keynesian and Neoclassical schools differ is the role of money. It is to this concept we will now turn our attention.

Essential to any economy is the medium of exchange that allows economic agents to execute their decisions. While in both the classical and Keynesian schools money represents a vessel of exchange for goods and services, the distinction regarding its role in determining real economic variables highlights key ideological differences. In the neoclassical model, money is considered neutral, responsible for nominal changes but with no real influence over output, employment or other real metrics. Conversely, supply and demand dynamics in the market for money are essential to the Keynesian model. This non-neutrality of money makes a clear understanding of its role in the Keynesian model extremely important, and introduces an opportunity for comparison with the Neoclassical model. In this paper, I will present a comparison of the treatment of money in the Keynesian and Neoclassical models, paying particular attention to the extent to which each model incorporates money in the dynamics of real economic variables.

In the classical model, the concept of money neutrality seals money’s fate as a non-essential factor. In this school, the important mechanism by which economic agents express their preferences is through the relative, rather than absolute, dynamics of price. While money is the dominant unit of measurement for these prices (assuming an economy with limited bartering), what matters is the price of a good in relation to something else rather than the overall level. As Gregory Mankiw states, “if the quantity of the money in the economy were to double, everything would cost twice as much, and everyone’s income would be twice as high. But so what? The change would be nominal (by the standard meaning of “nearly insignificant”)” (Mankiw p. 744).
By giving it the role of only affecting nominal prices, the classical school dismisses money as merely a unit of measurement with no impact on real variables. To better understand this, we will further examine the idea of relative prices.

Supply and demand dynamics for an individual commodity on a micro level will determine the price of that good. Demand is influenced by phenomena such as changes in preferences and income (among many others), and supply is influenced by changes in technology and input costs, again among many other potential factors. In a vacuum, the role of money is vital because in that instance, the only price of the good by which to measure its value is the absolute price. However, in every economy there are countless commodities, all of which have their own supply and demand dynamics. The constant interaction of these forces eliminates the importance of absolute price, awarding the utmost importance to relative prices.

In this hypothetical closed economy, the same currency is used for every good and service. This means that currency and price fluctuations affect every good and service the exact same way, and therefore will not have any impact on the decision making process. Mankiw explained this concept, writing, “the things that people really care about – whether they have a job, how many goods and services they can afford, and so on – would be exactly the same” (Mankiw p. 744). This leads us to conclude that while money is essential to the process of exchanging goods and services, it does not play a role in the mind of economic agents as they make those choices.

Fluctuations in relative prices determine what is bought and sold in an economy, which ultimately determines output, employment, and a host of other performance metrics. Since absolute prices do not affect relative prices, the role of money is essentially non-existent from a real perspective. This ultimately leads to the conclusion that money’s role in the classical model
is to determine inflation. To prove this, we will now analyze the quantity theory of money, a key staple of classical theory.

As Trevithick explains, this theory states “…that the general price level is determined by the quantity of money in circulation, and that changes in the quantity of money lead to (more or less) equiproportionate changes in the price level…” (Trevithick p. 23). There are several different versions of this equation including Fisher’s income and exchange equations and the Cambridge cash-balance version, but all are arithmetic representations of the idea that the money value of all transactions in an economy is the amount of total monetary turnover over the same time period. Using the income version of Fisher’s equation, this leads to the equation MV = PY.

To arrive at the conclusion that money supply directly determines the price level, we will assume that V and Y, the velocity of money and aggregate output, respectively, change predictably and slowly, and thus can be taken as constants. This leaves us with M = P and the consequential notion that any change in the money stock will result in a directly proportional change in the price level, or that money directly causes inflation. For the purpose of comparing and contrasting the role of money in Keynesian and classical models it is not necessary to analyze what constitutes the money supply, because at this point we have already proven that in the classical model, the role of money is to determine inflation. Interpreting “real” to mean inflation-adjusted, money therefore has no effect on any real economic variables.

Conversely, in the Keynesian model, supply and demand dynamics in the market for money are a driving factor behind economic productivity. To the extent that we classify money as neutral from the classical perspective, money is non-neutral in the Keynesian model. An effective way to describe money’s importance from a Keynesian perspective is by describing its impact on investment, an important component of demand. By analyzing how money impacts
investment, it will be clear that in the Keynesian model money has a critical role in affecting real variables, as opposed to a minor role as only affecting nominal variables.

The supply of money is considered exogenous, determined by a body such as the Federal Reserve in the United States or the Bank of England in the United Kingdom, and will fluctuate along with central bank policies. The demand for money, however, is a reflection of economic agents’ preferences, and is a function of the interest rate. Changes in the supply and demand for money determine this interest rate, which is absolutely essential in determining the amount of demand for investment. At a lower interest rate, more projects are profitable and therefore more funds will be demanded in order to pursue these projects that might not be profitable at a higher rate of interest. Continuing this line of logic, interest rate fluctuations resulting from the supply and demand for money have serious implications on the capital stock. Any change in an economy’s capital stock will certainly change the level of output, so by this linear thought process we can conclude that dynamics with regards to money impact the total investment in an economy.

In a closed economy, the Keynesian model aggregate output is comprised of consumption, investment, and government spending \( (Y = C+I+G) \). While consumption is easily the largest component at around 70%, Keynes saw investment as unstable, and thought that changes in business sentiment would be the most likely to affect swings in demand. Given the importance of investment in the Keynesian model, and given that money supply and demand play a critical role in determining the interest rate, we can conclude that supply and demand dynamics in the money market are a key driver of investment, and therefore output.

This certainly grants a more important role for money than in the classical model, where changes in money supply simply have a nominal effect. To take this notion even further, the
reallocation of capital stock that results from swings in supply and demand for money change the relative prices of goods and services, not just the absolute prices. Where the classical model states that money is neutral and only affects nominal values, the Keynesian school interprets money as one of the key determinants of relative and nominal prices. It affects the relative prices by heavily influencing investment decisions, and also the nominal price because money is the unit of measurement in which the value of goods and services are quoted. By using a reinterpretation of the previous Mankiw quote, we can arrive at a key conclusion about the difference in money’s role: from a Keynesian perspective money does affect “the things that people really care about – whether they have a job, how many goods and services they can afford, and so on…”

Given that both the classical and Keynesian models have their own merits, a common use of the two in tandem is to accept the Keynesian interpretation for short run fluctuations, and turn to the classical model to explain long run economic behavior. In fact, David Hume, one of the first and most important thinkers of the classical tradition, did this hundreds of years ago as Mankiw describes:

“Even the classical economists themselves, such as David Hume, realized that classical economic theory did not hold in the short run. From his vantage point in 18th-century England, Hume observed that when the money supply expanded after gold discoveries, it took some time for prices to rise, and in the meantime, the economy enjoyed higher employment and production” (Mankiw p. 744)
This observation, although hundreds of years old, provides an objective foundation for the actions of central banks around the world in light of the recent financial crisis. In an ode to the Keynesian staple of the non-neutrality of money, monetary policymakers such as the Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank have pursued quantitative easing, expansionary monetary policy in which the central bank buys bonds to increase the money supply.

If classical economists ran monetary policy, they would see this as a measure of increasing inflation, but not as a measure to increase real investment, output, or employment. That the United States pursued three rounds of quantitative easing and the European Central Bank announced its own easing program this week speaks to the influence Keynesian ideas have on key decision makers around the world. By instituting its own quantitative easing program, the policy makers at the European Central Bank have expressed their belief that quantitative easing was at least partially a factor in the modest recovery in the United States, an economy with two consecutive quarters of above 4% growth. Furthermore, the central bank is expressing doubt in the neutrality of money in hopes that increasing the money supply will also boost real output and employment.

Certainly the debate on the merits of Keynesian and Neoclassical models will continue to inspire intellectuals around the world. In this paper, we have examined one of the key ideological differences in these two schools of thought. In the classical model, the role of money is simply to determine inflation, an idea justified by using the quantity theory of money. The Keynesian model takes a different approach, with money playing a key role in determining real performance. The Keynesian interpretation awards monetary policy greater power to affect real output and employment, and this may partially explain the expansionary policy found in major economies such as the United States and the Eurozone.
Works Cited


An Investigation of Social Commentary in Young Adult Dystopian Fiction:

*The Hunger Games and Divergent*

Alex Deluse

Recently, there has been a dramatic rise in the popularity of Young Adult (YA) dystopian fiction. With the increase in publications of these novels has come the increase in production of film adaptations of these novels. However, what is particularly interesting about this trend is what these popular texts say about society’s current social climate. Many of the popular books and movies center on strong, teenage, female heroes who are at odds with, and fight against, an oppressive government. As dystopian stories usually focus on “a negative cultural trend and imagine[s] a future or an alternative world in which that trend dominates every aspect of life”, these stories may demonstrate current social anxieties and possible solutions (Connors 147). By focusing on two particularly popular novels and film adaptations, *The Hunger Games* and *Divergent*, this paper hopes to explore the how the representation of gender and politics function as social commentary.

*The Hunger Games* is a YA dystopian novel, by Suzanne Collins, which was adapted into a film, directed by Gary Ross. *The Hunger Games* introduces audiences to Panem, a country located in post-apocalyptic North America. The country is divided into twelve districts and ruled by the oppressive government located in the Capitol. The Hunger Games were created by the government as a form of punishment for a rebellion that destroyed a previously existing thirteenth district. Each year, two children between the ages on twelve and eighteen from each of the districts, one male and one female, are ‘reaped’ as ‘tributes’ in the Games. The story centers
on sixteen-year-old female protagonist, Katniss Everdeen as she prepares for and enters the Hunger Games, after volunteering for her twelve-year-old sister.

*The Hunger Games* and *Divergent* are only two examples of the recent rise of YA dystopian fiction, but they are interesting to investigate together because of the many parallels they share. Some of the more basic parallels include that both protagonists are progressive sixteen-year-old females, who are subjected to oppressive governments that enforce firm societal divisions, and eventually rebel against said governments. Both Katniss and Tris face intensive combative training and psychological challenges as they progress through their narratives. Another similarity is that both novels are written in first person, where the films are not, “lead[ing] to there being a greater suspense in the film[s]” (Fisher 28). However, the parallels span beyond this simplistic ones. By further investigating *The Hunger Games* and *Divergent*, similarities in motifs and themes demonstrate the ways in which they are mediums for social commentary.
The way in which these novels and films represent gender is particularly interesting because of the way in which they are progressive. Both Collins and Roth penned strong, independent, young women as their main protagonists. Thus, rather than focusing on a hulking male action star, both films focus on their leading women by casting relatively well-known, strong women for their leads. In *The Hunger Games*, Oscar award winning actress Jennifer Lawrence plays Katniss Everdeen. In *Divergent*, Oscar nominated actress Shaliene Woodley plays Tris Prior. Both these actresses easily slide into their roles to represent the progressive characters fans love.

One way in which authors and filmmakers are creating more feminist texts is by bending the gender norms. Instead of presenting the clichéd ‘damsel in distress’ these novels and film “present [audiences] with… self-actualized female character[s] that [break] down gender inequalities” (Connors 145). This means that leading women are strong, smart, and independent as they step into positions that are seem as more masculine. In many ways they are “a heroine…new to children’s literature, and it seems like boys could identify not only with the boys in the book, but also with [the girls]” (Skinner and McCord 111). The same can be said of the films, perhaps suggesting that Linda Williams’s ideas about fluid gender are being presented to younger viewers (Williams) Thus, characters like Katniss and Tris are more progressive than former female characters.

One way that this is accomplished is by “featur[ing] tough girls who stand up for themselves and who demonstrate their fortitude and no-nonsense attitudes by hunting animals” (Oliver). *The Hunger Games* not only features a tough female hunter, but also establishes this characteristic in Katniss very early on, as the film opens with her hunting in the woods. Hunting is a stereotypically male activity so, “hunting prowess makes these girls more masculine”
As the story progresses, viewers are made aware that Katniss has essentially grown up in the woods hunting. She started at a very young age and “much of her strength and knowledge comes from hours spent hunting with [her father], learning about the woods, and using a bow and arrow” (Skinner and McComb 112).

When her father dies in a coalmining accident, Katniss takes over his role in the family, by using her hunting skills to provide food for her mother and sister, just as her father did. The fact that this is typically a male role is highlighted because it is also established that much of the time she is hunting, her friend Gale goes with her. Gale, who also lost his in the coalmines, stepped up to provide for his family by becoming the primary provider for his family. What is interesting about their hunting, however, is that even though it is seen as a masculine activity, Katniss and Gale see each other as equals in the woods. Rather than having Gale take care of Katniss and her family because he is a male, The Hunger Games allows them to work together hunting so each of them can provide for their own families.

In addition to demonstrating the brutality of women hunting, these films depict females participating in various other forms of violence. Both Katniss and Tris are forced to participate in intensive physical, combative behavior. Katniss and Tris’s “individual intelligence, quick wit, and occasional dashes of…expert combat training…make these characters natural leaders and empathy-laden protagonists” (Gender and Sexuality and YA 80). Katniss, before being sent into the brutal Hunger Games, goes through intensive training, meant to help her survive in the arena. Tris, as a part of her initiation to Dauntless, is forced to participate in hand to hand combat, learn how to wield a gun, and master throwing knives, among other physically demanding and violent acts. Where violence and trained fighting are typically associated with men, these films depict the strength and ability of women to “hold their own with the worst villains” (Oliver).
This bending of gender roles is not only for the women, however, men are also subjected to it as well. In *The Hunger Games*, there is a romantic subplot between Katniss and the male tribute from her district, Peeta Mellark, played by Josh Hutcherson in the film. Peeta, works at his family’s bakery in District 12, is considered relatively weak, and seems opposed to violence. In the film, his perceived weakness is highlighted when he falls off of cargo netting in front of the other tributes in training. Katniss tells him he should throw a heavy weight because the other tributes “are looking at you like you’re a meal” (*The Hunger Games*). Immediately after this, Peeta is shown using his artistic skills, which are viewed as inherently feminine, to camouflage his body. Thus, for the most part, Peeta is “inconsistent with [today’s] accepted ideals of how males should behave” (Taber, Woloshyn, and Lane 1030). However, this can be seen as a good thing because it allows Katniss and Peeta to be equals. More importantly, the film depicts that Peeta “needs [Katniss] for survival as much as she needs him” (Oliver).

The same can be said for Tris and her interactions with her love interest, Tobias ‘Four’ Eaton, played by Theo James. Tris and Four rely on each other for their well-being and survival. For example, in the second part of initiation at Dauntless, potentials are injected with a serum meant to stimulate the part of the brain that produces fear, creating a hallucination of the person’s deepest fears in what is called a ‘fear landscape’. Tris does exceptionally well in this part of the initiation, which is has the potential to expose Tris as Divergent. Four, who is also revealed as Divergent, is determined to help her stay unexposed and brings her into his own fear landscape. However, even though he is helping her by making her practice choosing the Dauntless decision to overcome fear, Tris is helping him face his fears. The fact that these male love interests rely on their female leads means that the girls are allowed “to be sexual, romantic, and loving without having it define who [they are] as a character” (Skinner and McCord 113).
Finally, the physical representations of the females in these movies must be noted. Generally, “Katniss is not overly sexualized or sexually objectified” (Skinner and McCord 112). Given the typical representation of women in “action” films, Katniss’s representation is surprisingly refreshing. Although she must dress up with fancy hair, makeup, and clothing in order to please the Capitol, when she is training and inside the games, she is not glamorized. Both the male and the female tributes must wear the same training uniform and are clothed very similarly in the actual games. In addition, as opposed to the female action star trope, in which the girl never looks like she is working too hard, while in the games, Katniss gets sweaty, has frizzy hair, and seemingly does not wear makeup. Tris also avoids becoming overly sexualized in the way that she is presented as well. At first, she is dressed in baggy gray clothing, and while she does change into tighter wardrobe upon entering Dauntless, it is all still ‘work out’ clothing that is similar to what the men wear. In addition, she is shown sweating and with her hair becoming disheveled as it would realistically when someone is working hard.

However, it is important to note that even with these seemingly progressive characters, there are still some problematic representations of gender. The characters are often forced or play into the stereotypical gender roles. Even The Hunger Games, does not stray from the love triangle cliché found in most YA novels and movies (Oliver). In promotion for the movie, there was a heavy emphasis on the question of who Katniss is better suited with, Peeta or Gale. This means that “Katniss’s value is still judged not on her merits, but on which man she chooses to be with”, which is problematic (Skinner and McCord 112). That being said, this suggests something inherently interesting to today’s current culture in that viewers want to see a girl struggle to choose the man she wants to be with.
In addition, a major plot point is that Katniss and Peeta are ‘star-crossed lovers’ who are going into a fight to the death with each other. While Katniss initially gets very angry with Peeta for revealing his crush on her yelling “he made me look weak”, the response she gets from Haymitch, their mentor, is “he made you look desirable” (The Hunger Games). This implies that nothing about her, other than this love story, is desirable to viewers and sponsors. What scholars see as worse than this implication is that even though the book tells readers that Katniss is upset that she came across “like a silly girl in a sparkling dress”, she still goes along with this fictional love story (Collins 136). Katniss’s compliance with this fiction “demonstrates that even a strong female like Katniss is forced to construct an alternative identity that enables her to create the impression of having conformed to gender expectations that her society imposes on her” (Connors 145-6). Although many see this as going against a pro-feminist movement, perhaps it is reflective of Mary Ann Doane’s theory of masquerade, in which women accept their objectification and use it to their advantage (Doane 427). Katniss, although hesitant, makes the decision to play along with this scheme because it is beneficial to her; it provides her a better chance of making it out of the Games alive. Thus, it may suggest that this gender representation, while at first glance looks problematic, may actually be working to empower women.

Tris presents more issues in this area because “while [she] follows in the footsteps of Katniss… as physically and mentally strong women…[her] flaws…mean that [she] offer hazardous lessons for admiring readers to internalize” (Gender and Sexuality and YA 80). This is most clearly exemplified by one of Tris’s fears in her landscape, “best described as a fear of intimacy” (Gender and Sexuality and YA 80). In the book, Tris explains that she “[has] been wary of affection all [her] life” (Roth 393). All the same, “the narrator tells readers that Tris ‘wants’ to have sex with [Four], but the description is anything but enticing”, questioning Tris’s
level of agency in the situation (Gender and Sexuality and YA 81). The movie takes this one step further by setting it up like a rape scene. Despite Tris’s repeated resistance, simulation Four pins her down on the bed and the simulation only ends after Tris kicks Four (Divergent). What is so complicated about this scene is that it “takes an otherwise independent and strong-willed protagonist and renders her all but helpless when encountering an attractive, male” (Gender and Sexuality and YA 81). While this is not necessarily an assuring representation of women, what the film does that the novel does not, is allow Tris to physically overpower her male love interest, showing strength in her character.

What the representation of women in both The Hunger Games and Divergent demonstrate is that currently, the subject of female empowerment is a topic gaining quite a bit of attention. While they may present potentially problematic situations, this may be purposeful, in that they are trying to prove a point about the way in which women are presented in media and how young women should adapt in order to challenge these norms and empower themselves. Despite the problems these stories present in their representation of gender, they are still able to spark conversations in younger audiences about problematic gender norms.

In addition to the commentary on gender, both The Hunger Games and Divergent seem to comment on the issue of politics and the use of technology. Both stories feature oppressively rigid governments with a tight control on society. In both stories this control is demonstrated through the “classed society that further stratifies the wealthy and working class” (Outsiders? 71). Further, both stories concentrate on the way in which government manipulates society through the use of advanced technology.

In The Hunger Games the Capitol is run by the iron fist of President Snow, who “exerts [his] power directly, via an authoritarian police force”, called the ‘peacekeepers’ (Fisher 29).
Since the Games are a form of punishment for a previous rebellion, the government is constantly reinforcing the extreme control they hold over their citizens. They even ‘teach’ about it in school, praising the government system through propaganda whenever possible. In addition, one of the reasons the Games exist is “to underscore the impossibility of any upward movement for most, even as it holds up the remote (and unappealing) chance of a limited escape for the competition’s victors” (Fisher 30). Thus, the government constantly reinforces the strict class system, providing large amounts of fear while offering a small amount of hope. In the film, President Snow, played by Donald Sutherland, says “[hope] is the only thing stronger than fear. A little hope is effective. A lot of hope is dangerous” further proving the overarching reason for the Games (The Hunger Games).

In addition, there appears to be the fear of constant surveillance, like in any authoritarian regime. This is important because it has been shown that “the knowledge that [citizens are] potentially watched [is] presumed to motivate [them] to self-monitor and self-discipline” (Connors 159). Thus, the society that Katniss lives in is constantly on guard, though Katniss manipulates the system by selling the meat she illegally hunts to the peacekeepers. The way in which Panem functions is made to seem more realistic to audiences through allusions to historical events. For example, after the twelve-year-old female tribute from District 11, the agricultural district, is murdered, the district’s citizens begin to riot. In response, the rioters are “whipped mercilessly while others are made to watch, a punishment that calls to mind the institution of slavery…underscor[ing] the Capitol’s commitment to governing through…a logic of domination” (Connors 151).

Divergent also features this oppressive government through the tightly controlled and restrictive faction system. Citizens are expected to conform to one set of values and those that do
not pose a threat to the system. At one point in the film, the Erudite faction leader, Jeanine Matthews, played by Kate Winslet, discusses how “human nature destroyed [peace]”, which is why the faction system was created (Divergent). In this society, the mantra “faction before blood” is instilled in the society in the propagandist “Faction History” course students are required to take in school (Roth 43). With this constant reinforcement, most people follow along unthinkingly.

The manipulation of technology on the behalf of the government also poses an interesting commentary on the technological obsession and “paranoia” of the postmodern world (Jameson 218). In The Hunger Games, the paranoia of the contestants is legitimized as they are injected with trackers in order for the game makers, and thus, the cameras to follow tributes every move. In addition, the Games are hosted in artificial landscapes where “the worst tortures… are genetically engineered or technologically enhanced hybrid creatures that are far more deadly than anything in nature” (Oliver). These ‘muttations’ are created through the genetic mixing of two animals and serve as deadly weapons crafted by the game makers. This extreme manipulation of science and technology is clearly demonstrated in the representation of the Games’ control room in the film.

In Divergent, citizens are subjected to simulations on a regular basis. The aptitude test they take at sixteen are drink induced simulations that are monitored on computers. Beyond this, the Dauntless have even more advanced simulations induced by injection. It is explained that the injections “in addition to containing [a] transmitter, the serum stimulates the amygdala, which is the part of the brain involved in processing negative emotions—like fear—and then induces a hallucination” (Roth 231). Thus, the technology has advanced enough for the faction to not only create a serum that manipulates the brain, but also transmits the data onto the computer, while
allowing someone else to watch what is occurring in the persons head. By the end of the story, it is revealed that a serum has been created that can turn humans into “mindless drones” who receive instructions from headquarters (Divergent). This, in turn, results in the Dauntless and the Erudite launching an attack against the Abnegation in which the Dauntless are forced to mindlessly murder Abnegation.

These examples of government control and technological manipulation seem to demonstrate reasons why audiences should not be unthinkingly accepting things as they are. These stories pose questions about the level of trust people put in their government and start conversations about the way in which oppressive societies like Panem and future-Chicago become that way. They also take certain current technological advances and take them a few steps further, making the advancement that exists in these future societies seem possible. In a way, these stories “invites [audiences] to be less accepting of technology” and question how they impact the way that society functions. The ways in which the characters of Katniss and Tris rebel against their governments bring to light the way in which an individual can impact society. Like the issue of gender, these stories allow readers and viewers to engage in a discussion about the world’s reliance on technology and the possible threats it can have, as well as individual belief that they can cause change.

By investigating the rising trend of YA dystopian fiction, a trend of repeated symbols and themes present themselves. Novels and films like The Hunger Games and Divergent present audiences with strong female protagonists. By doing this, the stories are able to demonstrate ways in which the breaking of gender stereotypes can be accepted and used to empower women. In addition, the representation of oppressive and technologically obsessed governments ask readers to question the current preoccupation with the latest technology and how each individual
has the power to create change. These stories allow for deeper investigation of real-life issues because “fiction can be less threatening than a direct discussion of a theme”, as there is enough critical space to allow for self-reflection (Taber, Woloshyn, and Lane 1023). Thus, these stories can be considered social commentary, reflecting on current issues and the ways in which today’s society can gain agency and empowerment.

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“All the world over, so easy to see, people everywhere just want to be free.” The 1968 school year began with The Rascals topping the Billboard Charts, and students everywhere were taking their lyrics to heart. Be it Vietnam, Nixon, Civil Rights or Women’s Rights, campuses across the country overflowed with activism and controversy. Among elite colleges in the Northeast—traditionally all-male institutions—a tidal wave of progressive change was taking place, a highlight of which was the admission of women at many of these schools. With widespread student support, and administrative consent (albeit for reasons other than equality), Trinity College accepted their first women for the 1969-1970 school year. At the same time, when the subject of co-education was raised at Amherst College, the student body’s ambivalence and the administration’s opposition culminated into a failure to integrate fully for another five years, later than almost all of their peers. While the administrations and trustees of both Trinity and Amherst showed revenue-driven and self-interested motives for co-education—which resulted in their unwillingness to adequately support their first women—the prevalence of opposition among Amherst students and officials resulted in Amherst’s first women having a more difficult experience than the first women to attend Trinity.

While the Trinity administration’s motives for implementing co-education placed economics and academic competitiveness above equality, the student body’s support for co-education evidenced a progressive campus community. Evidence of the administration’s reasons for admitting women can be found in a private memorandum written by Robert Fuller, the Dean
of Students at the time of the first admission of women, to Theodore Lockwood, who served as president of the College from 1968-1981. In the report, Fuller explained how co-education would allow Trinity to increase their academic competetiveness, writing, “we could replace the less qualified among the men we are now admitting with women who were the academic equals of the upper half of our entering men.”ii According to Fuller, this would prevent Trinity from falling behind their peer institutions, including Swarthmore College, Wesleyan University, and Williams College. He also claimed that accepting women would decrease the economic burden the College faced, writing, “The admission of women would reduced this demand [for scholarships], because a family seldom considers sending a daughter to an expensive private college unless it can pay her way.”iii While the Fuller memo points to the administration’s revenue-driven motives for implementing co-education, evidence shows that the student body was ready to welcome women to the College. A poll taken by the Trinity Tripod in October of 1968, less than a month after Fuller wrote his report, showed that 76% of students were in support of having females as classmates and peers.iv This proves that, while the administration may not have been ready to accept women for reasons of social progress, they would find at least some level of support from the student body.

Although they finally bowed to the pressures of competition in 1974, the Amherst College administration and Board of Trustees were initially very reluctant to admit women, and their hesitance was initially matched by ambivalence on the part of the student body. It was not until the early 70’s that the tide of student support for co-education switched in favor of the admission of women. Discussion surrounding co-education at Amherst gained steam around the same time that Trinity admitted its first women, yet the College claimed that the problems surrounding a switch to co-education were too great to overcome. According to Joan Annett,
who took classes at Amherst as a part of the “12-College Exchange” in 1970, wrote, “The feasibility of coeducation at Amherst is, undeniably, a complex issue; however, most of the obstacles involved are not as insurmountable as many of the officials of the College would have us believe.” Despite the rapid acceptance of co-education among elite Northeastern colleges, the Amherst administration managed to paint the difficulties attached to co-education as being too difficult to overcome. And while any resistance to co-education prior to 1970 by Trinity officials and trustees was counterbalanced by strong student support for co-education, this was not the case at Amherst. In December of 1968, two months after 76% of Trinity officials had declared their support for co-education, only 49% of Amherst students did the same. It was not until 1973 that the support for the admission of women began to grow among students and faculty, and the administration finally decided to appoint a committee to study the benefits of transitioning to co-education. A Boston Globe article from November of 1974 reported that, “there was considerable opposition to it by the alumni...however, as other schools began to accept women and pressure for the change built up among Amherst faculty and students, the trustees last year agreed to consider at this year’s meeting if a study could show its benefits to the college.” The results of this study finally convinced the Amherst community to accept co-education, but the absence of active support for co-education over the last few years would prove to predicate an uphill battle for Amherst’s first women—one that they would find themselves undertaking with very little external support.

The first generation of women at Trinity found that, while the administration was often ambivalent to their struggles, they could rely on the support of certain portions of the student body and the faculty. In the classroom, while isolated instances of prejudice were certainly present, women reported that the system as a whole treated them with fairness. One member of
the class of 1979 reported that they “don’t remember being treated any differently than [their] other male classmates.”

Not all of the early women at Trinity corroborated these reports of academic equality, including another member of the class of 1979 who recalled that they “felt discrimination against women by faculty, in the classroom—blatant—with words.”

While Noreen Channels did not report the majors of the individuals quote in her survey for the sake of privacy, the disparity in academic experiences had by Trinity’s first women suggests that the integration of women into the classroom was welcomed differently by different academic disciplines.

Outside of the classroom, Trinity’s first women faced numerous, terrifying struggles, but reported that they were able to find support among the student body, which they found especially vital in the absence of administrative support. One member of the class of 1979 recalled the reluctance of the Administration to act on there behalf, saying, “Even though there were a significant number of physical assaults on women, there was essentially no college-sponsored remedy,” while a 1984 graduate remembers, “the response of [a male administrator], when told of a gang rape of a women at Trinity (at a frat[ernity]) by male students, was ‘boys will be boys’”

The actions of the Trinity administration during the first years of co-education explicitly speak to their priorities; the reputation of the College was a far higher consideration than the health, safety, and wellbeing of its female students. Another member of the class of 1979 provided a recollection that, while providing further evidence of the College administration’s skewed priorities and general apathy to the safety of women, spoke to the courage of a more progressive student body that recognized female students as their peers, and recognized their safety as being an important issue. She recalls,

My friends and I were outraged when there were a number of rapes and assaults (1974-75) and TC would not post composite drawings of the men who were responsible. We
were told it would hurt the reputation of the school. The make students, without the help of the school, organized escort services and in 2 cases that I witnessed, the students cornered and/or beat up 2 men who’d been assaulting or planning to assault women. One of the suspects was caught in my dorm bathroom, hiding with a knife.xiii

The above passage, while highlighting the failure of the Trinity administration to support their first female students, makes it clear that these students were not entirely alone in their difficult journey. Brave male students, without any support from the College, stood by Trinity’s first women as they faced the incredibly daunting challenge of integrating into the campus community.

The first women to attend Amherst, in light of the broad resistance to co-education, often felt that they were unwelcome and excluded. From when they first stepped on campus, the first female students were made to feel as though there presence was opposed and their admission was illegitimate. Alissa Reyness, a 1981 graduate, reflected on the hostile campus culture, saying,

When school started that fall, there were rumors about coeducation. Rumors that the majority of the alumni, and many students and faculty were against it. The decision (so the rumors went) had not been based on notions of equality and equal access, but on economics: Amherst was losing out in the application pool to the now coeducational Big Three. Another rumor was that the high proportion of attractive women that first year was an intentional sop to the unwilling students, alumni, and faculty.xiii

Reyness’ account of the rumors that were circulating campus during their first year it very easy to imagine how unwelcome women felt in the Amherst community. However, the hostility went beyond the campus murmurings and was sometimes far more direct. One female member of the class of 1981 an incident where she realized how blatant and universal the hostility could be. She writes,

One very strong, clear—and still sad—memory I have was of a reunion dinner in 1980. The president at the time came in to speak and he was booed—by a lot of people there—because he had been instrumental in the coeducation of the College. For me it was like a deep wound—to see this great man treated badly and disrespectfully like this—and also
to feel that these people—alumni—hadn’t wanted me at the College. I’ll never forget this scene. I found a male friend after this and tried to explain my hurt to him and he didn’t even understand.\textsuperscript{xiv}

The first women at Amherst, as evidenced above, felt isolated and unwelcome on their own campus. Emily Cooperman of the class of 1982 described “a whole atmosphere, a kind of culture, in which [she] felt [her]self clearly a foreigner.”\textsuperscript{xxv} This experience differs from that of Trinity’s first women in that women at Amherst felt that they were ostracized on a more universal level, and they felt that they were without allies.

Since these first women bravely carved their way through Trinity and Amherst, both institutions have come a long way in terms of treating women fairly, but both still have a long way to go. One member of the Trinity College class of 2016 reported that she has thus far had a “fair classroom experience,” but that “Trinity is a male-dominated social institution.”\textsuperscript{xxvi} Another member of class of 2016 spoke of the mistreatment of female faculty that still exists at Trinity, saying that, “My advisor is leaving for [another University]…because she can’t deal with how she’s treated as a woman by her colleagues.”\textsuperscript{xxvii} This student also noted a present stigma surrounding the Woman and Gender Studies program at Trinity, saying that, “[as a Woman and Gender Studies minor,] people assume I’m a feminist who doesn’t shave their legs.”\textsuperscript{xxviii} The experiences of women at Amherst have come a long way since co-education. One member of the class of 2015 said, “I don’t see my experience at Amherst as being as scripted by my gender as I think I might have felt soon after co-education.” However, she noted that “many classroom spaces are still male-dominated, and men will speak disproportionately to the number that are in the class.”\textsuperscript{xix} While the framework laid by the first women at each of these institutions has done a great deal to improve the female condition at Amherst and Trinity, continuing to fight for equal treatment is still of the utmost importance.
The first women to attend both Trinity and Amherst faced an incredibly daunting battle, and found that their respective administrations did little to support them. However, support among male students at Trinity (which was largely absent at Amherst), resulted in Trinity’s early female graduates finding a support network that was not present at Amherst. Women at each school, with or without allies, fought for their safety, their rights, and the opportunity for their voice to be heard. While both schools have made tremendous progress, women in the NESCAC and beyond are still fighting for the same rights, and it is my hope that by better understanding where the battle has been, we are all better equipped to fight for a better, more just future.

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iı Robert Fuller, “The Admission of Women Undergraduates to Trinity College,” September 30, 1968.
vı “Amherst and Coeducation: A Summary.” *News of Amherst College: Amherst College Bulletin* 63, no. 6 (March 1974).
xıvi Monteleone, Isabel. Interview with Isabel Monteleone, Trinity College, Class of 2016. Interview by Evan Turiano. Face to Face, April 21, 2014.
xıvii Reny, Olivia. Interview with Olivia Reny, Trinity College, Class of 2016. Interview by Evan Turiano. Face to Face, April 20, 2014.
Ellis-Moore, Kyra. Interview with Kyra Ellis-Moore, Amherst College, Class of 2015. Interview by Evan Turiano. Email, April 22, 2014.