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**OCCAM'S
RAZOR**

2014

vol.4



OCCAM'S RAZOR

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FOREWORD

Every student has written dozens, if not scores, of papers in the course of their academic career. Some have been written in the wee hours of the morning, the author fueled by naught but energy drinks; others have been labored over for weeks on end, the author finely tuning arguments and carefully selecting evidence. It is the latter type of essay that we at Occam's Razor have made it our mission to honor.

First published four years ago, our student-run academic journal was founded by students Chris Crow and Cameron Adams to showcase the very best of undergraduate work at Western. They nurtured the journal in its infancy and created a publication that was itching to make itself known on campus. From Crow and Adams, the journal passed into the care of Glen Tokola, and it was under his leadership that Occam's entered its adolescence. The third edition experimented with a bold new style and deftly blended stunning artistic submissions with thought-provoking written works. It is in the wake of last year's success that the staff of the Fourth Edition makes its entrance.

Tessa Woods, our dauntless and dedicated Editor-in-Chief, and I saw that Occam's Razor was rapidly maturing into an institution on campus, and we have dedicated this year to cultivating our publication's growth. Before I continue, I would like to say that I cannot thank nor praise the editors and designers enough for their work this year; goodness knows how many hours they put into this publication. In the staff's editorial meetings this year we returned again and again to the refrain of "originality, accessibility, and academic excellence." Every essay published was selected based upon those high standards. In our selection process, we never shied away from controversial topics as it is ultimately our mission as a scholarly publication to help foster academic debate.

Now, we look towards even more transition and the publishing of our fifth edition in the coming school year. As you read this publication, we encourage you to think about what you are reading as a critic, scholar, and community member. Western's campus has proven time and time again that we can turn a critical eye to ourselves and create positive change in our community under almost any circumstance. It is therefore

in that spirit of constructive dialogue that we encourage and invite you to engage with one another about the essays that you will read in Occam's Razor. After all, if we do not apply what we have learned, then we have failed as students.

It is with great pride and pleasure that I, on behalf of the 2013-2014 staff, present to you the fourth edition of Occam's Razor.

In scholarship,



NEIL H. CHRISTENSON
PRESIDENT & BUSINESS DIRECTOR

ARETÉ

BY RYAN WALKER

*Greek ideals and the rise
and fall of the polis culture*

The polis culture of Greece was a bright, brief moment in human history. The Greek experiment still fascinates and perplexes two thousand years later as questions and issues raised by the Greeks remained unsolved. The history of ancient Greece has never lacked attention from scholars. There is no scarcity of scholarship on either their political or intellectual developments—in fact no stone has been left unturned. The purpose of this paper and the inquiry behind it is to explore and assess the interplay between the two and how they may have influenced each other, in hopes that the decline of the ancient Greek πόλις might be better understood.

ἡ πόλις (pl.) πόλεις: **POLIS**

One's city or government. English words like politics, political, etc. are derived from this word.

ἡ ἀρετή: ARETÉ

Loosely translates to virtue or excellence.

The Greeks were always slaves to their ideals. Ideas became their greatest asset and eventually became their greatest weakness. Chief among them was ἀρετή. The term has no easy equivalent in English, and it takes a Greek like Herodotus to describe it. In his *Histories*, Herodotus tells a story about a Corinthian tyrant named Periander. Seeking advice on how to best govern his πόλις, Periander sends his messenger to another tyrant named Thrasybulus. When he hears Periander's question, Thrasybulus silently takes the messenger to a field and cuts cornstalks that have outgrown the rest. Upon hearing the report, Periander quickly grasps the message: kill any possible competitors.ⁱ Thrasybulus's philosophy is the opposite of ἀρετή. Instead, the Greeks (tyrants excluded) embraced and celebrated the drive to compete, to be the best, to achieve virtue, excellence, and glory in the eyes of their peers and Gods. This is ἀρετή.ⁱⁱ

Greek ideas about ἀρετή intertwined with the πόλις. The word πόλις itself comes from the older πτόλις, which meant fortress.ⁱⁱⁱ Even though the meaning shifted from fortress, to city, then to the abstract concept of the citizen-body of a city-state (the community), it is clear that πόλις always retained a militaristic connotation.^{iv} A citizen's first duty to his polis was to fight and to die if needed for his country.^v This reflects the harsh world from which Archaic Greece emerged in the sixth century.^{vi} In archaic Greece life was dangerous and harsh. Ἀρετή grew out of

the need for members of the πόλις to protect their home. Thus the πόλις took on a defensive tendency during the archaic period. As the πόλεις grew prosperous, the meaning of ἀρετή expanded to serving one's πόλις in all aspects of life, whether defending the πόλις, winning glory for the πόλις in athletic competition, or guiding the πόλις through politics. Indeed, ἀρετή especially influenced political theory in the archaic period. The Greeks began to realize that it was difficult to achieve ἀρετή with men like Periander and Thrasybulus cutting others down.

As the πόλεις developed, a few powerful families controlled most arable land. In agrarian societies, where currency does not control the market, arable land grants one both prestige and independence. It also grants one the wealth needed to purchase arms, allowing one the ability to fight and win glory in battle. In other words, these families became the wealthy aristocrats of the πόλις.

The age of the ὀπλίτης had begun. Eventually, they controlled a disproportionate amount of the land, dominating the decision making within the πόλις, and held the exclusive right and responsibility to fight, which in turn granted them more wealth, prestige and power. For anyone outside of the aristocracy, it was a vicious circle. As the ὀπλίτης revolution gained momentum, more fighters were needed. This new

ὀπλίτης: HOPLITE

The citizen-soldier of the polis. The name comes from their shields (the hoplon). They were usually free citizens wealthy enough to purchase their own bronze armor and weapons. They often fought in the now famous phalanx formation, which allowed the hoplites to protect each other while they fought.

στάσις:

literally, 'a standing' but the Greeks used it to refer to times of civil strife.

δῆμος:

'the people' often as a political entity

middle class was happy enough to fight for the πόλις, but it did not take long for them to realize that they shared in the dangers with the aristocracy yet enjoyed none of the privileges.^{vii} Often these discrepancies led to periods of **στάσις**, or civil unrest, as the lower classes clashed with the upper classes over land redistribution. In the worst scenarios, one aristocrat, a Periader or Thrasybulus, would promise the people, the **δῆμος**, the land they were clamoring for and overthrow the aristocracy, planting himself as tyrant.^{viii} This struggle went on throughout the archaic period and forced the Greeks to reconsider their laws. How could they distribute the land fairly? Could laws help men share well?

Many communities understood that a compromise had to be made or their πόλις would collapse. They called on sages and lawgivers to redistribute land and create laws to prevent hostile internal takeovers and civil war.^{ix} By 500 BCE, the Greeks were characterizing this solution as **εὐνομία**.^x Semi-legendary men like Solon and Lycurgus

εὐνομία:

'good laws' or 'good order'

ὁ νόμος (pl.) νόμοι: LAW

Law or custom. English gets words such as economy, autonomy, etc. from this word.

created laws, **νόμοι**, in efforts to distribute the land more equitably while empowering the middle class by protecting their ownership. Again, since land ownership meant more wealth, and more wealth meant more political power, new organs of government were created in order to give the ὀπλίτοι a voice.^{xi} Often the ὀπλίτοι made up the assembly (ἐκκλησία), while the aristocrats retained some of their power through the council (βουλή), senate (γερουσία), or as magistrates (ἄρχοντες).^{xii} For the first time most men, as citizens of the πόλις, had a say in whether or not they would go to war and which laws they might pass.^{xiii} Through **εὐνομία**^{xiv}, they were now empowered politically, economically, and socially. They all shared the power of a king with each other, meaning they could now all compete for ἀρετή. The playing field was now level.

Only the Gods and νόμοι now ruled a citizen of the πόλις.^{xv} Herodotus claims in the third book of the *Histories* that 'Custom (νόμοι) is king of all.'^{xvi} Demaratus tried to inform Xerxes that the Spartans' 'master is the law and they're far more afraid of it than your men are of you.'^{xvii} The words of Demaratus are misleading. The Greeks did not fear the law in the same sense Xerxes's troops feared him. The law gave a citizen his power to speak and to be heard. The law guaranteed the citizen his land. Illegal actions could indeed result in punishment from men and gods, but the Greeks loved their laws, the children of their ideals, above all else. Plato and Aristotle reiterate Herodotus when they describe the ideal state as one that controls every detail of a citizen's life. In the Greek mind, there was no distinction between the state and the citizen.^{xviii} Herodotus's views concerning polis culture are summed up in the book five, section 78 of the *Histories*:

"So the Athenians flourished. Now the advantages of everyone having a voice in the political procedure are not restricted just to single instances, but are plain wherever one looks. For instance, while the Athenians were ruled by tyrants, they were no better at warfare than any of their neighbors, but once they had got rid of the tyrants they became vastly superior. This goes to show that while they were under an oppressive regime they fought below their best because they were working for a master, whereas as free men each individual wanted to achieve something for himself."^{xix}

The pursuit of ἀρετή and εὐνομία culminated in 480/479 BCE with Greece's famous victory against the Persians.^{xx} While there are numerous reasons for Greece's success, one reason stands paramount; the Greeks were compelled to fight harder than the Persians for the sake of ἀρετή—the law demanded that they defend their homeland at all cost. This victory marks the Greek Moment. A disparate army from many πόλεις, prone to bickering amongst themselves, defeated the mightiest army of the period. In retrospect, this victory would prove bittersweet. Such a great victory sowed the seeds of the πόλις culture's demise.^{xxi}

The end of the Persian Wars marked the start of the Pentekontaetia, a fifty year period characterized by two important developments: the beginning of the intellectual revolution Greece is most remembered for and Athenian imperialism. During the Pentekontaetia, Greek intellectual investigation gradually shifted from the community of the πόλις to the individuality of Man.^{xxii} This shift in thought ultimately yielded dire consequences for Greek πόλις culture. Though the new humanist movement further empowered the Greek individual, opened up new ways of thinking about the world, and gave birth to science and philosophy, it came at the expense of the culture the Greeks held so dear. It warped the most important aspect of the πόλις culture—ἀρετή. The change in thought began with thinkers like Hippocrates. His empirical study of man's body signaled a gentle inward turning of the Greek mind.^{xxiii} Hippocrates wanted to better understand how the human body functioned. His works stressed using empirical knowledge rather than mythical explanations. He makes the claim that any clear knowledge of nature cannot be obtained from any source but medicine.^{xxiv} Hippocrates and the physicians pioneered this new way of thinking, and the philosophers pursued empiricism in subsequent decades. The Sophists, however, were the catalyst that changed Greek thought.^{xxv}

The Sophists were professional teachers.^{xxvi} They tended to reside in Athens, teaching young nobles many subjects, usually focused on politics and the art of persuasion.^{xxvii} Many of these men were skeptics; Protagoras is quoted as saying 'There are two contradictory λόγοι about everything.'^{xxviii} Protagoras believed a truly good speaker

could argue persuasively for any side of any argument. Another important shift came in the new view of νόμοι. The Sophists began to see the νόμοι as mere conventions that limited man's potential to achieve ἀρετή. The value of the νόμοι was soon determined by their relevance to contemporary social and political concerns.^{xxix} More importantly, conceptions of ἀρετή also changed during this period. Before, the term referred to the degree of virtue or perfection achieved through contributions to the community. Now it referred to the degree to which man could achieve honor and success for himself.^{xxx} While this might be a noble goal for the individual, it proved disastrous for the πόλις culture. The πόλις could not survive as a political entity without its citizens consciously maintaining and supporting it. Relativism and subjectivism had now seeped into the Greek mind.^{xxxi} The celebration of the individual coupled with such skepticism about the world proved a very dangerous combination.

The effects of these teachings manifested at the end of the Pentekontaetia and continued into the fourth century. Politicians throughout Greece began to pursue their own personal interests over that of their πόλις. This had, of course, been going on since the start of Greek history, but the magnitude of such actions was now greater. In the seventh and sixth centuries this might have resulted in tyrannical rule; in the fifth century, new ideas led to imperialism.^{xxxii}

Returning to the start of the Pentekontaetia, when these new ways of thinking were beginning to take root, Greece had two leaders: Sparta and Athens. The latter led her allies in

ὁ λόγος (pl.) λόγοι: REASONS

Originally a word meaning, 'plea' or 'opinion,' its meaning expanded to 'word,' 'speech,' 'account' and 'reason. Philosophers like the Sophists and Aristotle used it to mean 'argument'.

the creation of the Delian league.^{xxxiii} This league was created to ravage the **Great King's** holdings, to liberate subjugated states and to protect Asiatic Greek states as autonomous entities.^{xxxiv} From the start, this league set precedents. It was the first league of Greek πόλεις centered on the sea. Before the creation of the Delian league, Greeks fought primarily on land in phalanx formations. It was also an offensive organization, very different from the defensive posture of the πόλις. Military endeavors had always focused on defending the πόλις, not conquest. Alliances up to this point had been defensive pacts. Finally, unlike other leagues, membership turned out to be permanent.^{xxxv} By the 430s the league had transformed into an Athenian empire. This transformation was subtle and gradual. How could such a situation arise without any other Greeks (except possibly the Lacedaemonians) noticing?

One factor was money. Before even the Persian Wars Athens had struggled to pay for a navy.^{xxxvi} Ironically, the Athenians found a solution from the Persian tradition. They instigated a system of tribute, based on a historically successful Persian mode, in which vulnerable πόλεις paid tribute to the League for protection from the barbarian king.^{xxxvii} The introduction of monetary tribute, or a φόρος, instead of manpower, further alienated the league system from the πόλις culture, both within the league and within the πόλεις paying tribute. The πόλεις which paid tribute, could not claim equality with the Athenians in League matters, since the Athenians were at the forefront of military action and therefore the risk.^{xxxviii} The arrangement also gave the Athenians greater martial experience than the πόλεις which paid tribute, disrupting εὐνομία within the league. The power differential increased throughout the Pentekontaetia. Moreover, in the 450s the Delian treasury moved from the island of Delos to the city of Athens which proved Delian policy was transforming into Athenian policy.^{xxxix} The Athenians were able to argue that the treasury should be kept with the πόλις that was providing most of the ships. Even Thucydides was forced to admit that Athens purchased its power.^{xl}

GREAT KING:

A term used by Greek Authors to refer to the King of Persia.

The offensive posture of a navy also helped change Athens into a tyrant among states. As noted above, participation in the archaic πόλις that granted one ἀρετή often meant engaging in defensive military action. However, participation in the new Athenian/Delian culture was based on feeding the money-hungry navy through offensive operations like raiding. Furthermore, the land owning hoplite was too expensive to form the basic unit of a navy, for navies need far more men.^{xli} The professionalization of the Athenian navy foreshadowed the same process of land-based forces in the fourth century. Instead of middle and upper class landowners defending their plots, the new soldier was paid a wage by his general. The end result of this was that the ὀπλίται lost their social prestige. The new soldier demanded his voice be heard over theirs. Thus, στάσις again began to grip many πόλεις for much of the fourth century.

Whatever their intentions in creating the Delian League, even Athenians called their state an 'empire' by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.^{xlii} Despite the shift from πόλις to empire, like other Greeks Athenians still desired ἀρετή. As a πόλις, Athens wanted to compete with Sparta for the title of "guardian of Greek freedom" to be hegemon of Hellas.^{xliii} Most shocking of all for other Greek states was that Athenian desire for supremacy was not considered shameful, for the Athenians were proud of what they had become. They were achieving ἀρετή. To the other Greek πόλεις, Athens had become a tyrant among states, a new threat akin to Persia.

The Megarean Decree, the last straw for the Spartans in series of insults and transgressions, reveals how far down the imperial path Athens had trod. The Athenians accused the πόλις Megara of killing a herald and decreed that Megarian ships were banned from any harbor and marketplace within the Delian league. This event reveals Athenian attitudes towards their allies in the league—the word 'subjects' becoming a more appropriate term.^{xliv} Athens also began taking away the ability of other cities to defend themselves, striking at the core of what it meant to be a πόλις. Two cities, Naxos and Thasos, attempted to leave the league in the 470's and 460's. The Athenians besieged and defeated both cities. Each city was forced to tear down their walls

REALPOLITIK:

A term coined by Ludwig von Rochau to refer to politics based on brute, Machiavellian power.

and their fleets were confiscated. Therein lies the tragedy of Greek history, that the first democracy, a potent and vibrant force, used its potency to subjugate its neighbors and weaken the Greek world.^{xlv} Even Thucydides, a staunch supporter of Athens, argues that the city had begun to grasp at more and more and more.^{xlvi} In 434, the Spartans declared war on Athens. It would later be known as the Peloponnesian War.

Considering the Sophist movement, it is clear why **Realpolitik** became the policy of the Peloponnesian War. Many policy makers in Athens, tutored as youngsters by the Sophists, favored this skeptical mode of thought, especially as the war progressed. Episodes like the near massacre of the Mytilenians show that thinking was never uniform in Athens.^{xlvii} Even so, this new cynical view of the world often prevailed. The tragic example of the Melians shows the stark contrast between the new Athenian worldview and the ethics of the *ὀπλίτης* from the archaic period:

Melians: "Surely then, if you take such desperate action to keep from losing your empire, and those already in thrall do so to be delivered, it is complete baseness and cowardice for us, still free, not to go to every length before being enslaved."

Athenians: "No provided you consider reasonably. For this is not an evenly matched contest over your manliness, lest you incur disgrace, but planning for your survival, lest you stand up to those who are much stronger."

Thucydides Book V §§85–113

The Athenians summarized this new way of thinking as 'The strong do what they will, while the weak do what they must.'^{xlviii} It shows the danger of a foreign policy constructed from ideas fostered by the Sophists. *Ἀρετή* at this point became a buzz word, a tool demagogues and ambitious politicians used for their own ends.

The Athenians lost the war to the Spartans in 404, but they had opened Pandora's Box with the Delian League. The era of war was far from over. The Greeks in 404 had

now tasted empire and seen the power, the prestige and especially the wealth that came with it. It is during this period of wars *ἀρετή*, warped and twisted, began to work against the *πόλις* culture from within. Greeks still pursued virtue through excellence, but they were holding on to an old word with different meanings, motivations, and goals.

It is even more disappointing that Sparta was next to fall to the temptation of empire.^{xlix} Certainly the actions of leaders like **Lysander** helped tug Sparta toward an imperial policy, but the notion that she was 'forced' into such a policy is suspect at best.¹ Furthermore, the idea that the Spartans would bring greater freedom to Greek *πόλεις*, whether other communities wanted help or not, understandably infuriated even her oldest and staunchest allies (such as Corinth). Even more infuriating were the Spartan garrisons and governors left to help protect the *πόλεις* from themselves.^{li} Throughout their foray into imperialism, the Spartans claimed they were attempting to hold up traditional ideals, spreading the *εὐνομία* of a simpler time, when Greeks could pursue *ἀρετή* as they wished.

Thebes followed Sparta in a bid for all of Greece, which came close to fruition. The Thebans, unlike the rest of Greece, were able to adapt their tactics in warfare to fit the demands of the time. They built a large professional army and shattered Spartan hegemony permanently at the battle of Leuctra.^{lii} They even invaded Laconia, the heart of Sparta power, and did not cease fighting until the desperate Spartan king stopped the Thebans within sight of the city.^{liii} All of Greece was forced to unite in order to defeat Thebes, which differed from Sparta by openly seeking an empire.^{liv}

A common thread unites each and every *πόλις* mentioned above. Influenced by the players within them, who in turn were influenced by the Sophists, the *πόλεις* sought more power and wealth. Greek leaders justified this desire with

LYSANDER:

Spartan commander whose victories helped bring an end the Peloponnesian War in 404. He spent the next decade working to secure Spartan domination over the rest of Greece until his death in 395 BCE.

the slogan ‘might makes right,’ or attempted to warp tradition and custom (νόμος) to fit their present needs. Often leaders did not bother to justify their actions at all.^{lv}

The long-term effects of the intellectual movement that began in Athens and spread throughout the Greek world fundamentally changed the way the Greeks thought and acted. The πόλις culture died, ground down by the Greeks’ pursuit of an ideal warped by greed and avarice but disguised in tradition. In the emerging culture, the land owning warrior had lost his place, the ὄπλιτος lost his occupation due to the professionalization of the military, and even Spartan kings were forced to become mercenaries out of necessity.^{lvi} The lives of all people became more private, revolving less and less around the agora. The final moment for the πόλις came when a worn out Greece was forced to submit to Phillip and the Macedonians in 338 BCE.^{lvii}

The goal of this paper was not to vilify the Sophists. The intellectual movement of the fifth century sparked the western tradition of critical thinking. It provided the foundation for philosophy, science and democracy. Furthermore, our sources for this remarkable period in history, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and others, are all products of this movement. Without Herodotus and Thucydides, history might still sound like Homer. Xenophon himself was a student of the most famous Sophist, Socrates. Yet, he laments the cost of the sophistic influence on Greek thinking.^{lviii} The pursuit of ἀρετή was both the secret to πόλις culture success, and author of its downfall. The Greeks’ views, concerning this idea and how they changed over the course of their golden age, determined which role it played.

While the history of ancient Greece is not completely analogous to modern history, examining how the intellectual movements of the period interacted with the cultural and political trajectories of Greece, and vice versa, is a valuable exercise. The contemporary world is itself in a time of shifting ideas and values. Understanding how the Greeks adapted (or failed to adapt) to a similar shift sheds light on the power of ideas—in any age.

ENDNOTES

- i** Herodotus Book 5 §92
- ii** Ehrenberg 60, 273
- iii** Hansen 39
- iv** Hansen 62–63
- v** Hansen 116, 125
- vi** Hansen 41
- vii** Hansen 125 Ehrenberg 72
- viii** Hansen 125–126
- ix** Hansen 125
- x** Ehrenberg 30, 33, 51, 60
- xi** Ehrenberg 56–53
- xii** Hansen 113
- xiii** Hansen 115
- xiv** Ehrenberg 13, 51
- xv** Ehrenberg 59
- xvi** Herodotus Book 3 §38
- xvii** Herodotus Book 7 §104
- xviii** Hansen 122
- xix** Herodotus Book 5 §78
- xx** Ehrenberg 137
- xxi** Herodotus Book 9 §78 Ehrenberg 139
(Ehrenberg points out Herodotus’s subtle warning at the end of his work.)
- xxii** Ehrenberg 267–268
- xxiii** Ehrenberg 267, 280
- xxiv** Ehrenberg 268
- xxv** Ehrenberg 270
- xxvi** Ehrenberg 270
- xxvii** Ehrenberg 271–272
- xxviii** Ehrenberg 272 (It must be remembered that he is quoted by Plato. Young Greeks, I believe, confused ἀρετή & ambition and this is essentially what sums up the decline of the polis.)
- xxix** Xenophon II.3 §11, VII.3 §3 Ehrenberg 278 (Here using example of Eurphion and thirty, he and others would switch sides and begin manipulating the law to fit their needs, rather than serving it.)
- xxx** Ehrenberg 274
- xxxi** Ehrenberg 274, 306
- xxxii** Ehrenberg 281–283, 303
- xxxiii** Herodotus Book 9 §114 Thucydides Book 1 §89
- xxxiv** Book 1 §96, Ehrenberg 156
- xxxv** Ehrenberg 160



xxxvi Herodotus Book 5 §36, Book 6 §13 Book 8 §§111–112

xxxvii Thucydides Book 1 §16,

xxxviii Thucydides Book 1 §98, Ehrenberg 160, 165, 173, 210

xxxix Thucydides Book 1 §104, Ehrenberg 172, 175

xl Thucydides Book 1 §98, 121

xli Ehrenberg 35, 11/8 Hansen 115–116, 125

xlii Thucydides Book 1 §108, 117, 118, 122 Book 2 §8, 36, 62, 63, 65 Ehrenberg 160, 171, 175, 217

xliii Thucydides Book 1 §70, 97 Ehrenberg 155, 157

xliv Ehrenberg 175–176

xlv Thucydides Book 6 §26 Ehrenberg 177, 239, Hansen 122

xlvi Thucydides Book 4 §21, §41, §65 Herodotus Book 9 §78 Ehrenberg 139 (again Herodotus's warning is very important in revealing attitudes about war-torn Greece.)

xlvii Thucydides Book 3 §§36–50 Ehrenberg 219–220

xlviii Thucydides Book 5 §§85–113 Ehrenberg 234, 278–280 Hansen 128

xlix Xenophon II.2 §19 IV.8 §16 V.1 §2 (Spartans collection of tribute) V.2 §§3, 14, 20, 21 (land mirroring sea system now), 28, 37, 284–288

l Ehrenberg 284 (Ehrenberg feels the Spartans' hands were forced. I disagree. Lysander and the rest were just a little greedy at the time.)

li Xenophon Ehrenberg 281

lii Xenophon VI.4 (entire Chapter) VII.1 §§32–33, 39, 43 (Thebans sending out governors now) Hansen 49

liii Xenophon VII.5 §§12–14

liv Xenophon VII.1 §39 Hansen 130

lv Xenophon VI.3 §11 Ehrenberg 278–281, 304, 306

lvi Xenophon IV.8 §33 VII.4 §6 Ehrenberg 286 Hansen 117 (disappearance of Hoplite in Classical period)

lvii Xenophon VI.3 §11 Ehrenberg 281, 286 Hansen 48–49, 132–134

lviii Xenophon VII.2

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IT'S A (FE)MALE WORLD: MALE-ORIENTED REVISIONISM IN

WATCHMEN

BY KAYLA DERBYSHIRE

DISCLAIMER: This essay contains an analysis of content and imagery of sexual violence. We invite you to read at your personal discretion.

Alan Moore and David Gibbons' *Watchmen* has been deemed by many to be one of the first, and most important, revisionist¹ superhero texts. By using the graphic novel to hold a conversation with superhero comics' own history, Moore and Gibbons have amended common superhero tropes by applying real-world psychologies to the superheroes in an attempt to create a progressive superhero narrative. For the purposes of this argument, unless stated otherwise, the term "comic" refers specifically to those of the superhero genre. A majority of the current work on *Watchmen* recognizes the differences between the graphic novel and the comics before it. Yet, there is not much criticism that also recognizes the ways the text has not broken superhero tropes. Many of the elements in *Watchmen* appear to have changed in comparison to its predecessors, but once explored deeper, its elements can be seen to have stayed the same. These unchanging aspects of *Watchmen* that will be explored in this argument are those relating to the portrayal of female characters within the text; their role in *Watchmen* is unchanged from the nominal role of the female in comics. The representation of female characters in *Watchmen* is highly representative of a heterosexual foundation that can most easily be seen through their interaction with male characters within the text. *Watchmen* may indeed be a revisionist comic, but it is revisionist in terms of the

¹ A revisionist text is one that departs from a generally accepted doctrine or narrative.

straight, cisgendered² male. *Watchmen* fails to replace the damsel-in-distress trope with female characters that are not overshadowed by a male counterpart.

The heterosexual framework that *Watchmen* perpetuates is most obviously seen within the realm of superhero costuming within the text. As a graphic novel, *Watchmen* has the unique ability to visualize character appearance without leaving room for individual interpretation. Though Moore and Gibbons purport that their novel is critiquing the superhero concept, the visual rhetoric of the costumed superhero serves only to maintain an oversexualized society. In Figure 1, Dan Dreiberg (the second Nite Owl) and Laurie Juspezyk (the second Silk Spectre) are peering at a portrait of the Twilight Lady, a vice-queen who had been in operation in the late 1960s. Her costume in this photograph is just one of many examples of oversexualized female outfits; the tight black (what is presumably) leather, the extremely low-cut top, and the revealing bottom half are all common tropes in female costuming. The riding crop that she is holding brings the sexual nature of the photograph even more to

IF WATCHMEN WERE TRULY REVISIONIST, A PROTAGONIST WOULD NOT BE SHAMING A FEMALE FOR HER CHOICES IN CLOTHING.

the forefront. Now, this would not be inherently problematic if not for the reaction that Dan has to Laurie finding the photograph. He says, “She was a very sick woman” (Moore and Gibbons 7.5). There is nothing wrong with a woman dressing to play up her femininity and sexuality. If *Watchmen* were truly revisionist, a protagonist would not be shaming a female for her choices in clothing. Instead, there would be an attempt to correct the long-standing theory that women should not dress in revealing clothing in public, and if they do, it is for the benefit of the male eye.

The Twilight Lady is shown on only two pages in *Watchmen*, but she is not the only female with an oversexualized outfit. Both Silk Spectres (Laurie and her mother, Sally Jupiter) are drawn with very revealing outfits. It is important to note that both of these characters do refer to the sexualization of their costuming throughout the novel. Laurie often complains about it, whereas Sally embraces the choice that she made with her outfit. There are two main interpretations of the choice that Sally and Laurie make to wear these costumes. First, their use of the sexualized, stereotypical costume while performing hypermasculine “masked avenger” behavior is meant to show that it is ridiculous to believe in a dichotomous feminine/masculine relationship. Second, Sally and Laurie only serve to reinforce the stereotype that women must remain feminine—which in this case is shown by their hyperfeminine costuming (Donovan and Richardson 176). Unfortunately, it is the



FIGURE 1

² A gender identity wherein the individual's perception of their gender is the same as the sex they were given at birth.



FIGURE 2
SALLY JUPITER'S COSTUME

latter reading that is most suggested by the text; for the first to be true, both Sally and Laurie would need to demonstrate a conscious effort to challenge the masculine/feminine binary via their clothing choices. Instead, we are never given a reason to believe that their dressing in costume is anything other than a want to use their sexuality to draw male attention and advance their careers. It is true that Sally chose her own path in life that did not follow social norms—this is not the argument being made. The problem is that both iterations of the Silk Spectre are portrayed as sex symbols throughout *Watchmen*, and this is the archetypal role that females have always taken in comics.

It does not help Moore and Gibbons' case that despite both Laurie and Sally's self-awareness of their sexualized costumes, both women wear their costumes for the benefit of the men around them and not for themselves. We see Sally wear her costume to advance her career: "...former waitress and burlesque dancer Sally is such a hit with the hoods that they're practically tripping over each other in the rush to get nabbed by her!" (Moore and Gibbons 9.29). Laurie, the second iteration of the Silk Spectre, ends up wearing it in order to please the men in her life. When Dan Dreiberger

cannot perform sexually, Laurie realizes that wearing the costume will help him. As shown in Figure 3: "I loathe that Halloween suit. Obviously, I wore it to help you" (Moore and Gibbons 8.5). Although her response to Dan is lighthearted, it shows that Laurie, like her mother before her, is aware of her hypersexualized costume. What is worrying, however, is that she allows herself to be objectified by this costume, transforming into a sex symbol that is defined by the male gaze. As stated by Richard Gray, the female superhero's "rise to prominence has occurred, in part, as a result of her ability to capture... the sexual attractiveness... that she possesses" (Gray 77). As such, both Laurie and Sally's versions of the Silk Spectre costume are reiterations of the female sex-symbol archetype, not a revision of it. In a discussion of female archetypes in *Watchmen*, Erin Keating argues: "Laurie's recognition of her costume's sexual function lends a parodic element to its use, but it does not call the need to wear the costume into question" (Keating 1271). Her performative nature does not do anything other than echo the female tropes of the past. Even when



FIGURE 3

only looking at female costuming, *Watchmen* continues to perpetuate patriarchal, heterosexual hegemony. There is a clear social hierarchy formed from the dichotomous male and female in this novel; Laurie and Sally wear their costumes for men. It appears that the Twilight Lady mentioned previously could be wearing her costume for herself, but when she tries to do this she is defined as a “sick lady” by a masculine figure. What *Watchmen* is arguing here is that women should only transform themselves into sex symbols if it is for the benefit of a man.

Before moving on, it is important to address the arguments that scholars have made about this point in previous criticisms of *Watchmen*. Many of the articles that address hypersexuality in superhero costuming claim there is an “explicit eroticism in both superhero and superheroine” (Taylor 346). This is true. In comics, a majority of male costumes are just as gendered as those of the female. Even just taking cues from Superman and Captain America, the reader is given a hypermasculine superhero body: tight pants, tight shirt, rippling muscles; male costuming “succeeds in signifying industrial strength associated with the ideal hyper-muscular superhero body; the look of power, virility and prowess” (Karaminas 2). There is a fetish embodied within superhero costuming that is displayed on both sides of the feminine/masculine duality that comics have perpetuated. Aaron Taylor argues that male costuming is “a reversal of sex roles, with the [hero] taking a traditionally female role: body as object” (Taylor 352). This fetishization is not strictly limited to the female body, but that does not mean it serves the same role when directed towards the male rather than the female. When a male superhero is costumed, the outfit is playing up their power and prowess. When a female is put into a costume, it plays up her sexuality and femininity. This is not equality, and this is where we come to see the problematic nature of superhero costuming that *Watchmen* has failed to correct. There is an imbalance of power between the feminine and masculine that can be drawn back to masculine Western logic. Moore and Gibbons seem to have taken two steps back

**THERE IS A FETISH EMBODIED WITHIN
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FIGURE 4
OZYMANDIAS' COSTUME

when it comes to costume revision because the majority of the male characters within the text are not fetishized in regards to their costuming, so the sexualized nature of the female costume is doubly problematic. Ozymandias' costume is the only male costume that becomes a method of objectification and fetishization. The power that comes from his costume is reflected in the plot, as Ozymandias holds the power for the majority of the graphic novel. Rorschach is not given a skin-tight costume, nor is Nite Owl. Yet every female avenger within the text has been given a costume that turns her into an object of sexual fetishes by playing up her femininity. Once again, *Watchmen* has placed its females in positions of subordination to the men within the text. It is this subordination that takes away from any power Laurie and Sally supposedly have within the text. In most critical evaluations of *Watchmen*, Laurie and Sally are shown to be revisionary because their

actions shaped the text so profoundly. The problem is that everything Laurie and Sally do is only important in relation to the men around them. Neither of them do anything that is only important for themselves or for each other.

With Laurie, this can most obviously be seen with her inability to maintain a non-romantic relationship with the male heroes. She begins *Watchmen* as Jon's girlfriend, and only a few pages after their breakup, she becomes romantically involved with Dan. This is a continuation of the permanent girlfriend status invoked in female superheroes in previous comics. Erin Keating demonstrates how this is in line with comic history by touching on the Wonder Woman comics: "The Amazon Wonder Woman's love for a 'mortal male' links her to humanity. This heterosexual linkage undermines the female superhero in that the Amazon may at any moment be eclipsed into the conventional wife and eventual mommy" (Keating 1271). There is a traditional association of the female superhero with male characters, and *Watchmen* has not given its female characters any more power than the comics that came before it.

Some may argue that Laurie has the most power in the whole novel; she is, after all, the one that convinces the all-powerful Dr. Manhattan to come back to Earth. "I changed my mind," Dr. Manhattan says, to Laurie's confusion (Moore and Gibbons 9.26). This entire chapter has only reinforced Jon's God-like character and thusly the dependence that Laurie has on him throughout the entire novel. Even though Laurie is acting as a representative of the entire human race by pleading with Jon on the surface of Mars, it indicates that she is "valuable as the bond between Jon and humanity" (Keating 1282). *Watchmen* seems to give Laurie power, but this power is only in relation to the men she is surrounded with throughout the novel; she does not have her power, and any power that she seems to have is only there because a masculine figure — Jon — considers her valuable.

Laurie is not the only female in *Watchmen* to be tied to a man for her most important plot points within the text. Her mother, too, is a re-envisioning of a female superhero's inability to not be associated with one or more male characters. Throughout the text, we are given some of Sally's backstory and can see her full transition from a female hero to a wife and mother. She left her job as a masked avenger in order to marry her agent and raise Laurie. This is a reiteration of the heterosexual framework that *Watchmen* is written under. What is most upsetting, however, is that Laurie's father is not truly Sally's husband.



FIGURE 5

JON CHANGES HIS MIND

Because of this, "the female hero is withdrawn from her position of power in favor of the maternal, while the father is shown as completely free from any familial ties" (Keating 1272). The male is able to retain his power, while the female had to give hers up in order to raise a child. Though there is nothing wrong with being maternal and raising a family, there is a problem when the male is able to retain all of his power and give nothing up without the text showing any repercussions.

Sally also held a position similar to Laurie's within her own group of superheroes, the Minutemen. As Hollis Mason writes of the Minutemen: "The real mystery is how the hell we managed to stay together" (Moore and Gibbons 2.31). However, it isn't really a mystery at all; it is Sally Jupiter, the original Silk Spectre, who keeps the group together. As her daughter Laurie formed the bond between Jon and humanity, it is Sally that forms the bond between the Minutemen. She is the connection between her agent and the male heroes, and



FIGURE 6

more important, she is the alibi for Hooded Justice (an implied homosexual member of the group in a world where homosexuality is frowned upon). Like Laurie, Sally seems to have power. But “although Sally is figured as integral to the Minutemen, it is not as an individual; it is her function that is important” (Keating 1272). Just as Laurie’s power was only power because Jon viewed it as such, Sally’s power is only in her function as the glue that keeps the male heroes in the group together. There is no doubt that Sally plays a valuable role, but she is given no respect by the male figures in the group. The biggest incidence of this disrespect is the attempted rape of Sally by the Comedian.

After a meeting of the Minutemen, Sally goes to a private room in order to change into different clothing. The Comedian comes in and immediately starts telling Sally that she must have a reason for wearing her outfit (Figure 6). Although Sally starts off strong by hitting him, he quickly pushes her to the floor in order to

rape her. Before he is able to complete the deed, Hooded Justice comes in to find him kneeling over Sally and proceeds to beat and restrain the Comedian but not before the Comedian gets a jab out about HJ’s sexuality.

This attempted rape is sickening because the Comedian tells Sally that her clothing choice means she is asking for it, but what I find even more problematic is Hooded Justice’s reaction. As Sally is crying on the floor, blood pouring out of her mouth, all Hooded Justice has to say is “Get up... and for God’s sake, cover yourself” (Moore and Gibbons 2.8). Even though Sally has been acting as an alibi for Hooded Justice’s supposed homosexuality, the only thing he says post-assault is that she needs to cover up. *Watchmen* could have done great things with an attempted rape scene; there could have been a way to show that Sally was not the person in the wrong. However, all Moore and Gibbons did was reiterate the social view of rape; even Sally seems to believe it was her fault, as we



FIGURE 7

HOODED JUSTICE'S REACTION

see in an interview: “You know, rape is rape and there’s no excuse for it, absolutely none, but for me, I felt... I felt like I’d contributed in some way” (Moore and Gibbons 9.32). The problem with *Watchmen* is not the inclusion of a scene like this. The problem is that there is never any resolution or message that explains why this violence is wrong. There is nothing provided in the text that gives power back to Sally after this scene happens. She remains a trope: a weak female, a damsel in distress that is saved by Hooded Justice. Even after the attempted rape she was convinced by the Minutemen not to press charges because it would ruin the group’s image; the identity of the group is more important than Sally’s personal experiences, underscoring that she is only important to the group for her function and not as a person that is given respect.

Even when Laurie finds out about the rape and confronts the Comedian, the same thing happens. “I mean, what kind of man are you, you have to take some woman, you have to force her into having sex against her will,” Laurie says. “Only once,” the Comedian responds, before Laurie throws her scotch into his face (Moore and Gibbons 9.21). After this, Jon is angry about her actions and subsequently takes her home. All Laurie did was talk about the violence against her mother in a public setting, something that only Hollis Mason had previously done in his biography. Once again, this allowed the man who created the violence to get away with what he had done and puts the female into a position that is subordinate to all of the men around her.

This rape is not the only scene of violence against women in *Watchmen*. In fact, it’s hard to think of a female character within the text that does

THE PROBLEM WITH WATCHMEN IS NOT THE INCLUSION OF A SCENE LIKE THIS. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THERE IS NEVER ANY RESOLUTION OR MESSAGE THAT EXPLAINS WHY THIS VIOLENCE IS WRONG.

not experience violence in some form. Though Laurie and Sally have already been analyzed thoroughly, there are other females that have small but important roles in demonstrating that *Watchmen* does not give revisionary treatment to women. To begin, there is the case of Rorschach’s mother. She is a known prostitute, and we only ever see her through the eyes of Rorschach. A telling scene is one wherein Rorschach walks in on her having sex with a customer. As seen in Figure 8, the customer leaves after the young Rorschach walks in, telling the mother “I said forget it. Here’s five bucks. It’s more’n you’re worth” (Moore and Gibbons 6.4). The next thing we find out about Rorschach’s mother is that her pimp forced her to ingest cleaning fluid and dumped her body in a back alleyway (Moore and Gibbons 6.30). Never in *Watchmen* did this woman have any power at all; even her sex appeal was regulated by another man.

Even women who do not appear within the text are put in subordinate positions; Kitty Genovese, featured only as a newspaper article, is made a part of Rorschach’s story. Kitty was



FIGURE 8
RORSCHACH'S MOTHER

"Raped. Tortured. Killed. Here in New York. Outside her own apartment building" (Moore and Gibbons 6.10). Rorschach goes on to explain that her neighbors did not do anything, even though they could see it and hear the violence that was happening. All Rorschach did was take the remains of her dress and turn it into a mask. This is a prime example of how *Watchmen* maintains a world where violence against women is never published but instead made into something that ends up empowering a man. In the case of Sylvia Kovacs (Rorschach's mother), she is only an object to be used by a man, whereas in Kitty Genovese's case her violent death only served to propel Walter Kovacs' transformation into Rorschach by providing an excuse for him to make a mask.

From a male perspective, *Watchmen* is the revisionist text that everyone claims it to be. Granted, there are good things done in *Watchmen*. For example, male characters raise several powerful questions throughout the book, but there are even more important questions raised by the lack of a non-traditional female character within the text. If one only looks at male character displacements, half of a story is missed. Comic books reflect society, and this is why it's so troubling that even in a graphic novel that claims to be revolutionary and progressive, there has been no change from traditional, heterosexually-based gender roles. *Watchmen* is a progressive narrative in many ways, but its representation of female characters is not one of them.

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ARCHIMEDES' CATTLE PROBLEM

by Austin Hill



*If thou art able, O stranger, to find out all
these things and gather them together in
your mind, giving all the relations, thou
shalt depart crowned with glory and
knowing that thou hast been adjudged
perfect in this species of wisdom.*

- Archimedes

Archimedes, born nearly 2,300 years ago, is a man of legacy within the mathematical and scientific world. Known for his work in the field of hydrostatics, mathematical calculus, and geometry, Archimedes' mathematical advancements went unrivaled for 2,000 years until the time of Isaac Newton [5]. Archimedes' Cattle Problem is equally a test of mathematical prowess in modern history as it was during its inception. Born in Syracuse, many scholars believe that Archimedes studied in Alexandria as a young man. It was there that he was taught by the followers of Euclid and grew to know many of his life-long contemporaries such as Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Conon of Samos [4]. It is Eratosthenes, alongside other Alexandrian mathematicians, to whom he posed his famous "Cattle Problem":

"If thou art diligent and wise, O stranger, compute the number of cattle of the Sun, who once upon a time grazed on the fields of the Thrinacian isle of Sicily, divided into four herds of different colours, one milk white, another a glossy black, a third yellow and the last dappled. In each herd were bulls, mighty in number according to these proportions..."

In his letter, Archimedes begins by describing the four herds of cattle on the Thrinacian island of Sicily. It is believed by many of that age that the herds of cattle belonged to the sun god Helios, an idea that is further backed by the 8th century B.C. piece Homer's *Odyssey*. Nearly 600 years before the time of Archimedes, Homer writes within the tale of Odysseus' journey an accounting of the cattle: "And you [Odysseus] will come to the island of Thrinacia. There in great numbers feed the cattle of Helios and his sturdy flocks, seven herds of cattle and as many fine flocks of sheep, and fifty in each..." [2, XII, p. 200].

The problem was presented to Eratosthenes in the form of a poetic letter and is broken up into two smaller problems. For the first problem, Archimedes provides a system of seven linear equations, each of which relates the number of a certain color and gender of cattle to another two. The system of linear equations can be derived from the letter as follows:

$$W = (\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}) B + Y$$

$$B = (\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5}) D + Y$$

$$D = (\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{7}) W + Y$$

$$\omega = (\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4}) B + \beta$$

$$\beta = (\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5}) D + \delta$$

$$\delta = (\frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{6}) Y + \psi$$

$$\psi = (\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{7}) W + \omega$$

In this system of linear equations, W represents the number of white bulls, B the number of black bulls, Y the number of yellow bulls, D the number of dappled bulls, ω the number of white cows, β the number of black cows, ψ the number of yellow cows, and δ the number of dappled cows.

The system of linear equations was provided in such a form because Archimedes' method of writing fractions utilized only simple reciprocals (unit fractions). By modern terms, this is not a difficult computation. The simplest method of solving the system of linear equations in order to attain positive integer solutions, however, is via software. The software that I chose in order to solve the system is *Mathematica 8*, which is available in Western Washington University's Math Lab.

*Allow $S = (W, B, D, Y, \omega, \beta, \delta, \psi) W$
to be the one-dimensional solution vector,
parametrized by W*

Utilizing *Mathematica 8*'s "Solve" function with the system of linear equations presented above computes the solution:

$$S = (1, \frac{267}{371}, \frac{297}{742}, \frac{790}{1113}, \frac{171580}{246821}, \frac{815541}{1727747}, \frac{83710}{246821}) W$$

Fractions of cattle is nonsensical, therefore I had to then compute the least-common multiple of the denominators of each value in the solution in order to solve for the lowest integer solution. *Mathematica 8* proved useful for this task as well using its "LCM" function.

$$LCM(1, 371, 742, 1113, 246821, 1727747, 355494, 246821) = 10,366,582$$

Each value in the fraction-solution is then multiplied by the least common multiple of its denominators, yielding the solution:

$$S = (10366482, 7460514, 4149387, 7358060, 7206360, 4893246, 539)$$

As such, this is the least positive integer solution of the first half of Archimedes' Cattle Problem, and the problem has an infinite number of solutions (each complete solution could be multiplied by any positive integer k and still be a solution).

The solution to the first part of Archimedes' problem, therefore, is any positive integer multiple of 50,389,082 cattle proportioned as described above [3]. In the letter, Archimedes acknowledges the intellect of anyone capable of solving the first part of this problem and goes on to test the wisdom of the mathematicians to a further extent with a second part:

"If thou canst accurately tell, O stranger, the number of cattle of the Sun, giving separately the number of well-fed bulls and again the number of females according to each colour, thou wouldst not be called unskilled or ignorant of numbers, but not yet shalt thou be numbered among the wise. But come, understand also all these conditions regarding the cattle of the Sun."

The second problem continues to state that when mingled, the black and white bulls form a perfect square (that is, the sum of the number of black and white bulls is equal to a square number) and that the yellow and dappled bulls form an isosceles right triangle (that is, the sum of yellow and dappled bulls is a triangular number). These additional constraints add a further restriction to the valid values from the previous solution. First, we will address the constraint of the square number:

$$W + B = 10,366,482k + 7,460,514k = 17,826,996k = a \text{ square number}$$



This number can be broken down and simplified using the Fundamental Theorem of Arithmetic (also known as the Unique Prime-Factorization Theorem), which states that every integer greater than 1 is either prime itself or is the product of primes. 17,826,996 is not prime; therefore it can be broken down as such using many methods. My method of choice is the simple Factor function on the TI-89 calculator. We then know that:

$$\begin{aligned}
 W + B &= 17,826,996k = 2^2(3)(11)(29) \\
 &\quad (4657)k = \text{a square number, so} \\
 k &= 3(11)(29)(4657)r^2 = 4,456,749r^2
 \end{aligned}$$

Next, we will address the constraint of the triangular numbers:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Y + D &= (18492776362863, \\
 32793026546940) r^2 &= 51285802909803r^2 \\
 &= m^2 + m/2 = \text{a triangular number}
 \end{aligned}$$

This can be manipulated out to:

$$\begin{aligned}
 m^2 + m - 2(51285802909803r^2) &= 0, \\
 \text{which only has a solution if} \\
 1 + 4(2)(51285802909803r^2) &= \\
 &\quad \text{a square number}
 \end{aligned}$$

And then simplified to a form of Pell's Equation:

$$1 + 410286423278424r^2 = v^2,$$

where v^2 is a square

Once again, using the Fundamental Theorem of Arithmetic, we can simplify it to:

$$1 + 2^3(3)(7)(11)(29)(353)(4657^2) = v^2,$$

and further to

$$1 = v^2 - 2^3(3)(7)(11)(29)(353)(4657^2)$$

given that v^2 is a square, it may absorb the square terms on the right side

The final equation is in a form known historically as Pell's equation, a Diophantine equation in the form of $x^2 - ny^2 = 1$ [1]. In the case of Archimedes' problem, the subject is faced with the simplified Pell equation $v^2 - 4,729,494r^2 = 1$ after all squares are absorbed [4]. When solved, the final answer in terms of the minimum number of total cattle possible is 202,545 digits [7].

It is interesting that Archimedes constructed this conundrum and posed it to his peers for several reasons. Solving the first problem was not out of the realm of possibilities for the intellect of the scholars at the Library of Alexandria. However, they would have struggled in the areas of representing large numbers and complicated Pell equations due to their limited resources. Their work would have been further restricted by limitation of the fraction notation used at the time [1]. These restrictions, however, may have been one of Archimedes' motivating points when constructing the problem because he had been fascinated with the possibility of representing large numbers. In his work *The Sand Reckoner*, Archimedes utilized a numbering system of base myriad (that is, base 100,000,000) in order to attempt to calculate the number of grains of sand that it would require to fill both the Earth and the universe [6]. It is

unclear, however, that the mathematicians at Alexandria had any true hope of being able to solve the second half of the problem and being deemed truly wise, as the letter finishes:

"If thou art able, O stranger, to find out all these things and gather them together in your mind, giving all the relations, thou shalt depart crowned with glory and knowing that thou hast been adjudged perfect in this species of wisdom."

Some historians believe that it "is hardly likely that the famous geometer of Syracuse or the Alexandrian mathematicians came anywhere near its solution... they probably displayed the equations involved and left the matter at that" [1, p. 237]. This is further backed by the notion that the earliest speculated claim of a solution was attributed to the famous mathematician and physicist Carl Gauss in 1830 [4], and that no complete solution to the problem was verified until 1965 when a research team from the University of Waterloo utilized a scientific computer in order to calculate their result [8].

Another issue encountered in the solving of his problem lies in the real-world logistics of the solution. The sheer magnitude of the number of cattle could not have fit within the confines of the Earth, let alone the island of Sicily [1]. In the computed solution, the number of bull outnumber the number of cows to such an extent that they could not possibly prosper. Lastly, the solution does not fit with the history of Sicily. Homer records seven herds of cattle on the island, contradictory to the four noted by Archimedes. The Cattle Problem has several real-world inconsistencies, and posed immense mathematical challenges to those at Alexandria, and Archimedes himself. Nevertheless, Archimedes' name has made it into households as a man who revolutionized modern mathematics, puzzled the greatest minds of his time and challenged even our own.



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BY RUTA NANIVADEKAR

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

According to the South African Forced Migration Studies Programme, there are between one and three million African immigrants currently residing in South Africa (Jolly, 2008). There were 57,899 official refugees and 219,368 registered asylum seekers as of January 2012, which is the highest number of asylum seekers out of any country in Africa and the world (UNCHR, 2012). Immigration from other African countries into South Africa has implications for the economy, politics, health and education services, South Africa's role in the greater African continent, and ideas about human rights. As such, African immigration, both documented and undocumented, is an increasingly prominent national issue.

This study seeks to answer two core questions. First, what are the general experiences of African immigrants in South Africa? Secondly, what social tensions exist between immigrants and South African Coloreds and Blacks¹? Drawing from my own localized, qualitative findings and national studies and statistics, I explore the challenges immigrants face, the violence that sometimes erupts, the nature of social and economic tensions between immigrants and South African Coloreds and Blacks, and the factors that contribute to economic competition.

¹Black and Colored are two different racial groups in South Africa. Blacks are those descended from the indigenous people of the region, such as the Xhosa, Zulu, etc, while Coloreds usually have lighter skin than Blacks and are mixed race. They are usually a combination of White European and Black, but they may also have blood from other parts of Africa or Asia. Under apartheid, Coloreds had more status than Blacks, but not as much as Whites, certainly.

TROUBLES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Most immigrants from other African countries come to South Africa because they cannot live safely or cannot make a living in their home countries. There is political and economic turmoil in many African states, and many of their citizens are desperately seeking to escape to countries with more favorable conditions. Many people throughout Africa come to South Africa because it has the strongest economy on the continent, ranking 26th in the world in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Central Intelligence Agency: South Africa, 2012).

Based on news stories, government publications, and scholarly work, it is clear that Zimbabwean migration has taken center stage in the national debate over immigration. Zimbabwean asylum seekers comprised 68% (149,000) of all asylum applications in 2009, but only 200 received asylum (SAMP, 2011, p.18). Zimbabweans are regarded as economic refugees because they are escaping Zimbabwe's dire economic situation (International Organization for Migration, 2009, p. 6-7). According to the Deputy Minister of the Department of Home Affairs, the thousands of Zimbabweans applying for asylum just "clog up the system" (Moorhouse & Cunningham, 2010, p. 591). Malawians file the second highest number of asylum claims in South Africa, comprising 7% of applications in 2009, but they too are rarely granted asylum (SAMP, 2011, p. 18). It is much easier for asylum seekers from Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia to be granted refugee status because these countries have experienced outright violence as opposed to economic turmoil (International Organization for Migration, 2009, p. 6-7).

SOCIAL TENSIONS REGARDING THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGNERS

There are many social tensions regarding the presence of immigrants in South Africa. They have become a scapegoat for many of the problems the country faces such as unemployment, lack of housing and other services, increased drug use, and crime. Economic competition is a key source of conflict between South Africans and immigrants, which is unsurprising because South Africa's unemployment rate is one of the worst in the world, ranking 174th out of 201 countries (Central Intelligence Agency: Country Comparison-Unemployment Rate, 2012). Many poor South Africans believe that immigrants are "stealing" the few jobs there are by accepting lower wages, while many employers actually prefer to hire undocumented immigrants over South Africans because they are more "docile" and "hardworking" (International Federation for Human Rights, 2008, p. 30). In my research, I found that some employers also prefer to hire immigrants because they are often considered to have better work ethic and are considered to be more reliable employees than South African Coloreds or Blacks. In addition, immigrants (especially Somalis) also compete with South Africans in the informal trading sector, and some South Africans believe immigrants unfairly steal the businesses of locals. There are regular reports of South Africans robbing, petrol bombing, or otherwise attacking Somali-owned spaza shops and the people who work there.

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According to Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme, a sense of abandonment by the government contributes to South Africans' anger towards immigrants (as cited in SAMP, 2008, p. 21). The African National Congress's 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme aimed to provide education, housing, eliminate hunger, and empower Black people (African National Congress, 1994). They were ambitious goals, and while some gains have been made, the promises are nowhere close to being fulfilled. A study by the Southern African Migration Project found that two thirds of respondents believed that immigrants divert and deplete services such as water, electricity, and health care meant for South Africans (as cited in Johnson, 2010, p. 17).

The media and the rhetoric expressed by public figures promote negative perceptions of immigrants, encouraging the belief that they unfairly compete with South Africans for government services and goods. Media reports on immigration use terms such as "waves" or "hordes," which foster the sense that South Africa is being taken over by immigrants (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 22). Immigrants are constantly linked to crime, with the ex-Director of General of Home Affairs stating that "approximately 90% of foreign persons, who are in the RSA [Republic of South Africa] with fraudulent documents, i.e. either citizenship or migration documents, are involved in other crimes as well" (SAMP, 2002, p. 1).

RESEARCH METHOD

My research method was entirely qualitative and quite informal. I wanted to get a holistic understanding of immigrant experiences in one specific locality, how South Africans feel about the increasing presence of immigrants, and the social tensions that arise between them. I conducted my research over the course of three weeks during a study-abroad trip with my university. I stayed in a fairly remote township (I will refer to it as Charlestown ²) located in the Western Cape Province.

The economy around Charlestown is fairly limited. Residents can work at some local businesses, a brick factory, in construction, or commute to nearby towns to work in a variety of service occupations. Many people participate in Charlestown's informal economy by opening up spaza shops, fixing up cars, and knitting gloves and hats to sell. Unfortunately, there are not enough economic opportunities for this community, and Charlestown's unemployment rate remains about 28% (Mason, personal communication, June 2012).

Since almost all the spaza shops in Charlestown are owned by foreign-nationals, especially Somalis, I decided to make the presence of immigration in the spaza shop sector a key focus of my research. My professor and I walked around the township, stopping at every spaza shop, introducing ourselves to the owners and employees and trying to strike up conversations with them. If someone shared their ideas willingly, we would mention that I was a student who was interested in learning more, and we would ask if they might talk to me again in the future. We tried to make it clear that we were not journalists or inspectors, but nevertheless, people understandably tended to be somewhat wary of us. I interpret this uneasiness as a sign that many of them do feel insecure and that real social tensions exist. I conducted five interviews with foreign shop owners, one formal interview with a Colored shop owner in her living room, and two short conversations

SPAZA SHOPS

A spaza shop is a small micro-convenience store found throughout the township that sells basic goods like bread, chips, telephone minutes, and cigarettes. They are often run out of large shipping containers that the owners rent out.

²The name of the township and its businesses, the names of all respondents, the countries that African foreigners are originally from, and some other details have been changed to protect the identities of respondents.

³This is the first of many references to formal and informal interviews that I conducted in Charlestown and a couple other locations during July, 2012. The citations for these interviews are listed under "Personal Communication Bibliography."

with other Colored shopkeepers at their shops. All the interviews with immigrant spaza shop owners were informal, taking place in the spaza shops themselves and sometimes incorporating their other Somali friends. Another key focus of my research was on immigrants who are employed by South Africans (often White South Africans). I went to a nearby tourism business to talk to two immigrant tour guides. I also spoke with the manager of the establishment, who is White. I also interviewed a few other average residents who were not directly involved in employing, working for, or competing with immigrants.

I wanted the conversations to be as natural as possible, so I asked only a few formal questions and let the participants guide our dialogue. It is crucial that I mention how uncomfortable I felt being in a “researcher” role. Because I was a student who had never done fieldwork before, I had to learn how to appropriately meet, connect with, and interview people during this research process, and I often made mistakes. In an effort to be a culturally responsive researcher who acknowledges that research has the potential to establish troubling power dynamics, (Rodriguez, et. al, 2011, p. 401) I was constantly worried that I was being disrespectful, intrusive, or intimidating. I was too hesitant to ask pointed follow-up questions, and sometimes I was too nervous to even realize that I needed more clarification. Due to a lack of concrete data and explicit statements, there is some uncertainty in my findings. Many of the conclusions in this study rely on my interpretations of what respondents said. I have filled certain gaps in information based on respondents’ facial expressions and tone, conversations with other people whom I did not interview, and news stories. However, I have countered this uncertainty with extensive research on national trends, which usually align with my findings and inferences.

ALTHOUGH MOST PEOPLE SAID SOUTH AFRICA WAS “FINE” ALMOST EVERYONE DID NOT INTEND TO STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE REST OF THEIR LIVES.

FINDINGS

THE DECISION TO MIGRATE TO SOUTH AFRICA

The majority of the foreign respondents migrated to South Africa because their home countries are too dangerous or because they cannot make a living there. Almost all the Somalis I met had fled their country’s civil war, while people from other nations had moved because the economic opportunities were better in South Africa. As Kurt ³ explained, South Africa is a rich country compared to the rest of the world, and upward social mobility is more attainable. Henry, from a small African nation, said that people from other African countries are often educated, but they do not have the opportunity to utilize their education and make a good living in their home countries. Thomas, a highly educated tour guide, said that in his home country people with Master’s degrees have to settle for being shopkeepers, but in South Africa, someone with that level of education is guaranteed to get a good job. Although most people said South Africa was “fine” almost everyone did not intend to stay in South Africa for the rest of their lives.

PAPERS

Obtaining the appropriate documentation to live and work in South Africa is a major strain on the daily lives of immigrants. Based on comments they made, I believe all the people who discussed documentation issues with me were refugees or seeking refugee-status. Matthew and Robert, both Somalis, complained that it is difficult to get “papers,” and it was evident that this made Robert quite upset. As he gestured to his own dark skin, pointing out that they are all Africans, he asked why South Africa does not allow other Africans to live and work within her borders. He does not understand why such distinctions are being made between people who are all African. Even if immigrants receive legitimate documentation, enforcement officials will sometimes destroy their certificates, or they will be “accused of carrying counterfeit documents, as a result of minor inaccuracies in their personal information (name, birth date, etc)” (International Federation for Human Rights, 2008, p. 10).

For Thomas, it is difficult to get asylum because there is no war in his home country. He said South Africa gets international acclaim and money from the United Nations for hosting refugees, implying that South Africa’s government gains nothing from accepting migrants like him into the country. Thomas estimated there are 600-700 applicants every day at the Refugee Reception Center, so he must spend all day waiting in line to gain asylum. He only receives temporary work permits, and he is never guaranteed to get an extension. He said immigrants can get permanent papers if they can prove they are in a romantic relationship with a South African citizen. One of his friends agreed

to pretend that they are in a relationship. Even though he got approved for a permanent work permit a year and a half ago, he has not actually received his documents yet.

Thomas’ experience illustrates many of the immigration issues in South Africa. First, there are a lot of immigrants applying for asylum even though they are technically economic refugees. So why are they still applying for asylum? South Africa has very strict employment policies that prohibit employers from hiring foreign nationals if there are South African citizens willing and able to do the work (Department of Home Affairs, Civic Services Section, n.d.). Therefore, most “unskilled” immigrants cannot qualify for a work permit. However, refugees can obtain work permits because the 1951 Convention requires that host countries grant all refugees the same rights as citizens other than the right to vote (UNCHR, 2011, p. 4).

I imagine many economic refugees know that they will not get a permanent permit but apply regardless in order to get the temporary permits issued to all asylum seekers. Thus, immigrants can work in South Africa at least while their applications are being processed. These “documents of limited validity compromise refugees’ efforts to become self-reliant by making it hard for them to hold long-term jobs” (UNCHR, 2012). Renewing asylum-seekers’ permits or refugee certificates (which have to be renewed every two years) can be a very inconvenient process. There are only five Refugee Reception Centres in the entire country, so immigrants may have to take time off work and travel long distances to apply for or renew their refugee status (International Federation for Human Rights, 2008, p. 10). The day after I interviewed him, Thomas had to take a

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day off work to go to the Refugee Reception Centre, which is many hours away from Charlestown. Thomas luckily has an understanding employer who allows him to take work off, but many other immigrants may not be so fortunate.

Ian, who seemed ethnically Somali, complained that obtaining paperwork is expensive because the Department of Home Affairs charges them a lot of money. I do not know if he was referring to paying official legal fees or bribes. Officially, refugee permits are free while most other permits cost money (South Africa Government Services, n.d.), so either Ian is not a refugee or he is being charged illegitimate fees, or both (I cannot confirm his immigration status). Other studies have found that police extort immigrants, whether it is for documentation or other reasons (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 25). Gregory, a young, local Colored man, said that immigrants must bribe officials to get their papers, but even then they often do not receive their papers after all. I am not sure if Gregory was referring to immigrants who do have a legal right to work in South Africa but have to pay officials to receive the actual documents, or if he was referring to immigrants who are trying to get falsified documents because they cannot actually qualify for a work permit or refugee status. Although the respondents did not discuss fees much, it clearly is an issue with which immigrants struggle.

Another difficulty immigrants (even documented ones) face is that they are unable to open bank accounts because the “law allowing refugees and asylum-seekers to have bank accounts is not being fully implemented” (UNCHR, 2012). Thus, Matthew, who has a permit, must store his earnings in his shop. When his shop got robbed in 2010, the robbers were able to take all his money. Matthew explained to us that he works really hard from 5:00am to 9:00pm every day, and losing all his savings was “demoralizing.” Because they cannot store their money in the banks, immigrants, both documented and undocumented, are constantly at risk of being robbed and losing all their savings (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 24).



SECURITY

Most of the immigrants I interviewed indicated feeling insecure in Charlestown. They would usually say that living in Charlestown was “fine” and that overall they felt safe, but then they would mention the security problems. This sentiment is reflected nationally with McDonald reporting in 2000 that up to 86% of immigrants surveyed think the crime situation is worse in South Africa than in their home country. It reports that “as many as 42% said they had been robbed, 24% had been harassed and 23% assaulted” (as cited by SAMP, 2002, p.1).

According to Gregory the last major incidence of violence in Charlestown was in 2010, when multiple foreign owned businesses were looted and burned down. It seems that immigrants who live in the townships are in more danger than those who live farther away (in town or on their employer’s property). Thomas said immigrants around Charlestown would rather rent an expensive place in town than live in the township, and according to the UNCHR (2012), this occurs throughout the country. However, a lot of immigrants might not be able to afford housing in safer areas, so they may have to live in cheap, dangerous neighborhoods where they are more likely to get attacked (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 24).

Gregory recounted a time when he participated in beating a Malawian man in a nearby, primarily African township. He was surprised when the bystanders who had witnessed the beating blamed the Malawian man for starting the altercation. The man had been stabbed, but bystanders said that he had accidentally been punctured by shards of glass. The police believed the witnesses’ accounts with little convincing. Gregory said this happens quite often.

**BECAUSE IT IS UNLIKELY THE POLICE
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BE EASY TARGETS.**

Meanwhile, police tend to ignore the concerns of immigrants. Ian said their shop has been robbed many times, but the police (who are mainly Colored) do not follow through on their cases. In 2007, more than a hundred Somali shops were looted or burned down in the Motherwell Township near Port Elizabeth. “Reports indicate that the police did not actively intervene to prevent the looting, and that some police officers may even have taken part in it” (International Federation for Human Rights, 2008, p. 35). Because it is unlikely the police will punish them for harming immigrants, attackers might find foreigners and their property to be easy targets.

The Somalis in Charlestown are actively trying to improve their own security situation by financially contributing to the community projects. For Patricia, a community development organizer employed by the state, the Somalis are an important source of assistance, and she gushed: “they’re my friends!” They often will generously donate money so she can buy soft drinks for school children’s events or to provide groceries for a family. I asked Matthew why he and the other Somalis donate so much money, and he says they do it so that their neighbors might protect them when robberies occur.

One common form of violence is throwing petrol bombs at foreign-owned spaza shops, usually burning them down. None of the respondents in this study indicated that they have experienced or witnessed petrol bombings in Charlestown, but they are a very regular occurrence around the country. I asked Henry why foreign-owned spaza shops are petrol bombed, and he explained that they are usually perpetrated by gangs who will threaten to bomb someone’s home or business unless they pay a steep bribe. Henry said that immigrants are a “soft target” for gangs. Immigrants are

**FOREIGN-OWNED SPAZA SHOPS MIGHT
BE ESPECIALLY VULNERABLE TO CRIME
BECAUSE THEY TEND TO STAY OPEN LATER
THAN SHOPS OWNED BY SOUTH AFRICANS.**

vulnerable because they lack connections to others in the community, and so there will not be as many repercussions for the perpetrators of the violence. Charman and Piper similarly found that in the Delft South area, “only those [immigrant shopkeepers] with strong linkages and or community support have avoided crime” (2011, p. 3).

Foreign-owned spaza shops might be especially vulnerable to crime because they tend to stay open later than shops owned by South Africans. A Colored shopkeeper named Collete and her daughter (who seemed to resent the presence of all foreigners in their areas) said that the Somali shops attract robberies because they are open until 9:30 at night. They are “open late, and that’s all for money,” Collete said as if she thought they were being grossly greedy. In 2008, the South African Police Service strongly recommended that all spaza shops close by 7:00pm to reduce their risk of being robbed, and this curfew was later lengthened to 9:00pm so that shopkeepers would not lose too much business. Even still, Charman and Piper found that most immigrant shopkeepers choose to stay open until 10:00pm despite the higher risk of robbery. One South African who rents his shop to a Somali thinks “the unwillingness of Somali shopkeepers to adhere to community rules on business closures was providing a favorable opportunity for attacks” (2011, p. 14). This stance implies that these shops are not targeted because they are foreign-owned and that if locals kept their businesses open late, they too would be robbed. Using this rationale, South Africans blame immigrants for being the victims of crime.

Foreign-owned spaza shops are also targeted because they present unwanted competition for South African shopkeepers. In Charlestown, there are eight Somali-owned shops but only four Colored-owned spaza shops, so locals might feel outnumbered and threatened. Tim is one very successful self-made Colored businessman in Charlestown. A few years ago the community was deciding if they should allow foreign-owned spaza shops into their community. Tim supposedly argued (according to a local Colored respondent named John) against foreign-owned shops because he wanted a monopoly in Charlestown, and the small foreign-owned spaza shops cut into his business. John seemed to suggest that Tim tried to discourage foreign shop owners by using force.

Other studies have shown that violence against immigrants is usually committed by unemployed men who are directed or supported by powerful people, such as local businessmen (Charman & Piper, 2011, p. 4). Sometimes South African business people are very direct about their intentions to drive off immigrants. For example, “In October 2008, members of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) in Western Cape... circulated a letter threatening to resort to violence against Somali business owners in their city if the latter did not close down their shops” (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 21).

**THE MANY FACETS OF ECONOMIC
COMPETITION**

From my interviews, it was clear that there is a considerable amount of resentment towards immigrants, and economic competition causes (or at least partially fuels) almost all of it. South Africans view both self-employed and externally-employed immigrants as an economic threat, but Kurt says he prefers

running his own business because South Africans do not get as jealous of self-employed foreigners as they do of immigrants who got jobs working for “white people” (employers). John and Gregory, who are both Colored and overall quite accepting of immigrants, also seemed to view foreign shop owners more positively than immigrants who find jobs. However, this might be because these two men were craftsmen, so they might directly compete with unskilled immigrants in the construction industry.

It comes as no surprise that immigrants are perceived as an unwanted source of competition. In a country where about 25% of the population is unemployed, sources of employment are a precious commodity. In Johannesburg, the unemployment rate for South Africans was 33% in 2008 while it was only 20% for foreign nationals. South Africans might feel that these kinds of discrepancies are unfair. One official told Steinberg “People say there is a struggle for resources going on between South Africans and foreigners... Actually, the struggle is long over. The foreigners have won hands down” (Institute for Security Studies, 2008, p.5).

FOREIGNERS TAKE WEALTH OUT OF THE COMMUNITY

All three of the Colored shop owners I spoke with mentioned that immigrants do not employ South Africans. From what I observed personally, I noticed that immigrant shop owners in Charlestown tend to hire people from their home countries. Matthew explained that the more established Somali shopkeepers hire new Somali migrants so that they can save up some capital and eventually start their own shop. It seems like hiring recent immigrants from one’s home country is a way of supporting the newcomers while they transition to life in South Africa.

However, two of the three Colored shopkeepers I interviewed clearly expressed disapproval about this while the third implied by his tone that he too disapproved. James said that the presence of Somali business owners is “good for the economy [because it creates competition, he clarified] but not for employment.” Because immigrants only employ people from their home country, locals remain unemployed. Also, the money does not stay in the community because immigrants often send remittances back home to support family members, or they might save as much as possible and then move back home after a few years.

To some people, the fact that immigrants send remittances to their home countries might seem like a loss of national wealth. According to Steinberg, this dissatisfaction is based on the assumption that the South African economy is a “finite lump,” and so any wealth that



foreign-nationals acquire within South Africa is essentially stealing wealth from a South African (Institute for Security Studies, 2008 p.1). Another component of this resentment is that many older Coloreds and Blacks spent decades struggling under apartheid, a period when most of them were denied access to opportunities and wealth. Steinberg states that “if one believes that the lump [of South African wealth] is...a reward for having survived apartheid and voted a democratic government into power, then the sight of foreigners running their stalls is an affront” (Institute for Security Studies, 2008, p. 8).

FOREIGN-OWNED SPAZA SHOPS HAVE CHEAPER PRICES

Many ordinary South African residents, such as John (who is Colored), support foreign-owned spaza shops because they offer cheaper prices. John also appreciates that there are numerous foreign-owned spaza shops in the vicinity of Charlestown because there is always one nearby, and there are less customers at each one, so the lines are shorter. He said the immigrant spaza shop owners also help their customers by letting them pay on tabs if they do not have any money at the time of purchase. Charman and





Piper also found that residents who supported foreign-owned spaza shops were grateful for the lower prices, the longer business hours, and the “good service” they provided (2011, p. 21).

The immigrants’ cheaper prices do usually anger local spaza shop owners, though. Violence towards foreign shopkeepers is sometimes linked to frustrated local shop owners not being able to match the much cheaper prices that foreigners offer. Some immigrant shopkeepers offer prices that are “substantially discounted to pull customers away from long established stores” (Charman & Piper, 2011, p.4). However, I do not know if immigrant shop owners in Charlestown have used this discounting strategy. Collete and Kelly were visibly angered as they explained why they think foreigners have cheaper prices. They said that immigrants’ prices are cheap because they want to just get rid of their inventory, and they appeared to regard “getting rid of inventory” as an unethical business practice. John, on the other hand, states that immigrants have lower prices because they order less stock.

IMMIGRANTS ARE FRUGAL

Henry said that local South Africans mistakenly assume that immigrants are selling drugs because they are jealous and cannot fathom how the immigrants can afford to offer such cheap prices and expand their businesses so impressively. South African shopkeepers are unable to reach the same level of success, so they conclude that immigrants could not have achieved their successes if they were not making additional money by selling drugs. But according to Henry, South Africans simply lack discipline in their daily lives. They cannot expand their businesses because they live luxurious lifestyles and cannot save up their earnings. Gregory reiterated that immigrants live more frugally

than South Africans by not buying furniture, living off just one bag of corn maize for a whole month, and wearing basic clothing. According to many people, this frugal lifestyle is one of the main reasons why Malawians (and other immigrants) in Charlestown work for cheaper wages. Collete said that Malawians sleep underneath cardboard instead of living in real houses. Instead of eating out of “crockery,” they will open a can, put the fish in a plastic bag, and eat it with their hands. Unlike John and Gregory, Collete clearly looked down upon immigrants (namely Malawians) for their relatively cheaper lifestyles. Her examples and tone implied that she thought Malawians were uncivilized.

WHY DO IMMIGRANTS GET HIRED OVER LOCALS?

Collete also vented that “Malawians...come and steal our work.” According to her, the Malawians have replaced all the Colored and African people at one of the tourism locations and all the boutique shops. She thinks it is the Malawians’ fault that the South African youth must go work in the bush for they can no longer find work in Charlestown. Understandably, employers often prefer to hire immigrants because they will work for much cheaper than locals. John has heard a rumor that two Malawians will work a full day’s worth, but they will be content to share only one person’s wage between the two of them. Immigrants are willing to accept low wages partially due to their frugal lifestyles, but exploitation is another key factor. John thinks paying Malawians cheap wages is abusive because they are hungry, poor, and desperate for work. Thus, John does not blame Malawians; rather, he blames employers for taking advantage of their willingness to work for low wages.



Gregory says illegal immigrants will accept meager compensation because they cannot resist. Unlike South African citizens or documented migrants, Igglesden, Monson, and Polzer explain that undocumented immigrants cannot complain to authorities, so employers can pay less than minimum wage and disregard other aspects of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (as cited in Moorhouse & Cunningham, 2010, p. 592). However, even documented immigrants experience exploitation.

Another issue is that when immigrants accept lower wages than locals, they reduce the market price of labor, and if South Africans do not also accept those lower wages, they will be replaced by immigrants (Citizenship Rights in Africa, 2009, p. 20). Gregory was quite supportive of immigrants overall, but even he thought it was unfair to South Africans when Malawians work for lower wages because locals do not want to or cannot afford to work for so little. However, he also thinks there are many instances where employers hire immigrants because they demonstrate more merit, and if they really were most qualified, they deserve the job.

Immigrants are often much more prepared for certain kinds of work than locals, especially in terms of their educational qualifications. This is especially true in the tourism industry where good English skills are important. Zimbabweans usually have an advantage in many service sectors because they tend to be well educated and well-versed in English (SAMP, 2008, p. 20) due to their country's superior secondary education based on the British Cambridge system (Moorhouse & Cunningham, 2010, p. 589). Meanwhile, 14% of South Africans over age 15 are illiterate (Central Intelligence Agency: South Africa, 2012), and only 61% of students who took the final 12th grade matric exam in 2009 passed (Education USA, n.d.). Furthermore, many older Coloreds and Blacks are disadvantaged because of the apartheid educational system, which invested far less in Colored students than Whites and even less on African students compared to Coloreds (Thompson, 2001). As a

result, "there is a surplus within SA [South Africa] of unskilled individuals, largely a legacy of the apartheid educational system. Thus the xenophobic fears of South Africans, although expressed in a completely unacceptable manner, do often prove to be correct – migrants do take 'their jobs'" (Moorhouse & Cunningham, 2010, p. 595).

Thomas says South Africans resent him, but he thinks "It's not stealing... It's all about what you can do." He is knowledgeable and speaks very good English, French, and Spanish, so his boss chose him over his Colored colleagues to lead tours for important visitors. This upsets some of his co-workers. However, Thomas attributes his success to his unquenchable thirst for knowledge, which propels him to learn extra information and practice his English in his free time. By contrast, Thomas thinks South Africans are often ignorant and lack the motivation to continuously learn. He partly blames the abysmal educational system, bad teachers, and the schools' inability to teach their students how to enjoy and value learning. But he also thinks that South Africans are just lazy sometimes, so they do not try to improve their job performance. In this way, Thomas thinks South Africans cause their own problems because they do not engage in habits that make them economically competitive. This is a crucial point that I will return to later.

Employers might also prefer to hire immigrants because they work harder. Gregory said Malawians "will work their asses off" and that they work even on the weekends. It seems there are some crucial aspects of the immigrant experience that motivate people (whether they are self-employed or hired by South Africans)

MANY OLDER COLOREDS AND BLACKS ARE DISADVANTAGED BECAUSE OF THE APARTHEID EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

to work very hard and diligently. Immigrants who moved to South Africa for economic reasons know that the sole reason they are in the country is to work. Many of the self-employed immigrants in Johannesburg “are what development economists call survivalists, working long and difficult hours to earn the equivalent of an unskilled labourer’s wage” (Institute for Security Studies, 2008, p. 7). Matthew, who works in his shop 5:00am-9:00pm every day, is one of these survivalists. Henry too says he works very hard because he must financially support his family by sending home remittances. But as he also pointed out, local people also have families depending on them, yet they are not as diligent as immigrants. Henry also thinks that immigrants work hard because they lack family and other support systems in South Africa, meaning that they must rely on only themselves to survive. By contrast, locals are not motivated to work because, in his words, they can stay at their uncles’ and be fed by their aunts, and this makes people lazy.

SOUTH AFRICANS’ WORK ETHIC

Resentment between South Africans and immigrants can be a two-way street because many immigrants blame South African Coloreds and Blacks for their own plight. They think that South Africans could be economically successful, but they expect too much, do not work hard, and engage in other detrimental behaviors. Steinberg’s study supports this, as he too found that many immigrants criticize South Africans when explaining why South Africans were less successful at finding employment (Institute for Security Studies, 2008, p. 7).

As I discussed above, Henry believes that South Africans cannot run and expand their own spaza shops because they live luxurious lifestyles and do not save up their money. He thinks people borrow too much money, which consequently causes corruption as they scramble to pay their debts. People (he seemed

IMMIGRANTS WHO MOVED TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR ECONOMIC REASONS KNOW THAT THE SOLE REASON THEY ARE IN THE COUNTRY IS TO WORK.

to be talking specifically about government employees) see the high standard of living that their predecessors had, and they expect that same level of success immediately. He says that South Africans in all occupations want to “jump the ladder, not climb it,” implying that they expect to be successful without investing much time and effort. Even Collette echoed this notion, saying “Our people are impatient to wait and see.” They do not “want to first crawl, then walk, then stand up straight.” Collette says they do not start their own shops because they are “party people” who would rather watch a rugby game on Saturday afternoons than stay at home thinking about accounts, profits, and permits. Therefore, they prefer to work for others and just get paid wages. She also says that many do not even want to start a shop near another existing shop because they do not want to have to compete and run the risk of failing.

Similarly, Ian and his Colored friend Jared say that people complain that immigrants cause too much competition, but they never start their own shops. As stated above, immigrants think South Africans are responsible for their own economic situation. Thomas said something similar in terms of wage rates. He explained

that the South Africans will not agree to the low wages, but they get angry that immigrants took their jobs and their money. The word “but” is crucial, implying that South Africans have no right to be upset because they are voluntarily choosing to reject the market-based rate that they are offered.

OTHER FACTORS: STATE PROVISION, ALCOHOLISM, AND RACE

Many immigrants (and locals too) think that South Africans rely too much on their government to provide for them. According to Thabo Mbeki, “South Africa is becoming... a distributive, rather than a developmental state, one in which an increasing proportion of the country feeds off the surpluses generated by a small cluster of industries” (as cited by Institute for Security Studies, 2008, p.9). When comparing South Africa to his home country, Kurt said that people back home build their own houses; the government does not simply hand them a house as the South African government does. In Thomas’ opinion, South Africans do not try to expand their horizons or work hard because life is easy for them. “For them, it’s a comfort zone. They don’t want to get out of it.”

Both locals and immigrants claimed that South African Coloreds and Blacks drink too much, which causes them to be economically unsuccessful. Ian and Jared said that Colored people excessively drink, and this in part makes them incapable of managing successful spaza shops. I asked Liam, a White tour guide, why he does not hire Xhosa workers, and he said that he has tried to hire Xhosa, but he has been “burned” because they are unreliable. He said they spend their pay

mainly on alcohol before they come back to work, so they are not willing to work when he needs them. “The habit of binge drinking is... ingrained in South African culture at all social levels, researchers say” (Baldauf, 2007). However, alcoholism is especially prominent in the Cape region because vineyards would partially pay their Colored and Black farmworkers in wine, which encouraged excessive drinking. The “dop system” as it was called, was banned in 1980, but continued illegally until 1991. Older South Africans may have worked in these situations and became alcoholics, and many may drink excessively after they get paid.

According to many sources, the Black South Africans are more opposed to immigrants than Coloreds. Thomas said that during the 2008 riots, it was Blacks who were getting angry. Gregory said that the violence against immigrants in the primarily Black township close-by is much worse because Blacks cause more trouble overall, such as burning down immigrants’ homes. Christopher explained why the Xhosa, rather than the Coloreds, are in direct competition with unskilled immigrants. Colored people expect higher wages than the Xhosa, so employers usually hire Xhosa for unskilled jobs. However, the Malawians will work for even less than the Xhosa, so it is the Xhosa, not the Coloreds, who are replaced with cheaper Malawian employees. Xhosa are often less educated and speak poorer English than Coloreds because, as discussed above, Black education during the apartheid era was by far the most inferior. Therefore, many working-age Blacks are less qualified than their Colored neighbors (Christopher, personal communication, July 2012).

**BECAUSE IT IS UNLIKELY THE POLICE
WILL PUNISH THEM FOR HARMING
IMMIGRANTS, ATTACKERS MIGHT FIND
FOREIGNERS AND THEIR PROPERTY TO
BE EASY TARGETS.**



CONCLUSION

This study examines the experiences of African immigrants in South Africa and the social and economic tensions that often arise between immigrants and locals. I started by conducting qualitative research in a township in the Western Cape so I could gain an understanding of the immigration stresses that this particular community experiences. Over the course of three weeks, I conducted formal and informal interviews with at least 19 people, about half of whom were immigrants. I then looked at official statistics, news stories, and scholarly work that others have done regarding African immigration in South Africa as a whole. This paper incorporates the results from my qualitative research as well as the relevant information from other sources, allowing me to discuss how the experiences of immigrants and the social dynamics in Charlestown compare to what is happening on a national scale.

This research has several holes that I hope future researchers will be able to mend. Only four of the approximately 19 respondents were women, and none of the women were immigrants themselves. I also did not interview any Malawians or Zimbabweans, which is unfortunate because there is a significant Malawian population in Charlestown and also because Zimbabweans figure prominently in the national immigration debate. I also could not extensively interview

Xhosa because I did not meet Xhosa who own spaza shops, and because I could not interview Xhosa at the tourism establishments. There was also a greater language barrier with Xhosa.

Another source of error might be caused by the way my questions were framed. I asked people to explain issues such as the social tensions and resentment between immigrants and locals, and these negatively framed questions might have encouraged respondents to focus on the negative social dynamics that exist between locals and foreigners. The lack of in-depth data is also due to the fact that I only had three weeks to organize and conduct all the interviews. I did not have enough time to connect with a diverse range of people, build trust, and have meaningful conversations with them all.

I hope that future researchers can spend more time in Charlestown developing relationships and connecting genuinely with respondents so that both parties feel more comfortable and can share fully and clearly. As people throughout the African continent become increasingly mobile and as economic and political turmoil in other African countries persists, South Africa will likely continue to be a major destination for African immigrants. It is important to continue doing in-depth research about the social dynamics surrounding the presence of immigrants in South African communities. We need to recognize and understand the long-term implications, both positive and negative, that African immigration in South Africa holds for the country. Only in this way will the state and other organizations be able to address and minimize the social tensions and improve the quality of life for everyone.

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Tyra Banks

THE MEDICAL CONFESSION IN THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TALK SHOW

by Marisa Lenay Carter

On an episode of the Tyra Banks Show, *Teens in the Sex Trade*, international model Tyra Banks interviews an eighteen-year-old porn star. The episode introduces Sasha Grey with excerpts from her pornography: short clips of Grey wearing lingerie, preparing to go on set, and approaching the camera in a come-hither fashion. Proclaiming indignantly that Grey has done over eighty pornography films since turning eighteen, Banks equates her work to the “sex trade,” a connotation to human trafficking and ultimately sex without consent. Although Banks presents her intentions to be of genuine concern for Grey’s well-being, Michel Foucault’s theory of sexual discourse in the *History of Sexuality* can expose the power dynamic between the explicit and implicit of the talk show. Foucault asserts that procedures of confession and scientific discursivity have created a sexual discourse that has intertwined power and pleasure which overlap, seek out, and underpin one another. This is done through a clinical codification of the inducement to speak, the claim of a general and diffuse causality, the principle of latency, method of interpretation, and the medicalization of the effects of confession. Although Grey self-assuredly explains that her career is “sex positive,” a healthy and progressive approach to sexuality, Tyra Banks abuses the five techniques of the medical confession, seeking an ultimate causality in her actions.

**BOURGEOIS MORALITY INSISTED THAT SEX WAS
A SHAMEFUL WASTE IF SEXUAL ACTS DIDN'T
AIM TO PRODUCE CHILDREN OR SUPPORT THE
HETEROSEXUAL MARRIAGE UNIT.**

Teens in the Sex Trade could be interpreted as an effort to repress open sexuality, as the content of the program focuses on fixing Grey. However, the form of the show defies what Foucault calls the “repressive hypothesis.” Foucault explains that while it is possible that attitudes concerning sex have been repressive throughout the last three centuries and have changed only minimally since the seventeenth century, conversation about sex has increased as sexual discourse has intertwined with power mechanisms. In seventeenth century Western Europe, the bourgeois society grew rampantly, seeking power and place in political discussions. Bourgeois morality insisted that sex was a shameful waste if sexual acts didn't aim to produce children or support the heterosexual marriage unit. As a result, the bourgeoisie gained ideological power over discourse concerning sex even though its efforts initially aimed for repression and silence. Foucault explains that such an exercise of power created “an institutional incitement to speak out it [sex], and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause it to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail” (1503). People were forced to be constantly aware and in control of their sexuality, talking about its role in all aspects of life.

While the bourgeois refined language by restricting when sex should occur, the Counter Reformation transformed sex into a strictly confessional discourse. As the Catholic Church heavily enforced confession, the idea of sexual sin was prescribed spoken words and was subsequently turned through the “endless mill of speech.” It is not to say that confession suddenly became a priority for the church but that sexual sins became the most immediate and dangerous threats to an individual's wellbeing and community. Foucault explains:

An imperative was established: Not only will you confess to acts contravening the law, but you will seek to transform your desire, your every desire, into discourse. Insofar as possible, nothing was meant to elude this dictum, even if the words it employed are to be carefully neutralized. (1504)

Though the church pressed for censorship and control, it ultimately created a stronger incentive to talk. The desire to speak up about sex became a pleasurable act whether through confession, gossip, or hearing about another's sinful behavior.

For Foucault, language and knowledge are closely linked to power. In the eighteenth century, techniques to control sex were transformed into subjects of public concern rather than that of the church alone; talk about sex no longer depended on religious principles but on political rationale. Birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet, and habitation developed as ‘interests’ both for political agendas and public health. If the public’s bodies could be controlled, then the community would be safer and stronger. Foucault explains:

It was essential that the state know what was happening with its citizens’ sex, and the use they made of it, but also that each individual be capable of controlling the use he made of it. Between the state and the individual, sex became an issue, and a public issue no less; a whole web of discourses, special knowledges, analyses, and injunctions settle upon it. (1508)

Sex became a threat to the order of a strong society and demanded public acknowledgment: a community confession. Public institutions sought to control sex by means of physical constraints as well. Foucault explains that while schools in the eighteenth century silenced the discussion of sex, the space for classes, shape of the tables, planning of the recreation lessons, and distribution of the dormitories all created an incitement to talk about it. Rules to monitor bedtime and sleep periods, for example, may have prevented contact between students but it implicitly imposed a discourse of appropriate and inappropriate behavior; one must sleep when instructed, and alone (1508–1510). Repression and sex became an unquestionable binary. If sex existed, it needed to be controlled otherwise it posed a threat to public health, religion, and ultimately to the order of a potentially great society.

As sex within the heterosexual marriage unit is seen as moral and under control, this paradigm claims exclusive rights to discourse on sexuality and does not need to be questioned. *Teens in the Sex Trade* focuses on Grey as an unwedded, barely-legal young woman even though she willingly works in pornography and is a public advocate for sex positive movements. The production exhibits her sexuality as disordered and hazardous. As host of the show, Banks possesses the power in the interrogator/confessor binary by crafting intrusive questions to retrieve what she believes to be most relevant in Grey’s sex life. She is the concerned ‘doctor’ who serves as the speaking portal of sexually controlling ideology.

Through a clinical codification of the inducement to speak, Banks combines the confession with examination:

BANKS: I know some of the things you did. Tell me about the fifty year old co-star on the set of a movie.

GREY: Oh see that was the first scene I did.

BANKS: The very first scene you did?

GREY: Yeah, my first scene. And um...

BANKS: He was fifty years old?

GREY: Yes. He might be a couple years older than that, yeah.

BANKS: And you were only 18? (2012)

Banks begins the clinical codification by inducing a confession and demanding to control the conversational floor by affirming she already knows what Grey “did.” Foucault explains that the medical confession requires a recollection of memories to reinscribe the procedure, chalking it up to a “scientifically acceptable observation” (102). By confirming the co-star’s age, Banks enforces the exacting questionnaire. For Banks and the audience, the age difference between Grey and her co-star makes the sexual encounter intolerable, especially because Grey was hardly old enough to do pornography at the time. Foucault explains that “educators and doctors [have] combated children’s

onanism like an epidemic that needed to be eradicated” (1516). Similarly, on the show, Grey’s behavior is treated as though she is too young to make decisions for her own body. Banks already knows Grey’s responses, but she offers the questions so that the crowd and television viewers may respond in shock. Grey is treated like an impulsive child in need of guidance to discontinue her sexual inclinations. If Grey were married to the co-star, for example, their sexual relations would not be pertinent to the show.

Banks moves on to abuse the postulate of a general and diffuse causality. By emphasizing abnormality in Grey’s actions, Banks portrays the porn star as deformed and shocking. In one part of the show Grey tells Banks about her first pornography film. She recalls asking her co-star if he would like to punch her in the stomach. The show proceeds:

BANKS: And so you asked him to punch you in your stomach? And so he punched you in your stomach?

GREY: No. He didn’t do it.

BANKS: But you wanted it?

GREY: Yes. (2012)

The discourse of sexuality requires a permanent cause for all desires, which is why Banks interrupts and clarifies that Grey actually desired to be punched in the stomach. Consequently, Grey’s sexuality is portrayed as though it were a disorder. Foucault explains that the power mechanisms of discourse that focused on this “alien strain” of sexuality were made into “a principle of classification and intelligibility, established as a *raison d’être* and a natural order of disorder” (1518). Discourse channeled toward disordered sexuality does not aim for suppression but rather aims to give it a logical, observable, and perpetual reality. On this premise, disordered sexuality can be easily controlled or condemned.

Foucault’s principle of latency intrinsic to sexuality and his method of interpretation also explain that a confession must be extracted from the confessor. It cannot be offered freely (1518). On *Teens in the Sex Trade*, Banks finds it

**DISCOURSE CHanneled TOWARD
DISORDERED SEXUALITY DOES NOT AIM
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nearly impossible that Grey sincerely enjoys being a porn star. Banks alludes to medical research to create her own diagnosis by explaining that a majority of porn stars have been sexually abused. However, even after Grey insists that she has not been sexually abused, Banks proceeds to ask, “So, this is just something that you just want to do?” (2012). Banks is astonished by the possibility that an individual could enjoy the type of sex that Grey enjoys. There must be a reason. As Foucault explains, “since sexuality was a medical and medicalizable object, one had to try and detect it—as a lesion, a dysfunction, or a symptom— in the depths of the organism, or on the surface of the skin, or among all the signs of behavior” (1518). In this case, sexual abuse is given as the ultimate reason for Grey’s actions.

Banks fulfills a peculiar role as interrogator. Her questions create a pleasure in power, a double impetus. The camera frame occasionally turns to the crowd and focuses on expressions of disgust and disapproval often accompanied by whispering. The psychiatric investigation, pedagogical report, and family controls have thus transformed the power of the questionnaire and gaze onto the twenty-first century talk show. The pleasures of interrogation, questioning,

monitoring, watching, spying, and searching, and the pleasures of having to evade this power, flee from it, or fool it, have intertwined into a binary of pleasure and power that constantly reinforce each other. The crowd gazes at the spectacle in the same way Banks gazes at Grey: judging, searching, and questioning the ultimate reason for her desires.

The Tyra Show also illuminates how the medical confession appears to be a healing experience in which the doctor figure is interested in both diagnosing and fixing the subject. As Foucault explains, both the obtainment and the effects of the confession were “recodified as therapeutic operations” (103). Thus, the medical confession not only reinforces the ideology that sex is an erratic and unstable pathological field, but also that only an authorized and all-knowing ‘doctor’ may extract meaning out of the confession.

Of course, such an extraction requires rapport between doctor and patient. Banks attempts to establish rapport:

BANKS: ...So it's not so much that, that, that, I'm sitting here judging you for what you do, it's more of the reason why you're doing it. Do you understand that there's a difference of... Everybody has a choice [voice inflects]. You're eighteen years old. Pornography is legal. You're not going to go to jail for what you do.

GREY: Exactly.

BANKS: But there's still a reason why everyone does everything, why anyone makes any choice that they make in their life. And that's why you're here. (2012)

SEX POSITIVITY IS AN IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENT THAT EMPHASIZES THAT SEX EXCEEDS MERE REPRODUCTIVE PURPOSES.

By first acknowledging the legality of pornography and assuring she is not judgmental, Banks attempts to create an empathetic and seemingly rational bond with Grey. Grey, however, lacks agency in the interrogation process and is interrupted even when speaking in agreement. Banks goes on to insist that there is a perpetual reason, a *raison d'être*, “why everyone does everything.” It is the supposed reason “why” Grey is the confessor, patient, and wrongdoer of the Tyra Show rather than the doctor, host, and interrogator.

Although Grey possesses little authority in the conversational floor of the Tyra Show, she manages to offer an alternative and progressive sexual discourse. After refuting Banks’ diagnosis, Grey explains that pornography is enjoyable merely because it provides freedom to experience sexual pleasure in a safe environment. She says, “it’s self-exploration, first hand, and I’m getting to do it in a sex positive way” (Tyra Banks Show 2012). Sex positivity is an ideological movement that emphasizes that sex exceeds mere reproductive purposes. Participants in the movement consider sex to be appropriate within the limits of informed consent and safety. The Foundation for Sex Positive Culture explains that such “uses,” in and outside the exclusivity of the heterosexual marriage, include “creating personal pleasure, bonding interpersonal relationships, promoting spiritual

growth, and enhancing emotional and physical health” (2012). Although the heterosexual marriage unit is not threatened by the movement, sex positive discourse cannot immediately replace the medical confession which has already been ideologically institutionalized by medicine, psychiatry, and language.

I do not wish to evaluate Banks' intentions for hosting the *Teens in the Sex Trade* episode. Rather, I wish to expose the adaption of the medical confession in the twenty-first century talk show. Banks not only reflects but also reinforces the power and pleasure dynamic of the institutionalized medical confession. Furthermore, she abuses all the variables in Foucault's theory on sexual discourse, including the clinical codification of the inducement to speak, the claim of a general and diffuse causality, the principle of latency, method of interpretation, and the medicalization of confession. Foucault also asserts that the “repressive hypothesis” concerning the content of conversations in the seventeenth-century may translate to the contemporary age, however, it is increasingly evident that there is a great deal of discussion about sex. Even if the content of the Tyra Show seeks sexual repression, there is an undeniable circulation of discourse concerning sexual behavior. The program discourse not only produces power for the interviewer but also reveals a pleasure in controlling the interviewee. As Foucault claims, “never have there existed more centers of power; never more attention manifested and verbalized; never more circular contacts and linkages; never more sites where the intensity of pleasures and the persistency of power catch hold” (1521).



EDITOR'S NOTE

Although the interviewee (Sasha Grey) expresses that she genuinely enjoys working in pornography, recent research shows that thousands of women, girls, and boys are coerced to work in pornography and prostitution each year. We encourage readers to consider all sides of this global issue and to engage in their own research about modern day slavery and the sex trafficking industry.

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The SUPERNATURAL,

Christianity, and the Feminist Spirit in *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*

by Kaitlyn Abrams

The critical assessments of Christianity given by both *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*, particularly the commentaries on the patriarchal tradition of Christianity, further an unambiguous feminist discourse within Emily and Charlotte Brontë's novels. This discourse is strengthened and propelled by elements of the supernatural alongside the elements of religious dissension in the texts. The two stories are parallel in the sense that the key female character struggles with the restrictions of a Christian and male-dominated society, and she attempts to take control of her own life with the resources she finds available. In

both Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, the paranormal is undoubtedly among the strongest of the resources that enables the emancipation and empowerment of the leading female characters. Further, in the two novels, despite the reality of men constantly attempting to assert their power, it is the choices and actions of the female characters—sane or mad—that ultimately determine the fates of all.

In *Wuthering Heights*, the author's message of female empowerment can be best traced through the character of Catherine Earnshaw. Catherine's power resonates in the book's pages long after she has left the story. Twenty years after Catherine's death, for example, the most savage and formidable character in the novel is seen to call tearfully after her from a window, still painfully at a woman's mercy: "He got on to the bed, and wrenched open the lattice, bursting, as he pulled at it, into an uncontrollable passion of tears. 'Come in! come in!' he sobbed. 'Cathy, do come. Oh do—once more! Oh! My heart's darling! Hear me this time, Catherine, at last!'"¹ This passage, presented within the novel's first chapters, clearly indicates that the most significant choices and consequences of the story will revolve around a female entity.



In the early pages of the novel, Catherine is not a representative of female empowerment but is rather a figure bound by the constraints of her hierarchical and male-governed society. Catherine is barely fully grown when it becomes necessary for her to make choices about her future life and which man she will align her fortunes with. She is proposed to by Edgar Linton and accepts him, believing a life with Heathcliff (the man she truly loves) to be impossible.² According to Catherine, marriage to Heathcliff is impossible because her brother, Hindley Earnshaw, has degraded Heathcliff to such a degree that he could not make a suitable living to support them both: "I've no more business to marry Edgar Linton than I have to be in heaven; and if the wicked man in there [Hindley] had not brought Heathcliff so low, I shouldn't have thought of it."³ Further, since Catherine's femininity makes her necessarily dependent on a man financially, the only way for her to provide for her own and Heathcliff's future is to marry well. Catherine says as much when explaining her decision to Nelly, the family servant. "Did it ever strike you that if Heathcliff and I married, we should be beggars? Whereas, if I marry Linton, I can aid Heathcliff to rise, and place him out of my brother's power."⁴ By marrying Edgar, Catherine believes that she will prevent both herself and Heathcliff from becoming destitute; she makes the only choice that she feels her male-dominated society allows.

The tragedy of Catherine's choice to be bound to a man she does not love or respect is all the greater for the heroine's passionate and untamable personality. As a child, Catherine's headstrong independence from male authority is

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pronounced,⁵ and she is accustomed to having males follow her wishes. Her marriage to Edgar, the novel's embodiment of Christian patriarchy, is almost as disheartening as her separation from Heathcliff (who is emblematic of her own wildness, her ability to love and connection to the supermundane). As Davie S. Davis claims in "Heathcliff, Lucifer and the Failure of the Christian Myth," Catherine's "decision to marry Edgar is her attempt to ally herself with the superficial refinements of conventional society rather than the creative forces of her own nature."⁶ While this is an apt description, Davis doesn't note that Catherine's society allows her little choice in the matter, or how much her soul suffers from this decision. Once married, Catherine is transformed into a far duller individual than her previous self; Nelly notes the absence of her mistress' usual animal spirits, saying that "she behaved infinitely better than I dared to expect."⁷ Here, we see that the absence of Heathcliff and exposure to Linton have left Catherine with merely a shade of her former vivacity. Readers are also shown that this change of life has not made Catherine happy—"Catherine had seasons of gloom and silence now and then . . . her husband . . . ascribed them to an alteration in her constitution, produced by her perilous illness; as she was never subject to depression of spirits before."⁸ Edgar's easy assumption that Catherine's sadness arises from some past physical ailment illustrates his ignorance of his wife's true nature. Edgar, a character typified as the weakest of men, little knows of his inability to stimulate the faculties of this most gifted and dominant of women. He cannot understand Catherine's all-powerful love for Heathcliff⁹ and thus cannot understand her own fervent nature; Edgar assumes Catherine to be equally as genteel and placid as himself and his family without ever once being curious

as to her inner self. In her marriage to Edgar, Catherine's feminine power suffers not from being vanquished by masculinity but rather from being shelved and ignored.

In order to properly qualify Edgar's particular style of oppression, it is relevant to restate his significance as the novel's embodiment of patriarchal Christianity. Edgar's unresponsive sexuality and cold morality are comparable to the figure of St. John in *Jane Eyre*; being passionless himself, he is similarly determined to suppress the passion he sees in others.¹⁰ His cool and unwavering Christian solidity may have held some small appeal for Catherine at the commencement of their relationship, but, shortly before her own death, Catherine utterly rejects him, indicating her strong preference for the passionate and pagan over the pious and reserved: "I don't want you, Edgar: I'm past wanting you. . . all you had in me is gone."¹¹ Counter to convention, as she nears the end of her life, Catherine becomes even further estranged with Christianity—she rejects it even as she negates whatever power she has given Edgar in the past and prepares to claim for herself the extreme authority that death endows.

Catherine's greatest rebellion against the imposition of men in her life occurs when the conflict between Heathcliff and Edgar comes to a head. The violent confrontation between the two men (which arises because each man feels that his rights over Catherine are being impinged by the other) infuriates Catherine, since she sees it as a refusal to honor her wishes that they treat each other civilly. "I'm delightfully rewarded for my kindness to each! After constant indulgence of one's weak nature, and the other's bad one, I earn for thanks two samples of blind ingratitude, stupid to absurdity!"¹² In order to punish Edgar and Heathcliff for the grief they have caused her, she resolves on (and eventually succeeds in) dying by starvation and sickness. This is a strange

form of retaliation, but ultimately the most effective punishment that she could devise; rather than struggling to assuage both men and keep them from fighting one another for years to come, Catherine simply removes herself from their presence, resultantly finding independence from them both in the world beyond.¹³ She leaves no doubt as to the reason for her departure, citing the two men as the direct cause of her death—"You and Edgar have broken my heart, Heathcliff! And you both come to bewail the deed to me, as if you were the people to be pitied! I shall not pity you, not I."¹⁴ As readers know, her punishment is more successful against one party than another—while Edgar lives out his days in resigned tranquility, Heathcliff exists in continuous torment until he is allowed to join Catherine in the afterlife.

Just as in the case of Emily Brontë's treatment of the supernatural and Christianity, the author's message of feminism takes a sharper form than might be expected. Both the punishments and rewards she bestows on her characters are harsher and more extreme than Victorian readers were probably prepared for—even Charlotte's comparatively mild narrative was reacted to in some cases with astonishment and censure. Emily's main characters are also what one might call 'fatally flawed,' the central figure of her feminist discourse being no exception. Catherine's self-imposed starvation and sickness may seem selfish and petty to the reader, and perhaps they are to a certain degree. What is of utmost relevance to the story, however, is the ending result of Catherine's emancipation from the men in her life. Through death and the aid of the supernatural, Catherine is able to gain power on her own terms

THROUGH DEATH AND THE AID OF THE SUPERNATURAL, CATHERINE IS ABLE TO GAIN POWER ON HER OWN TERMS... AND SHE EVENTUALLY REUNITES WITH HEATHCLIFF AS AN EQUAL, OUTSIDE THE RESTRICTIONS OF CLASS OR GENDER HIERARCHIES.

(rather than another man's), and she eventually reunites with Heathcliff as an equal, outside the restrictions of class or gender hierarchies. It is relevant to note that Catherine could not engage in a socially-accepted romance with Heathcliff on earth; having married Edgar Linton for the express purpose of providing both for herself and Heathcliff, she has unknowingly trapped both of them into a life of mutual estrangement from which death is the only escape.¹⁵ Death, therefore, is the greatest emancipation for Catherine and likewise offers immortalization of her all-consuming passion with Heathcliff—an immortalization which is enabled by the supernatural with a ghostly nature that absolutely rejects and negates the merits of the eternity offered by a heavenly paradise.



The feminist discourse in *Wuthering Heights* is largely fueled by the presence of the paranormal and Emily Brontë's clear argument against patriarchal Christianity. In the novel, Catherine Earnshaw serves as a representative of foiled femininity that is later redeemed by the supernatural, resulting in a happy conclusion that derives from the victory of romantic love rather than Christian grace. The intertwined nature of the supernatural, religious commentary, and feminism in *Wuthering Heights* culminates as an artfully woven testament to the monumental power inherent in life, love and unrestrained femininity.

In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, the novel's heroine struggles with societal restrictions allotted to her sex, much like *Wuthering Heights*' Catherine. As Rachel Katz explains in *The Horror of an Unleashed Woman: Self-Governance and the Supernatural in Charlotte Brontë's "Jane Eyre,"* in the times during which both *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre* were written, it was accepted that "women must choose between empowerment through self-mastery or compliant suffering beneath the greater confines of custom."¹⁶ While Emily Brontë's

heroine is understandably not content with self-mastery, Charlotte Brontë's Jane achieves a unique self-mastery that allows her to reach the type of psychological and economic independence that Catherine never accomplishes while living. Jane avoids male subjugation through the guidance of "the feminine supernatural," a motherly force of nature that directs Jane away from the sexual and religious ensnarement attempted by male characters. In addition to the aid of the paranormal, Jane's ability to safely navigate her patriarchal society arises from her thorough understanding both of herself and the men in her life and her refusal to bend her own ethical creed to the will of any man.

The feminist discourse existent in *Jane Eyre* is most apparent in Jane's rejections of the two men who seek to control her through ownership (either via marriage, as in the case of St. John Rivers, or via sexual proprietorship, as in the case of Mr. Rochester). Jane's denial of St. John Rivers' proposal of marriage is a two-pronged weapon, brandished simultaneously against St. John's emotional domination and against the Christian authority that he wields so imposingly. Her refusal of a lifetime of servitude to the Christian doctrine is no less significant than her rejection of St. John himself. M. A. Blom confirms the dual obstacle of male ascendancy and pervasive Christian discourse presented to Charlotte Brontë's protagonist, observing that "Jane rebels against her male-dominated, Protestant society."¹⁷ One such display of feminine rebellion occurs when Mr. Rochester asks Jane to become his mistress and she refuses.

Jane's renunciation of Mr. Rochester's power over her is perhaps even more significant to the author's feminist agenda than her refusal of St. John; firstly, Jane's departure from a life with Mr. Rochester allows her to remain independent from his passionate but domineering influence. Blom argues that even before she becomes aware of his wife's existence, "Jane's unconscious fear of marriage to Rochester is real and deep-grained: her dreams become ominous - filled with images of desolation, isolation and suffering. Her refusal to use the new name tags for her trunks because 'Mrs. Rochester . . . did not exist' reveals her misgivings about a union which threatens her selfhood."^{18,19} Blom adds that, in Jane's current state as a nearly helpless inferior to her future husband, "marriage to Rochester will destroy her identity."²⁰ Jane's refusal of Mr. Rochester's proposal, therefore, is not only an act to reject male dominion but also (and more importantly) an act of safeguarding her very self.

Choosing a path other than the one Mr. Rochester has foolishly designated for her allows Jane the chance to develop her own identity in the outside world and eventually attain independence in her society.²¹ Further, while Jane's escape from Mr. Rochester doesn't include any repudiation of the Christian doctrine, it does establish Jane's moral superiority over her male counterpart—who, incidentally, is supposedly her better in terms of intellect, gender and social standing. Jane's refusal to live in sin with Mr. Rochester, in combination with her refusal to live a life of Christian martyrdom with St. John Rivers, places Jane not only as a female capable of choosing her own life course but also as a respectable moral entity that is separate from Christianity—Jane is a powerful woman, and righteous, but on her own terms rather than on any religion's.

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Both of Jane's assertions of independence from the men in her life are partially guided by the repeated intervention of "the feminine supernatural." Jane's departure from Mr. Rochester's home is prompted by a female vision who comes to her in the place of the moon and advises her to flee. It is important once again to emphasize that the spirit who attends Jane comes with many metonymic pagan associations—the moon, the night, earth, fertility, etc.—and is a female whom Jane calls "Mother" rather than the heavenly father that Jane was repeatedly directed to at Lowood school.²² This is the first instance of a feminine supernatural force that helps Jane to escape male subjugation. The second instance occurs when Jane is just on the point of relenting to St. John's demands, and, triumphant, St. John "pressed his hand firmer on my head, as if he claimed me."²³ It is at this moment that the disembodied voice sounds in Jane's mind and changes her life forever, averting what the reader knows would be a tragic turn of events for Jane (as it is several times confirmed that Jane would not only be unhappy but would also soon die if she went with St. John to labor in India.)

After this crucial moment passes, Jane identifies the voice that came to her as "the work of nature. She was roused, and did—no miracle—but her best."²⁴ Again, we observe a supernatural, female "Mother" figure intervening in Jane's life to help her maintain independence and happiness. The fact that St. John's claims on Jane are professed by him as purely religious is an intriguing point when one considers that nature herself "was roused" in order to prevent them from coming to fruition. In any case, the visitations of the feminine supernatural to Jane always have the effect of increasing Jane's own power and preventing her identity from being swallowed up in man's service.

In order to communicate the gravity of Jane's choices and transformation, it is perhaps necessary to explain where she began: a young and timid "governess: disconnected, poor and plain" who additionally calls herself "obscure, plain, and little."²⁵ Katz comments on the particular situation of a governess in Victorian England and the resulting significance of Jane's elevation: "This is a strange rank in the Victorian world, one in which woman's economic survival depends on her intelligence and work. This liminal rank will see Jane's economic priorities change from pure survival as a poor, autonomous woman to her maintenance of wealth as an heiress who may or may not marry."²⁶ Jane's position as a governess and her subsequent occupation as a teacher are relevant because, while they place Jane in a relatively lowly position and as a type of servant, they allow her to succeed on her own intellectual merit rather than on physical labor. It is because Jane comes to understand and appreciate her own merits—which are extensive, despite her appearance or position in society—that ultimately empowers her to reject the impositions of male dominance and to claim life for herself, existing as a servant to no one except by her own choice.

The conclusion of *Jane Eyre* shows the culmination of the author's feminist argument. Jane's return to Mr. Rochester sees both characters greatly changed; Jane is an independent heiress, and Mr. Rochester has become a blind cripple. Shortly after greeting him, Jane indicates how greatly her own societal influence has changed since they were last together: "I am independent, sir, as well as rich: I am my own mistress."²⁷ Jane's newfound independence and Mr. Rochester's disability create an almost complete role reversal, making Mr. Rochester the supplicant and Jane the generous provider.



Blom summarizes, "The novel ends with Jane victorious on her own terms—she is able to love and, therefore, to live fully, and Rochester's physical dependence upon her renders him incapable of dehumanizing her with patronage."²⁸ In other words, the new inequality between Jane and Mr. Rochester is one that is beneficial to them both; Mr. Rochester is given long-overdue lessons in humility while Jane is still allowed to indulge her natural 'giving' instinct by taking care of him. Their love is allowed to flourish without being darkened by a woman's powerlessness. In fact, Jane's words near the end of the novel speak of just the opposite: "Reader, I married him."²⁹ That Jane takes possession of the action shows the reader that this union is of her making and of her choosing. It additionally illustrates that she is no longer merely passive in her relationship with Mr. Rochester; instead, she has become an active and even dominant participant.

The message of feminine empowerment housed in the pages of *Jane Eyre* is similar to the same in *Wuthering Heights* in that it possesses a marked cousinship with the supernatural and anti-Christian discourse. In *Jane Eyre*, Jane is guided by the feminine supernatural to reject both religious servitude and male ownership, instead exerting her individual will to

choose an existence centered on the beauty of life and romantic love. In both texts, instances of religious divergence, the supernatural and feminine sovereignty all impart the ultimate moral of self-empowerment and a rejection of societal restrictions.

Jane Eyre by Charlotte Bronte and *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Bronte are sister-novels in more senses than one. These two 19th century texts, with their shared gothic setting and revolutionary content, have emblazoned history with their shared message of religious dissent and feminine reclamation. In *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*, the life-giving supernatural presents an alternative to Christianity while also enabling emancipation and autonomy for the leading female characters. The actions and words of key characters in the two novels acts in combination with the supernatural to deny the creed of Christianity, rejecting precepts of total self-abnegation, righteous condemnation and male authority. Finally, the “feminine supernatural” and religious deviation join to raise the female characters to positions of agency and authority, emphasizing the prerogative of feminine empowerment and the fallacy of patriarchal norms. The intertwining of the supernatural, the departure from Christianity and empowered femininity in *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre* allows for a complex but unified message of religious freedom, reclaimed feminine ascendancy and the triumph of the individual over societal constraints.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Emily Bronte, *Wuthering Heights* (London: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2008), 875.
- 2 Like a young girl might be, Catherine is admittedly also tempted to accept Edgar because he is “handsome. . . young and cheerful. . . and he will be rich, and I shall like to be the greatest woman of the neighborhood.” Speaking realistically, in a world where a woman’s riches and societal status could only be gained through her husband, this would be no small consideration to a girl who sought to provide for herself and her loved ones. *Ibid.*, 904.
- 3 This line brings to the fore Bronte’s commentary on class constraints, which (alongside feminism) is consistently presented in *Wuthering Heights*. *Ibid.*, 906.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 Mr. Earnshaw’s “peevish reproofs awakened in her a naughty delight to provoke him: she was never so happy as when we were all scolding her at once, and she defying us with her bold, saucy look, and her ready words.” Heathcliff obeying her: “The boy [Heathcliff] would do her bidding in anything, and his [Mr. Earnshaw’s] only when it suited his own inclination.” *Ibid.*, 882-3.
- 6 Davie S. Davis, “Heathcliff, Lucifer, and the Failure of the Christian Myth,” *Publications Of The Missouri Philological Association* 16, (1991): 60.
- 7 Emily Bronte, *Wuthering Heights*, 912.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Edgar commenting on Catherine’s delighted reaction to Heathcliff’s return: “He never struck me as such a marvellous treasure. There is no need to be frantic!” *Ibid.*, 914.
- 10 St. John is described by Jane as “hard and cold,” (Charlotte Bronte, 299) and Edgar is accused by Catherine of having veins “full of ice-water.” (Emily Bronte, 934)
- 11 Emily Bronte, *Wuthering Heights*, 934.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 927.
- 13 Before her death, Catherine seems to understand that death will only increase her influence. “I shall be incomparably beyond and above you all.” *Ibid.*, 954.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 952-3.
- 15 In fact, what tips Catherine into the maddened frenzy that leads to her death is Edgar’s statement that she may not see Heathcliff again if she wishes to stay under his roof: “Will you give up Heathcliff hereafter, or will you give up me? It is impossible for you to be MY friend and HIS at the same time; and I absolutely REQUIRE to know which you choose.” *Ibid.*, 928-9.

- 16 Rachel Katz, "The Horror of an Unleashed Woman: Self-Governance and the Supernatural in Charlotte Brontë's 'Jane Eyre'" (*Portland: Reed College, 2005*), 1.
- 17 M.A. Blom, "Jane Eyre: Mind as Law Unto Itself," *Criticism: A Quarterly For Literature And The Arts* 15 (1973): 355.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 19 Jane's ultimate answer to Mr. Rochester's proposition—"Mr. Rochester, I will not be yours"—is an assertion of her own individuality, morality and refusal of male ownership. *Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre*, 243.
- 20 Blom, "Jane Eyre: Mind as Law Unto Itself," 61.
- 21 Jane is able to acquire a respectable profession as a school-teacher and eventually comes into an inheritance of 20,000 pounds, which she generously divides between herself and her three cousins. *Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre*, 295-6.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 246.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 363.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 320.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 129, 197.
- 26 Katz, "The Horror of an Unleashed Woman: Self-Governance and the Supernatural in Charlotte Brontë's 'Jane Eyre,'" 3.
- 27 *Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre*, 330.
- 28 Blom, "Jane Eyre: Mind as Law Unto Itself," 363.
- 29 *Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre*, 341.
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HOUSE CALLS: REVIVING A LOST PRACTICE

BY PATIA WIEBE-WRIGHT



58 Over the past several decades, medical treatment in the United States has become increasingly institutionalized. As medical technology has become more sophisticated patient treatment has moved from homes to hospitals and clinics. In the 1930s, house calls accounted for 40 percent of a physician's interaction with patients; by the 1980s, however, house calls had decreased to one percent of interactions (Emanuel, 2013). For the frail and seriously ill, arranging transportation to medical appointments can be a serious trial. When people suffer from chronic

diseases such as heart conditions, diabetes, dementia and other such illnesses, inadequate medical attention often results in unnecessary emergency room visits. Providing home-based primary care and other forms of home visits for these patients would lessen the burden on caregivers and help patients receive regular health screenings. In managing the health of chronically and seriously ill patients, frequent health screenings are critical in preventing hospitalization by providing early detection of a worsening condition. Not only does home-based primary care improve the quality

of care for patients, but a resurgence of the practice also has potential cost saving benefits. As our population ages, our health care system must adjust to meet the needs of this population. Home visits could be a viable way to achieve this goal.

When doctors didn't have many diagnostic tools, they could bring their supplies in their iconic black bags. However, the advent of electrocardiograms (EKGs) and magnetic resonance imaging (MRIs) machines severely restricts transportation of medical devices. As a result, patients must travel to these diagnostic tools to have their condition assessed as opposed to diagnosis occurring in a patient's home (DeCherrie, Sariano, & Hayashi, 2012). For chronically and seriously ill patients whose condition is already known, routine primary care visits could easily take place in their own home. Most often, routine health screenings in primary care visits involve reviewing a patient's overall health, including any changes in their condition by checking vital signs, drawing samples for blood work, etc. The medical technology required for these types of routine health screenings is easily transportable, making it possible to occur in a patient's home (Raunch, 2013). For the ten percent of patients that must manage serious and chronic illnesses, home-based primary care would provide relief from constant trips to doctors for health checks, which would help improve the frequency and the quality of their care (Meier, 2010, pg 4).

According to a report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), despite spending nearly \$3 trillion annually in medical expenses the United States has the highest rate of preventable mortality among OECD countries (OECD Indicators, 2011). Additionally, 7.2 percent of unnecessary health care spending in the United States is caused by conditions which could have been avoided with preventative measures (Institute of Medicine, 2012). This is partly because the United States is the only industrialized country that relies on institutions for the vast

majority of care for frail or seriously ill patients. Countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and Denmark rely on well-developed home and community-based services to provide care for these kinds of patients (The American Academy of Home Care Physicians, n.d.). In the United States, at least two million people over the age of 65 are permanently homebound and many represent the high cost users of Medicare. It's estimated by the American Academy of Home Care Physicians that home-based primary care could save Medicare 20-40 percent for these patients. While the initial cost of a house call would cost more than a visit at a doctor's office, house calls would prevent unnecessary emergency room and hospital visits, which would save money. In fact, the cost of 10 preventive house calls is equivalent to one \$1,500 emergency room visit (The American Academy of Home Care Physicians, n.d.).

Other than facilitating more preventative care, another advantage of home-based primary care is that it gives health professionals a chance to assess the living conditions of their patients. Clinics and hospitals remove people from the context of their daily lives, making it difficult to understand this factor, which could affect their health. Administering care in the patient's home provides health care professionals

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with many clues about a patient's lifestyle, values and needs (Meier, 2010, pg 304). For patients with multiple chronic conditions, this type of intimate knowledge is crucial for health care professionals to provide adequate treatment. Further, house calls make it easier for health care professionals to teach patients how to handle chronic problems. For example, it is easier to demonstrate the best diet for a diabetic in the patient's regular environment (Emanuel, 2013).

Within the health care field, there are two exciting developments aiding in the creation of an institutional framework for providing home-based primary care. First, in addition to changing the way health care is managed in the United States, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) has helped fuel discussion on how health care can be improved. In an effort to improve the cost, quality and access of health care, increased attention is being paid to the service delivery component of health care. Treatment of chronically and seriously ill patients represents the largest portion of health care spending in the United States. In order to develop cost saving methods that don't reduce the access or quality of care available to chronically and seriously ill patients, emphasis has been placed on improving service delivery to these patients in future health care reform (Johnston, 2013). Second, palliative care has become a growing part of health care in the United States. As a specialized medical care for patients with serious and chronic illnesses, palliative care focuses on providing symptom, pain and stress relief to improve the quality of life for the patients and their families (Johnston, 2013). Furthermore, palliative care emphasizes preventative care, thus enhancing communication between patients and health care professionals, continuity of care, and treatment accessibility for patients with long term illnesses (Meier, 2010).

**CURRENTLY, ABOUT 3,000
PRIMARY CARE PHYSICIANS
AND OTHER HEALTH
PROFESSIONALS NOW MAKE
HOUSE CALLS FULL TIME.**

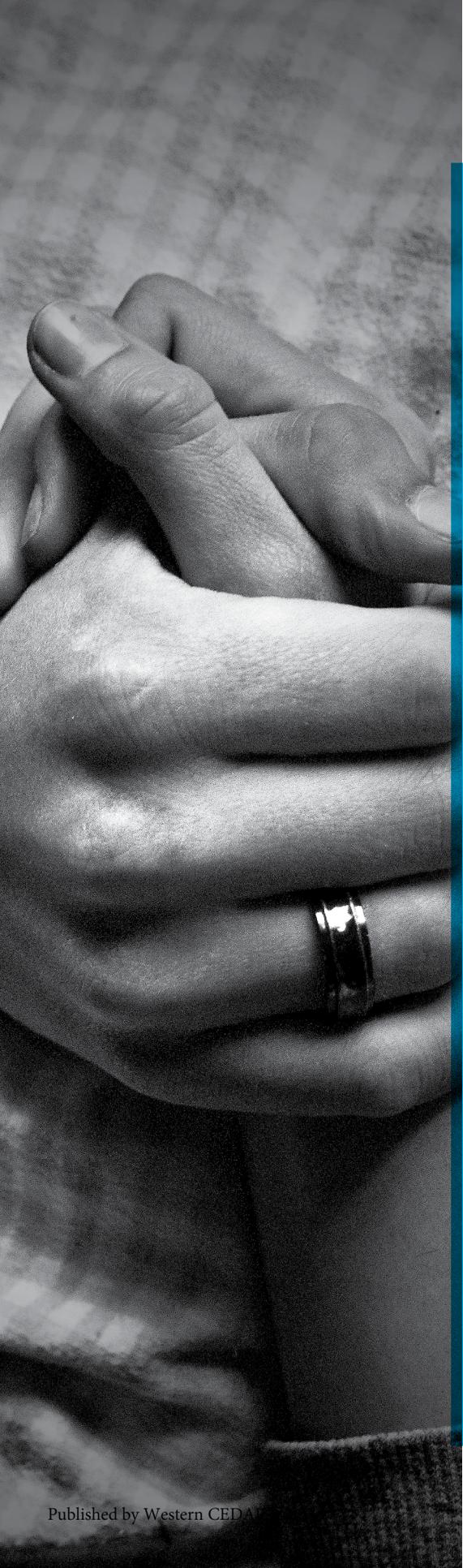
Despite a lack of institutional framework to support them, the number of health workers who make house calls has risen steadily since 2005. Currently, about 3,000 primary care physicians and other health professionals now make house calls full time (Hawthorne, 2013). One such nurse practitioner is Jody Hoppis, who serves patients in Bellingham, Washington. Hoppis visits patients at their homes using her bicycle for transportation with the help of a specially designed bicycle trailer to carry her supplies. Hoppis started "Mobile Medicine" in 2008, and the practice's low overhead costs allow her to spend up to an hour with each patient, significantly longer than the average 15 minutes in a typical clinic setting (Kahn, 2010). With this innovative practice, Hoppis can perform physical examinations, diagnose and treat illnesses and chronic health problems, order and interpret diagnostic tests and refer patients to specialists in the comfort of a patient's home (My Mobile Medicine, n.d.).

Aside from home visits such as Hoppis', another innovative practice is using webcams to connect patients with health care professionals. Carena is a private company based out of Seattle that contracts with companies like Microsoft and Costco to provide house calls under their insurance plan. Carena uses the latest technology to provide the same



services as old fashioned house calls but with a slight twist. While the company does perform traditional house calls, it is particularly innovative in its use of webcams, removing the need for either the patient or health care professional to travel for a simple screening. Patients can contact a doctor or nurse practitioner 24 hours a day via webcam or phone to determine if a condition requires a visit to the emergency room, or if the situation can be handled at home (Carena n.d.). Carena low-cost assessment methods could provide significant savings if a similar program was adopted by Medicare and Medicaid. According to Carena, about 75 percent of calls are resolved via webcam and only 25 percent require an in person visit to a doctor or emergency room (Eduardo, 2013). For some elderly patients, the technological literacy required to operate a webcam means programs like Carena might not be a viable option. However, for more technologically savvy caregivers or patients, it could provide a valuable, cost reducing service.

For more intensive home care, John Hopkins University has begun a “Hospital at Home” program. The program provides in home treatment for a condition that would otherwise require acute hospital in-patient care such as pneumonia and heart failure. Hospitalization is often difficult for the elderly, as they are highly susceptible to functional decline, infection and other consequences (Leff et al., 2005). In academic studies by the National Center of Biotechnology Information, the Cochrane Collaborations and Annals of Internal Medicine results have been inconclusive regarding the benefits of this program over traditional hospitalization. However, Hospital at Home patients were less like to suffer from delirium or be prescribed sedative medication. Additionally, no study has discovered detrimental effects of the program, and patients who receive Hospital at Home care report higher satisfaction with their treatment than those receiving care in hospitals (Shepperd et al., 2009). This is crucial because high stress in patients is detrimental



to health and recovery (Meier, 2010). Even if Hospital at Home does not save money or improve outcomes, the patient satisfaction it provides makes the program an excellent form of care. Also, with hospital treatment in the home, family members and other caregivers are able to stay with the patient more easily.

The ACA has provided some incentives and means to implement the return of home care. The Independence at Home Demonstration was created by the ACA to test home-based primary care provided through Medicare and Medicaid. The Demonstration is “testing a payment incentive and service delivery model that uses primary care teams led by a physician or nurse practitioner to deliver timely, in-home care to Medicare beneficiaries with multiple chronic illnesses and functional impairments” (Frequently Asked Questions, n.d.). Conducted by the Center for Medicare and Medicaid Innovation, the Independence at Home Demonstration provides incentives for health care providers who reduce Medicare expenditures while meeting quality standards. Currently, there are 18 practices and consortia across the United States that participate in the Independence at Home Demonstration. Established in 2012, the three-year demonstration will report to Congress in 2015 on the long-term potential of providing home-based care through Medicare and Medicaid. While the program is still in the early stages, preliminary testing suggests that if 1.5 million eligible beneficiaries were to access effective forms of Independence at Home, it could result in significant savings for Medicare (DeCherrie, Sariano, & Hayashi, 2012).

The Department of Veterans Affairs has implemented a successful home-based primary care program for those who “have complex health care needs for whom routine clinic-based care is not effective” (Hughes, Weaver, & Giobbie-Hurder, 2000). According to a 2009 study, the number of days spent in hospitals and nursing homes was cut by 62 percent and 88 percent for patients treated by this program, respectively. Total health care costs for these patients’ treatment also dropped by 24 percent (Beales & Edes, 2009). Additionally, a randomized multicenter trial of the program by the *Journal of the American Medical*

Association showed significant improvements for terminal patients in their emotional and social functions, bodily pain, mental health, vitality and general health compared to a control group receiving traditional care. Furthermore, the program enhanced the quality of life and health of the patient's caregivers. Improved conditions for non-terminal patients and their caregivers were seen as well, especially for readmissions in severely disabled patients (Hughes, Weaver, & Giobbie-Hurder, 2000). Operating in 75 percent of Veteran's Affairs facilities, the success and satisfaction reported by patients offers a guiding model for the Independence at Home Demonstration.

The United States' health care system was designed to provide care for isolated episodes of intensive, acute care. While it provides the best care in the world in this respect, it lacks effective systems for the frail and chronically ill who require constant, low-intensity support. Patients with five or more chronic conditions are the fastest growing portion of the Medicare population and even slight cost reductions in treating these patients could result in significant savings (Raunch, 2013). In fact, it's estimated that a five percent reduction in end-of-life costs would save Medicare \$90 billion over ten years (Raunch, 2013). House calls, particularly home-based primary care, could provide these savings and improve the quality of life for the frail and chronically ill. Those who are homebound or have limited mobility often don't see a health care professional regularly. Hospitalization is a costly and stressful experience, and intervening with home-based primary care can help ameliorate some of these problems.

Furthermore, emergency house calls offer an alternative to hospitalization. Avoiding traumatic or disruptive hospitalization not only prolongs life, but improves it as well. The acute care model is not designed to handle declining patients. Often, these patients are only briefly stabilized, and some even leave the hospital in a worse

78 PERCENT OF ELDERLY PATIENTS WOULD GIVE UP MONTHS OR EVEN YEARS OF THEIR LIVES IN EXCHANGE FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT OF PAIN AND DISCOMFORT, PERSONAL CONTROL OVER MEDICAL DECISIONS AND FAMILIAR SURROUNDINGS.

condition than before their treatment. Hospital care operates through inertia; once a patient is admitted, life preserving treatments are often administered with little consideration for quality of life. However, 78 percent of elderly patients would give up months or even years of their lives in exchange for better management of pain and discomfort, personal control over medical decisions and familiar surroundings (Bryce, Loewenstien, Arnold, Schooler, Wax, & Angus, 2004). Additionally, at least 70 percent of people in North America die in some type of institution (Meier, 2010 pg. 299). Yet, over 80 percent of patients say that they wish to avoid hospitalization and intensive care during the terminal phase of illness (Raunch, 2013). The frail and chronically ill would benefit from health care professionals performing emergency house calls in which hospitalization is not the primary response.

For a patient in distress, their only option is to call 911, which sweeps them into the acute-care system. In her book *Knocking on Heaven's Door*, Katy Butler suggests the idea of a 811 number patients and caregivers could call. Instead of an ambulance, this number would send a team of doctors or nurses specialized in managing frail and chronically ill patients to provide help and assess the situation (2013, pg.

**OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE
SUGGESTS THAT SERIOUSLY
AND CHRONICALLY ILL
PATIENTS WOULD BENEFIT
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269). Instead of sending dying patients to the ICU, health care professional would provide them reassurance and pain management, which are elements of a “good death”. A study by the Journal of the American Medical Association found patients and caregivers defined a good death as one that is free of unnecessary distress and suffering which includes receiving mindful care and support. Additionally, most people wish to die in a familiar setting with loved ones at their side (Connors et al., 1995). Creating these conditions is best achieved in a home, not a hospital.

Discussion about the idea of what constitutes a good death is not a new one, but the discussion is reopening in the modern age. Since the dawn of modern medicine, Americans seem to have adopted the idea that death can be infinitely postponed if the correct treatments are performed at the right time (Butler, 2013). Acknowledgement that death is inevitable has given rise to elements of the medical system such as palliative and hospice care. This type of care seeks not to stop death at all costs but rather focuses on what it means to have a good death. Increasing home care for elderly and chronically ill patients would transfer the place of medical care from a hospital or clinic into their home. In turn, this encourages practices which allow people to make their final passage in the comfort of their

home. While many cultural conceptions about death will ultimately need to change before Americans accept death as a part of life and not a failure in treatment, home care is a step in the right direction towards providing people with good deaths.

Overwhelming evidence suggests that seriously and chronically ill patients would benefit from providing home-based primary care. This type of care would also increase the scope and accessibility of medical treatment in their own home. House calls would not only provide them with improved forms of care in the earlier stages of an illness but would also create a better pathway to death. Furthermore, the rise in home care programs and professionals shows that if Medicare and Medicaid structure their reimbursement scheme to better accommodate in home medical care, the services would be utilized. Not only would in home medical care provide superior care quality, but subsequent reduction in hospitalization could result in significant monetary savings. Because of the clear benefits in cost, quality and access, increasing in home medical care should be a priority in future health care reforms.

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SOCIAL NETWORKS

of shared attributes

BY SKY HESTER

INTRODUCTION

People are connected. Some of the connections—like friendship or marriage—are easy to see, and some are less obvious. For instance, think of an abstract similarity based on an idea of identity, like ethnicity or gender; these too are connections between people. It is the collection of these relationships that define a person in their social context. A set of individuals connected through chosen relationships defines a *social network*.

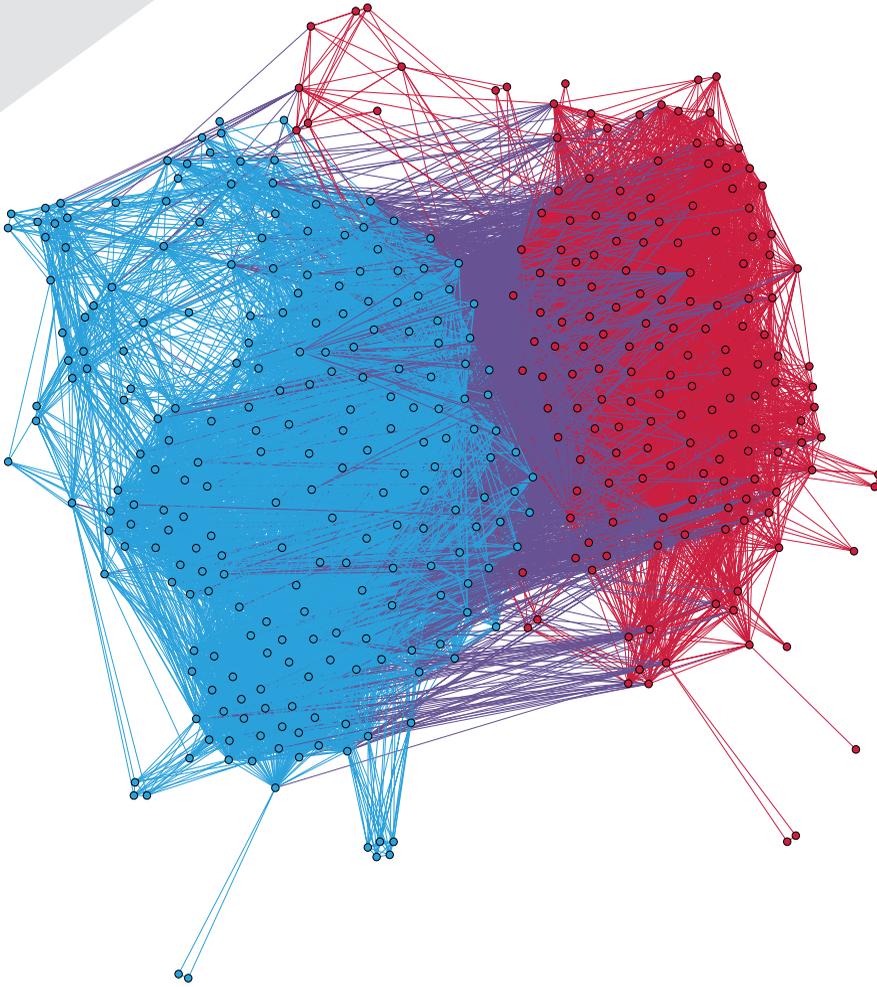
Social network analysis may be understood to deal with questions about social structure and individual or group behavior from the perspective of the relations between actors. Although it deals with people and can be considered a branch of sociology, the methods of social network analysis are highly mathematical. Fortunately, because the abstractions involved in the mathematical methods represent familiar constructs of our experience—people and their connections—they can be discussed in familiar terms. What follows is an effort to give an appreciation of this practice to the non-mathematical reader.

Social networks help to clarify the discussion of important social phenomena by allowing quantitative techniques to approach what is normally a qualitative domain of discourse. In particular, the extent to which educational attainment is socially closed within status groups can be examined by constructing a certain social network, which will be discussed here. This network was derived from a subset of the 2010 General Social Survey (GSS) dataset for the respondent variables described in table 1, restricted to respondents whose ages ranged from 30 to 40. Before treating the analysis itself, it will be necessary to familiarize the reader with certain relevant ideas.

CONCEPTS

A social network is treated mathematically as a *graph*, a structure which consists of objects called *vertices* to represent people, and other objects called *edges* to represent a connection between two people [2]. Visually, a graph is represented by a small dot for each vertex, and a line segment between two dots represents an edge (this is called a *drawing of a graph*, and should not be confused with the sort of charts that are usually called graphs or plots). In the language of social network analysis, we would say that the vertices of the graph represent actors in their social context and the edges their relations.

A *weighted graph* begins as an ordinary graph, where the vertices represent people and the edges represent their relationships, but once the relationships are in place, we assign a *weight* to each edge to represent the strength of the connection it reflects. In the situation where the edge indicates friendship, we may use the number of years the two friends have known each other as a weight, or maybe the number of hikes they have been on together or even the number of times they have given each other a hug.



These may seem like silly examples of the strength of a friendship, but each of these data would yield qualitatively different conclusions about the connection structure of the weighted graph representing friendships in a group of people. This is particularly true when the questions we wish to answer concern the *community structure* of a given network. For instance, the communities of hikers might be very different from communities of friends who attend the same concerts.

But how can we determine the communities in a social network? We would like to be able to do this objectively, according to some mathematical definition of a community. The goal of a community extraction procedure for a graph is to create a partition of the vertex set, meaning a way of assigning a community to each person, so the connections between people within a community are stronger than the

connections between people in separate communities. The commonly used measure of quality for a community partition is known as *modularity* [1], which measures exactly how many more connections are in a community than would be expected if the relationships were distributed at random.

Here the phrase “at random” has a certain technical meaning that is usually based on the Newman-Girvan null model. In this model, the network under examination is compared to an artificial approximation where the local strength of relationships from the original network is maintained—that is, the total strength of relationships between a given vertex and the rest of the network is the same—but the relationships are distributed evenly across the network without considering its underlying community structure [5].

The optimal community partition with respect to modularity is determined here by the Louvain method, an iterative

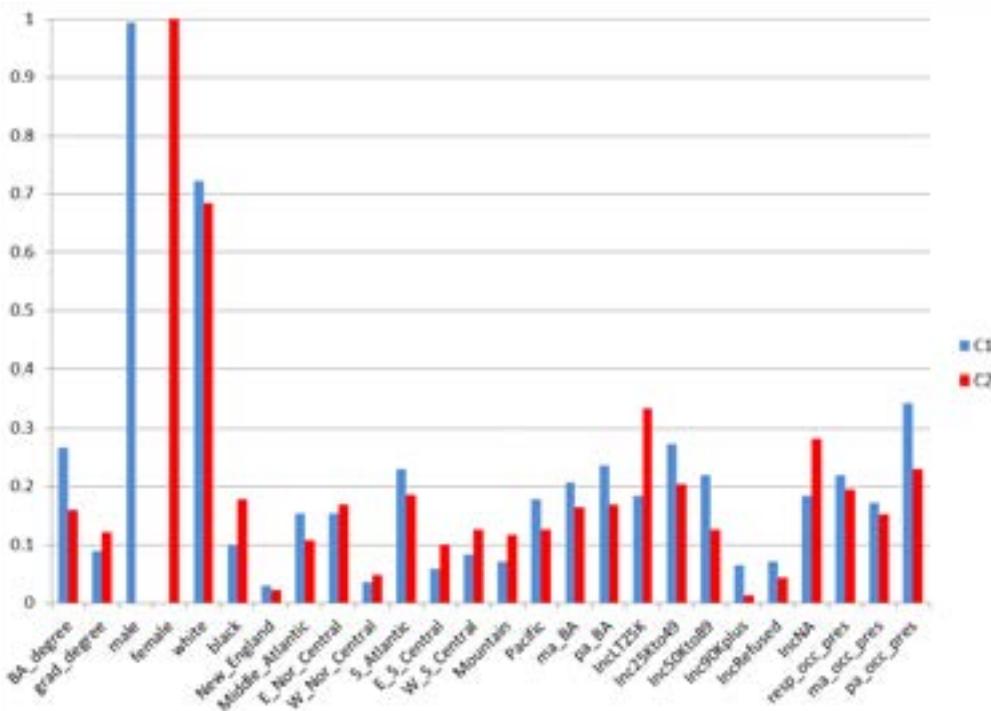


FIGURE 1: Modularity clusters in network of shared attributes. (Previous page) Graph of shared labels, full set of labels (Above) Community partition label distributions

algorithm which begins by assigning each person their own community and at each step joins pairs of communities in a randomized order if the larger community formed by the pair yields a higher modularity. In other words, the algorithm builds communities from the bottom up until the highest quality partition has been achieved.

Because we are unaware of the direct social connections between GSS respondents, we will have to satisfy our curiosity by establishing abstract connections between them based on their response variables. In particular, we will construct a weighted graph on which each edge is weighted by the number of common responses shared by the two respondents on either end of the edge in question. This construction will be called a *network of shared attributes*, and it is closely related to the concept of a multi-mode social network. At this point, it is important to note that the communities we extract from the graph no longer represent social communities but abstract *clusters* of respondents, though we will continue to refer to them as communities.

Once a community partition is determined for the network of shared attributes, we can analyze the differences between communities by comparing the relative distributions of their attributes; that is, we will see if there are any qualitative differences between the clusters of respondents by comparing their responses.

METHODS

As mentioned above, we will consider the selected GSS response variables as attributes, and from this we may create the corresponding graph of shared attributes, determine communities within that graph, and observe the distribution of responses within a community. For a given community, responses of high relative probability can be thought of as distinguishing traits, and the differences in response distributions will describe the differences in measured attributes for members of each community.

This analysis was achieved using R [3] and the network analysis software package Gephi [4]. Table 1 summarizes GSS response codes used in the figures.

RESULTS

When all attributes are used to construct a network of shared attributes for the GSS dataset, only two communities are extracted, each entirely distinguished by gender, as shown in figure 1. In all visualizations, edges of weight 1 are not shown in order to make the community separations more clear. When gender labels are removed from the set of attributes, the partition is characterized by the income distribution of each community, as shown in figure 2.

Both of the community partitions in figures 1 and 2 are determined by including edges of all weights. If we were to remove edges of small weight, the network would become extremely disconnected; many of the communities extracted from such a graph would be too small to analyze statistically, hence the motivation for including all edges.

It can be seen from figure 1 that two communities are extracted, each homogeneous with respect to gender response variables. Recall that this partition is constructed based only on the strength and number of connections within a community; as such, it is unbiased with respect to the actual meaning of the responses from which these weights are drawn. This indicates that male respondents had more common responses with other males than with female respondents. However, it is important to note that these gender clusters have one common response guaranteed and that their remaining response variables are only partially correlated with gender. In order to elucidate the finer structure of this data, we remove gender labels to obtain figure 2.

This second network decomposes into four communities, each nearly homogeneous with respect to their income response variables. From the distribution of attributes in figure 2, it is clear that high income (greater than USD 50k/yr) respondents (group C0) have the highest levels of occupational prestige; this is also the case for both their parents. These respondents also have the highest educational attainment and are twice as likely to have a graduate degree as the second highest income group, C2. The parents of high-income respondents are also most likely to hold a bachelor's degree. This community partition demonstrates a positive correlation between status-based (parental and self-occupational prestige, parental education) response

EDUCATION

BA_degree	Respondent attained BA degree
grad_degree	Respondent attained graduate-level degree

PARENTAL EDUCATION

ma_BA	Respondent's mother attained BA degree
pa_BA	Respondent's father attained BA degree

ETHNICITY

White
Black

REGION

New_England
Middle_Atlantic
E_Nor_Central
S_Atlantic
E_S_Central
Mountain
Pacific

ANNUAL INCOME

IncLT25K	Income < 25,000
Inc25Kto49	25,000 ≤ Income ≤ 49,000
Inc50Kto89	50,000 ≤ Income ≤ 89,000
Inc90Kplus	Income > 90,000
IncRefused	Respondent refused to provide income
IncNA	Unemployed or disabled

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

resp_occ_pres	Occ. prestige score > 80, respondent
ma_occ_pres	Occ. prestige score > 80, respondent's mother
pa_occ_pres	Occ. prestige score ≥ 80, respondent's father

TABLE 1: GSS VARIABLES USED FOR LABELLING

variables and attainment-based (bachelor's and graduate degrees, income) response variables for this sample.

Note that C3, the group associated with unknown income, could correspond to unemployed respondents. It is clear visually that they make up the smallest proportion of the data and are for the most part not strongly connected to the largest connected component (at weight 2). While C1, the community known to have income less than USD 25k/yr, makes up a larger proportion of the data, it is also not highly connected.

DISCUSSION

Intuitively, partition 2 is perhaps the most appealing. It seems to support the notion of social closure within families for socioeconomic status and education attainment and suggests the expected relationship between parental education and occupational prestige and attainment variables.

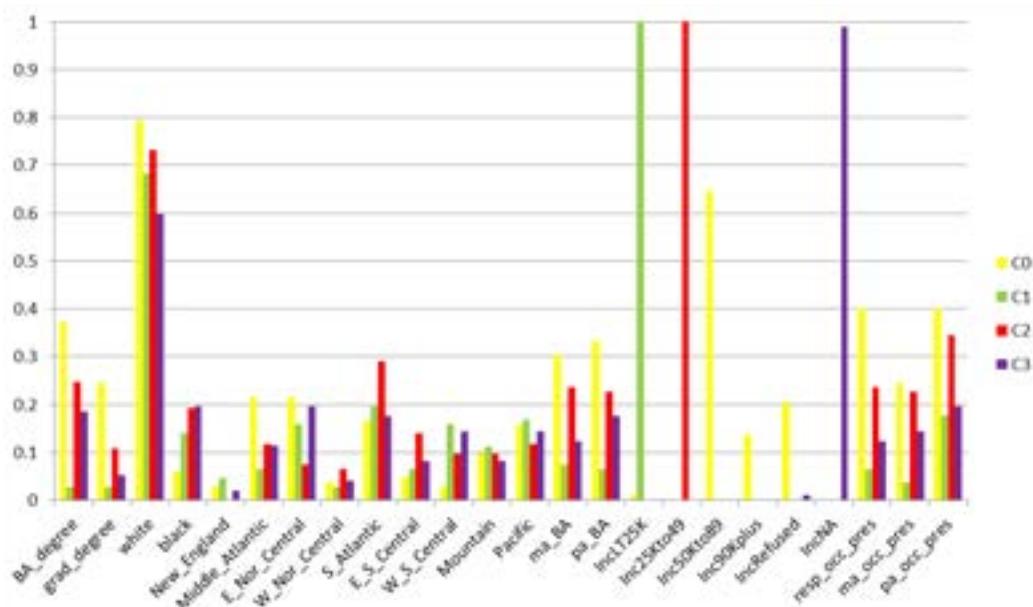
It is interesting to note that the lower income communities C1 and C2 appear to have several subcommunities which had only one response in common; this is determined visually by finding those clusters in the drawing which appear to be separated from the remaining vertices of their assigned community, or else only connected by one or two edges. We know this common response must be the income response by the homogeneity of those communities with respect to that response variable. This could indicate that there are relatively many reasons that respondents are experiencing low income and relatively few for high income, but that question can't be answered without a more careful analysis of a greater variety of GSS response variables.

There are other, more standard methods of achieving clustering with categorical datasets like the GSS. These methods have the disadvantage that they are usually dependent upon assumptions about the distribution of the

data. In addition, these methods are not easy to visualize. Fortunately, modularity optimization is easy to visualize and makes no assumptions about distribution, but as noted earlier, it is highly sensitive to the choice of weights. A more justifiable use of the technique would be to relate respondents by their acquaintanceship and extract communities from the social network thus formed. Given the restrictions of the data, this could not be achieved, but to do so would be an important next step to verify the interpretation put forward by this analysis.



FIGURE 2: Modularity clusters in network of shared attributes, gender not considered.
 (Opposite) Network of shared attributes, gender not considered
 (Below) Community partition label distributions





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WRITER BIOS

RYAN WALKER is a Classical Studies major whose emphasis is in Ancient History. “Areté: Greek ideals and the rise and fall of the polis culture” was originally the final project of History 312 (Ancient Greece) in the fall of 2012. The paper underwent some revision and change the next quarter when Walker presented it at the Phi Alpha Theta Northwest Conference in Portland. Walker added in new ideas and sources from another class he took from Professor Goldman which focused on Alexander the Great and the wars of his successors.

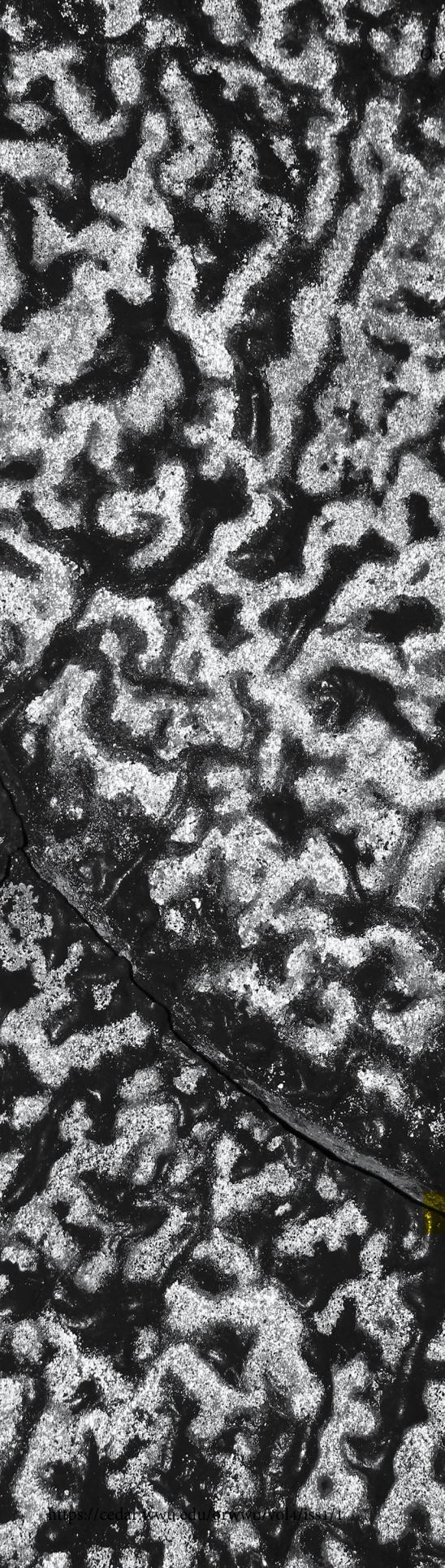
KAYLA DERBYSHIRE is a senior majoring in English Literature at Western Washington University. “It’s a (Fe)Male World: Male-Oriented Revisionism in *Watchmen*” was written for the course English 418, a senior seminar focused on graphic novels and theory. The topic of this paper was chosen because the majority of critical analysis on *Watchmen* focuses on how it is a revisionist, feminist text. Disagreeing entirely with the majority of the field, Derbyshire decided to write this paper.

AUSTIN HILL is a senior studying a B.S. in Applied Mathematics with concentrations in Physics and Operations Research. Hill wrote “Archimedes’ Cattle Problem” for Math 419, Historical Perspectives of Math. The paper was written about the life of Archimedes and his contributions to modern mathematics, principally through the lens of his famous Cattle Problem. The topic covers a spectrum of history, numerical mathematics, and literature.

RUTA NANIVADEKAR is a senior here at Western pursuing a double major in Sociology and Political Science. She wrote “African Immigrants in South Africa” as part of a study abroad trip to South Africa with the Political Science department in the summer of 2012. During this six-week trip, she did several service learning projects, conducted the qualitative component of this research, took lots of beautiful hikes, and rode an elephant! Apart from her studies, she works in the Associated Students, is the president of the Vikings for Fair Trade club, cooks a lot, and plays the harp.

MARISA LENAY CARTER is a fourth year student majoring in English literature and minoring in Spanish. Carter wrote “Tyra Banks: the Medical Confession in the Twenty-First Century Talk Show” in English 313, a critical theory class. In this paper, Carter analyzes Michel Foucault’s theory of the history of sexuality and applies it to an interview on the Tyra Banks show. His theory brings light to Tyra Banks’ interrogation of porn star Sasha Grey and her determination to find the ultimate cause for the young starlet’s actions. This essay was nominated for Scholars Week in 2014

KAITLYN ABRAMS graduated from Western with a degree in English and a minor in Sociology in Fall 2013. She is currently interning with a publishing company as well as an environmental conservation group, and she plans to teach English abroad in Georgia in September. “The Supernatural, Christianity, and the Feminist Spirit in *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*” is an excerpt from Abrams’ Honors senior thesis project. The two sections not included respectively discussed the presence of paranormal occurrences and the related divergence from traditional Christianity evidenced in the two Victorian texts. Each section builds on the previous one, so this final section attempts to interweave the essay’s three elements.



PATIA WIEBE-WRIGHT is a senior with a double major in Political Science and Anthropology. During Fall Quarter 2013, The Political Science Department offered the class Special Topics in Health: The Affordable Care Act and Palliative Care in Whatcom County, Washington. The class was centered on health care reform, palliative care, and end of life choices and policies in the United States. Current treatment of chronically/seriously ill patients does not adequately meet three key aspects of health care: cost, quality and access. “House Calls: Reviving a Lost Practice” discusses how developing home based primary care frameworks would help address this issue.

SKY HESTER is a Fairhaven College student completing a B.S. in Mathematics. His interest in complex networks led to an independent study in social network analysis in 2013. The project was supervised by Joseph Ferrare, a researcher at the Wisconsin Center for Education Research and visiting faculty member of Fairhaven College at the time, and focused on the relationship between status and educational attainment observable in the US General Social Survey. The paper “Social Networks of Shared Attributes” was originally a report on the mathematical methods applied to explore the problem, and has been rewritten here for the non-mathematical reader.

As an undergraduate student, I know how hard it is to feel as if your work means something beyond the grade it receives. You work really, really hard on an essay for a few weeks, sometimes even an entire quarter, and then it is turned in to the professor, never to be seen again. After working for three quarters on this volume of Occam's Razor, I can honestly say that the work undergraduates produce for their classes are monuments to the dedication they have to their respective fields, and as such they should be shared with pride across all of campus.

The papers we chose go beyond their academic prowess; they offer insight to the many facets of humanity, to the cultures and communities built by the many faces of our world. Western's students and faculty are truly committed to servicing academia in a way that expands well beyond our community. It is always important to reflect on learning as a whole and to apply knowledge to a broader spectrum of human understanding. Occam's Razor has always held a high standard for showcasing the value of undergraduate work and I believe that the fourth volume continues to uphold that standard.

This is just one chapter of the history of Occam's Razor – we are excited to enter into a year of transition where we have the opportunity to expand even more. We are always looking for people to help represent their department in all aspects of the journal from editorial and design work to recommending fantastic submissions. If you are ever interested in being part of its creation, I welcome you to contact next year's staff via Facebook or e-mail at occam.wwu@gmail.com. If you are a faculty member of Western who remembers a particularly high-quality essay written by one of your students, I also welcome you to encourage students to submit their paper for future volumes. Occam's Razor owes much of its success to Western's community, and we are truly grateful.

There are only so many ways to acknowledge gratitude to everyone that contributed towards this year's volume, but I feel that the best way to do so is to simply say "thank you." Thank you to all of the students that allow us to publish and share their amazing work for the whole campus to see. We are truly grateful for your dedication to academia, and we could not be happier to be representing your work. Thank you to the associate editors, Joshua Bird, Megan Cook, Savannah DiMarco, and Kristopher Nelson, for all the hard work they put into this volume. Without their dedication to academic and editorial

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Yours in scholarship,



TESSA WOODS
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

AFTERWORD

