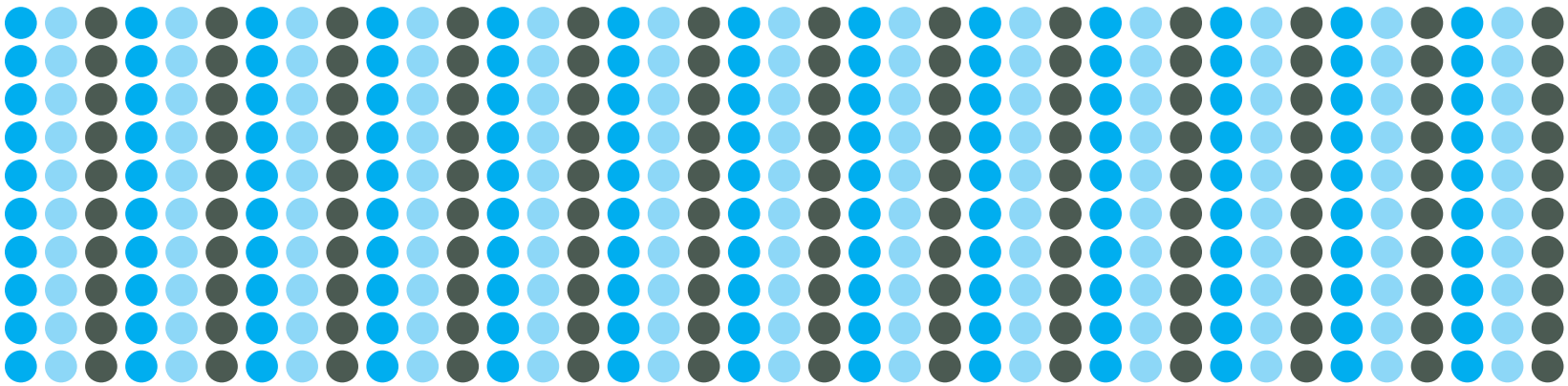
Elements

Spring 2012



Volume 8 : : Issue 1

THANKS

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QUESTIONS & CONTRIBUTIONS

If you have any questions, please contact the journal at elements@bc.edu. The next deadline is Wednesday, April 4, 2012. All submissions can be sent to elements.submissions@gmail.com. Visit our website at www.bc.edu/elements for updates and further information.

COVER

Namibia - Kalahari Desert - Quiver Tree
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PERIODICITY

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EDITOR'S NOTE

What work ought a government do? Much chatter in the public sphere portrays the U.S. Government as a prodigal son to its father—the Constitution—and as the leader of a declining democracy. Many pundits tell a story of a revised American history about the 'Christian origin' of the United States, while others pointlessly insist on a government that is 'smaller' or 'larger' than it presently is. But, as Bill Clinton wisely remarks, what the United States needs now is a government that works. In this moment of dysfunction, the citizens of the United States are well poised to learn from other liberal democracies around the world. In the present issue, two interesting and dissimilar situations—that of conflict in Northern Ireland and of democracy in Namibia—have a lot to offer as instruction. Northern Ireland is torn between two different histories and identities. Unionists claim a strong cultural and political tie to the United Kingdom, while nationalists want Northern Ireland unified with the rest of the Ireland. Though violence has since abated in the region, the governance of Northern Ireland remains no less challenging. On the other hand, Namibia has only recently, in 1990, gained independence from South Africa. In its new era, Namibia has shaped into a democracy that maintains a separation of powers into executive, judicial, and legislative branches, much like the United States. Unlike the United States, however, Namibia has a single prominent political party that has led it through a steady span of growth, an interesting contrast to the two-party system in the United States and, perhaps, a downright puzzlement to those Americans seeking a third strong political power for the upcoming election year.

The image on this cover of *Elements* shows the quiver tree *Aloe dichotoma* in Namibia's Quiver Tree Forest, the world's only spontaneously grown quiver forest, just south of the small town Keetmanshoop. Especially abundant in Namibia, this 'tree' (actually an aloe shrub) can grow to thirty feet even in arid conditions. The Quiver Tree Forest serves as a kind reminder of every government's responsibility to the land that it rules. *Aloe dichotoma* itself is a threatened species, listed as "vulnerable" by the International Union for Conservation of Nature, a result of human intrusion that affects inhabitants of the forest, great and small alike. Of the small ones, lichens—fungi that are symbiotic with photosynthetic partners—are dynamic indicators of the overall health of tropical environments, writes Jacob Cravens in his article "Lichen Community Diversity." Such broader-based diagnostic approach could bolster the understanding we have of our environment and the role we play in maintaining it.

I am delighted to present this issue of *Elements*, my final issue as editor-in-chief. In the past four years, the staff of Elements has developed the journal into a more mature publication. With the publication this year of the Style & Publication Manual for Elements, one of many advances, I am confident that the journal is poised to continue as one of Boston College's foremost forums for the exchange of insight.

Sincerely,

R. BRIAN TRACZ

Editor-in-chief

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Perspectives

NAMIBIA RISING

by Adi Ashok

Sub-Saharan Africa has had a particularly tumultuous political history involving colonialism, genocides, and coups. Comprised largely of developing nations with rich cultural histories and a variety of natural resources, it has been influenced by significant foreign investment by counties such as China, the United States of America, and Russia. As a result, the political development of countries in the region provides interesting case studies for international affairs. Some countries, such as Sudan, have had a very tumultuous development marred by intense internecine conflicts. Others such as Zimbabwe have struggled more with interference from other nations.

Namibia is a particularly interesting case study because of its uniquely representative government. In 1920 after World War I, the League of Nations made it a mandated country to South Africa, which in theory was supposed to supervise its healthy political and economic development.[1] However, South Africa imposed its legal codes on Namibia and, following 1948, subjected it to apartheid policies. Even after the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was recognized as the representative party of the people in 1973 by the United Nations, South Africa continued to impose politically oppressive policies that largely stagnated that Namibian economy. After an intense, violent struggle for independence, which was intimately linked with South Africa's anti-apartheid movement, Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990.[2] Since then, despite having a relatively small population, Namibia has experienced economic growth, albeit with a high unemployment rate. Nonetheless, it continues to suffer from major infrastructure issues that exacerbate the AIDS epidemic. Approximately 13.1% of individuals between the ages of 15 and 49 are HIV positive.[3] Despite conforming to a number of public health and economic models, however, its political development does not easily dovetail with the ideology that indicates that political consolidation is required in order for a country to have a representative political system. The unique development of Namibia's political system is therefore worth analysis because it demonstrates that a representative political infrastructure does not necessarily have to conform to the framework of Western, consolidated democracies.

1. "History of Namibia—Namibia under South African Government." Namibia Under South African Government. Web. 07 Jan. 2012. <http://www.namib.info/namibia/uk/history/namibia_under_south_africa/index.php>.
2. "History of Namibia—The Independence." The Independence. Web. 07 Jan. 2012. <http://www.namib.info/namibia/uk/history/independence/index.php>.
3. "Sub-Saharan Africa HIV/AIDS Statistics." Avert: International HIV/AIDS Charity. Web. 4 Jan. 2012. <http://www.avert.org/africa-hiv-aids-statistics.htm>.

DEATH IN VENICE: MANY MINDS

by Juliette San Fillipo

Gustav von Aschenbach, the protagonist of Thomas Mann's novella *Death in Venice*, is likened to a "closed, tight fist" when a colleague attempts to describe how he has always lived. This "shrewd observer" of Aschenbach contrasts this gesture with "his open hand [dangling] at ease from the armrest of [a] chair."[1] The narrator of Mann's novella agrees that Aschenbach has never lived like this—loose and at ease. As Alexandra Francois claims in her article "The Duality of Venice & The Human Mind: An Exploration of Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* Through the Lens of Psychoanalytic Criticism," his clenched personality is evidence of a resolutely disciplined demeanor, as well as his inherent Apollonian traits of form, order and reason.2 Yet the comparison of the "closed fist" to Aschenbach also elucidates that the protagonist is hiding something in *Death in Venice*; his closed fist is not only an attempt towards the Apollonian ideal, but also a cache for his Dionysian urges, pressed into his palm and repressed from society. Aschenbach is overly concerned with aesthetics, or more specifically his reputation and exterior image, so he stashes away his darker, chaotic, sensual side into his hidden mind—and to his observers, the locus beneath the fist. This seemingly simple gesture, mentioned in the very beginning of Mann's novella, produces a profound metaphor in which the most important theme of his work—duality—is at work in the most imminent and minute language. Francois' article, "Venice and the Mind: A Psychoanalytic Essay on Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*," takes this prominent theme and specifically applies it to the psychoanalysis of both the protagonist of the novella and the novella's author himself, while citing pivotal figures in the field such as Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche who influenced Mann. Despite the specialized focus of the article, Francois' piece reminds readers of the inevitable duality of interpretation that lies in all works of literature, and thus its transience between not only the real world and the fictional, but also among the disciplines of the humanities. Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*, as well as all works of literature, can always be examined in multiple ways. Francois notes that Mann writes, "Is form not two-faced?"[3] Is *Death in Venice* therefore a story about Aschenbach or Mann himself? Is he the manifestation of the mythical Apollo, or Dionysus? Is *Death in Venice* a story about the death of Aschenbach, or a story about the paradoxical city of Venice? The novella may be interpreted from many angles, but Francois chooses to place Mann's arguably autobiographical work into the context of historical psychoanalysis and the evolution of its criticism.

Francois's approach is to first introduce readers into the origins of psychoanalytic criticism, which invariably link with the ideas of Sigmund Freud, the father of modern psychology. The author is apt to point out that early on Freud gravitated towards the works of writers and poets, and helping him spawn the psychoanalytic approach, because he understood that literature could represent a manifestation of an artist's psyche. This is important to note, as the consideration and criticism of literature in general center on the interpretation of a work's symbols and reoccurring themes, in which authors would have "coded their true ideas and thoughts." This approach to literature thus allows the reader to move literary interpretation beyond the discussion of the characters and onto the author as well. In other words, if literary conventions are not merely artistic, but the coded ideas and thoughts of the author, then novels and novellas may then be considered autobiographical in a sense. Francois' article gives an entirely new perspective with which the reader can consider the psychology of *Death in Venice*: the interpretation of the text takes on considerable complexity when the psyche of not only Aschenbach but also the psyche of Mann is analyzed.

Francois does so in her article by applying the psychology and philosophy of Mann's contemporaries to the dualistic themes present in *Death in Venice*. The author draws from Friedrich Nietzsche's theory of man's internal opposing forces of Apollo and Dionysus from Greek mythology, as well as Sigmund Freud's theories of internal repression and outward consciousness. Conflicting elements are intrinsic to the city of Venice itself, as it is made of both land and water, of both form and formlessness. Venice thus becomes the perfect setting to highlight the dual nature of the protagonist: he conforms to the German ideal of academia and finds fame as an eloquent, educational writer, yet remains a tainted being in his proclivity for pedophilia and his inability to be truthful in both his art and his life. Outwardly, he is Apollonian, but towards the end of the novella his Dionysian impulses pierce through his conscious; Aschenbach's repressed thoughts and inclinations ultimately become agents of his disintegration, once he has given himself away from rigidity and reason.

In the end of the story, Aschenbach decides not to leave Venice, and spends his final moments in a reverie where Tadzio, the young boy of his passionate obsession, beckons him into the ocean. In this final moment, Francois' psychoanalytic exploration is duly exemplified; the story meaningfully concludes with not only Aschenbach's succumbing to the Dionysian water but also his transition into a dream-like state of consciousness, where the licentiousness of his inner thoughts become his reality. Without psychoanalysis, this ending scene lacks the complexity it so deserves and that Francois so delivers. The author's ability to trace elements of both Nietzsche's philosophy and Freud's psychology throughout events in the plot and in character development pens *Death in Venice* as not only a novella but also a study in psychology. The dichotomies present in Mann's text now escape the mere labels of literary themes or motifs, and rather prove to be inextricable from the important human theories of Freud and Nietzsche. In this way, Francois' article takes our understanding of literature moves it across a greater breadth of the humanities, incorporating historical psychology as well as philosophy into the arsenal of close textual and contextual analysis.

1. Thomas Mann. *Death in Venice*. ed. Stanley Applebaum. New York: Dover, 1995.
2. Mann (5)
3. Mann (32)

TELEOLOGY

by R. Brian Tracz

The word *teleology* comes from the Greek word *telos*, which means "end." Astrophysicists use *tele*scopes, biologists have surely heard of *telo*meres, and many a quarterback has *tele*graphed a pass (tele- is also related to telo-).[1] Since the eighteenth century, teleology has become a technical philosophical term relating to the study of ends, goals, and purposes in nature. In the ancient world, however, it had an everyday, non-technical usage that extended into philosophical discourse. In his *Phaedo* and *Republic*, Plato famously argues that separable "forms" (which translates the Greek word eidos, simply meaning "look") are bound together by their telos, their end.[2] For instance, "Good" is an indivisible and perfect form which is only thinkable if we understand it as a "goal" that a variety of actions, persons, and societies have. Aristotle continued the Platonic tradition, arguing for four different causes (or "sources"), one of which was telos—the famous final cause.[3] Without such a telos, Aristotle argues, the very regularity of scientific knowing—knowledge in the highest sense—is not possible, for one would not understand for what benefit a given process, like the growth of teeth, occurred in nature.

Of course, the existence of telos is regularly denied today and often considered intrinsically non-scientific and supernatural. For example, some evolutionary theorists, like Richard Dawkins, interpret the work of Charles Darwin as discrediting the use of teleological explanation in biology. As it is often argued, most of the physical sciences are content

with efficient causes, the kind of 'billiard-ball' causality to which we are accustomed in scientific explanation, which in turn explains away any appeal to telos. Though there has been a great resurgence in the use of teleological explanation within recent philosophy of biology and philosophy of mind,[4] the term is still met with a degree of suspicion.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Germany, there was a resurgence of teleology thinking that began with Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Judgment* and was continued through Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in *Phenomenology of Spirit*. In his *Phenomenology*, Hegel associates Sittlichkeit, an ethical and customary order, with a type of telos, but this time the "end" involved is a kind of societal progression of creativity. Society, in a way, participates in an essentially human "spirit," the members of society are able to see this socially-constituted spirit as an ethical reflection of themselves. It is this web of societal mores that is "suspended" in Søren Kierkegaard's "teleological suspension of the ethical," a philosophical move not unlike Martin Luther's relegation of tradition in deference to personal devotion to a higher telos, a higher end.[5] I would suggest that the outcome of Kierkegaard's theological move amounts not to a minimization of the ethical sphere but to an inflation of it to include our non-cognitive stances toward the world, in addition to a personal, though universal, religious sense.[6]

1. Douglas Harper, "Tele-," *Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2012, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=tele-&allowed_in_frame=0.
2. See *Republic*, chapters VI and VII, and *Phaedo*, 98-9.
3. See *Physics* II 3 and *Metaphysics* V 2. For a helpful overview, see also Andrea Falcon, "Aristotle on Causality," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2011st ed., 2011, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/aristotle-causality/.
4. e.g. Evan Thompson, *Mind in life: biology, phenomenology, and the sciences of mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Ernst Mayr, *What makes biology unique?: considerations on the autonomy of a scientific discipline* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
5. William McDonald, "Søren Kierkegaard," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2009th ed., 2009, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2009/entries/kierkegaard/.
6. For a contrary view, see Avi Sagi, "The Suspension of the Ethical and the Religious Meaning of Ethics in Kierkegaard's Thought," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 32, no. 2 (October 1, 1992): 83-103.

RETHINKING DEMOCRACY

An Unexpected Model For a Successful Africa

CHRISTOPHER EVREN

THE SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (SWAPO) HAS HELD POWER IN NAMIBIA SINCE THE END OF SOUTH AFRICAN RULE IN 1990. DURING ITS YEARS IN POWER, IT HAS NOT FOLLOWED THE IDEAL PATH TOWARDS A TRADITIONAL DEMOCRACY. DESPITE THIS, POPULAR REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT IS A REAL AND POWERFUL FORCE THAT CHALLENGES ACCEPTED UNDERSTANDINGS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE. THIS ARTICLE CRITICALLY EXAMINES THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN NAMIBIA, HIGHLIGHTING COMPARISONS OF THE NAMIBIAN SYSTEM WITH WESTERN CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACIES.

The year 1989 marked the end of South African apartheid rule in Namibia. The UN supervised the transition to a representative democracy that saw revolutionary leader Sam Nujoma of the Southwest African People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO) come to power as the first president of the new republic. This marked the first time Namibia was popularly governed. Subsequent developments have made Namibia an interesting case study in the nature of African governance, challenging the assertion that consolidated democracy is the only true form of representative government and make. SWAPO, the dominant liberation movement, has remained in power since independence. It contains the majority of all legislatures and the two presidents that have governed Namibia. In addition, no strong opposition movement has yet been able to establish itself in the public. These two phenomena immediately preclude Namibia from being a consolidated democracy. This article will contend that the government nonetheless has become increasingly representative and has a demonstrated record of success in meeting the political and social needs of its people, while at the same time, strengthening the power of the state and reducing patrimonial and other corruptions that often plague African countries in search of development.

Upon assuming the presidency, choosing to avoid radical changes to the economic or social order of the Namibian populace, Sam Nujoma abandoned SWAPO's socialist ideology in favor of a pragmatic capitalist approach. In the very first election, there was a heartening precedent for the future of democracy. SWAPO, with 57% of the votes, had failed to get the two-thirds majority, while the Democratic Turnhale Alliance (DTA) only garnered 28% of the vote, which was insufficient to form a strong opposition.[1] Nonetheless, both parties preferred negotiation to conflict. As Joshua Forrest said, they engaged in "an impressive example of successful bargaining by opposing elites in a transitional democratic context."[2] Yet between 1990 and 2004, the overall nature of Nujoma's rule led to a description of Namibian statehood as, "patriarchal nationalism, where the people are presided over by the typical male head of state . . . constructed on a needs-driven democracy."[3] This patriarchal bend can be observed most notably in Nujoma's successful push to rewrite the constitution in 1999, allowing him to run for a third term. Such policy unavoidably calls to mind the pattern of personal rule that has developed and persists throughout much of Africa. Other trends suggest Namibia approached a model of politics akin to those states so-called "personal rulers." Data from 2000 suggesting that "alliance to the ruling party and the President translates into allegiance with institutions . . . [suggesting that] perception of whether or not institutions are performing well is influenced significantly by partisanship."[4] The coincidence of this and SWAPO's history of majority support from the Ovambo people (50% of Namibia's population)[5] seems to comprise circumstances that would be conducive to an understanding of Namibian politics as more typically neo-patrimonial, with democracy neither fully functional, nor shaping the structure of the state.

PARLIAMENT BUILDING IN THE NAMIBIAN CAPITAL WINDHOEK

As Hans Erik Staby noted in 2007, corruption between 1990 and 2006 was prevalent, mostly due to

> widespread apathy . . . and the indifference with which such acts are regarded that continues to undermine the trustworthiness of government and generates serious doubts about the moral standards of the nation.[6]

In the face of these developments during SWAPO's rule, there arose no realistic political alternative. As was noted in 1996, the opposition faces numerous obstacles that include, "inadequate human and financial capacity, and the failure to provide a real alternative."[7] In short, political parties, the bastion of any growing democracy, "fail[ed] to represent a viable alternative to the ruling party."[8] Civil society also failed to provide a medium for the communication of popular goals and aspirations, often limited by a distinct lack of local funding. This financial reliance on external and international bodies meant Namibian civil society organizations had to construct policy on non-national interests.[9] In addition, a 2000 survey

> ranked Namibia last among six African countries in terms of awareness of democracy. A summary of the report concluded with reference to Namibia and Nigeria, 'the consolidation of democracy is a distant prospect in both these countries.[10]

"Traditional authorities in Namibia, unlike in many other African countries, have, since independence, faced a steady decline in importance, power, and popular legitimacy."

These flaws suggest Namibia was drifting towards a dysfunctional democracy plagued with neo-patrimonial corruption, and perhaps even a single-dominant party state in which SWAPO and its leaders would enhance their power. However, at the time of Nujoma's presidency, there were indicators that Namibia was indeed on a path to its own unique form of legitimate representative government. Foremost amongst these were the popularly supported, and constitutionally mandated, freedoms of political organization and press. While no opposition movement was able to seize the Namibian populace, this was not due to repression by SWAPO. In the early years, they were weakened because,

> virtually all of which were constituted along tribal or ethnic lines. They could not stand the test of republican politics, and by virtue of their close client status with apartheid politics, were swept away.[11]

Subsequently, in the instances it did not let opposition grow and develop entirely on its own, "SWAPO . . . co-opted a good number of its personalities into senior government position."[12] The political scene was characterized as, "A culture of tolerance and healthy, constructive debate taking root."[13] Similar positive construction is also observed in the steps taken to reinforce the primacy of elected governance on non-national levels.

Traditional authorities in Namibia, unlike in many other African countries, have, since independence, faced a steady decline in importance, power, and popular legitimacy. Two early Namibian policies lay the groundwork for this development: the Traditional Authorities Act and the creation of Regional Councils. Together, these established a viable alternative for regional and local governments. The Regional Councils have been among the most reliable indicators of political trends in Namibia. Dr. Joseph Diescho, political analyst for the Namibia Institute for Democracy, commented that "regional elections are important mainly as a start toward true participatory democracy." He also noted, however, that "the rules of the game are still unclear."[14] In the early 1990's, it appeared that the councils would be subject to the central government, specifically to the Ministry of Regional Government and Housing, and were to be used as a tool for SWAPO to combat traditional authority.[15] This was important in light of the Traditional Authorities Act, which, "casts these [traditional] institutions into a subordinate relationship to elected bodies and confines their functions and powers to that of the supervision, administration, and observance of customary law by the members of the traditional community, the promotion, protection, and preservation of culture, tradition, and traditional values of that community."[16] However, over time, these Councils would evolve into an important building block for the future development of democratic participation. Joshua Forrest, borrowing from political theorist Johnathan Fox's observations on Latin America, agrees that in the Namibian case, "The degree of democratization of local government affects the prospects of national democratic governance."[17] After establishing their own bank accounts, free from government control, and increasing ties to local leaders and citizens at a grassroots levels, these councils came to be trusted by the local populace, unlike other institutional equivalents in Kenya, Niger, and Botswana.[18] Because of this, the regional governors are able introduce local and regional concerns into national legislation in a representative fashion, regardless of identified party membership (24 of 26 are SWAPO members).

HIFIKEPUNYE POHAMBA, PRESIDENT OF NAMIBIA

Electoral politics, similar to regional and legislative patterns, demonstrate positive developments in a free and fair system. After his third term, while Sam Nujoma considered another rewrite of the constitution to allow him to run again, there was little or no impetus for this in his party, and so power would transition to a new leader. Hifikepunye Pohamba had been groomed by Nujoma as a future successor, and in the machinations of a liberation political party, one would expect the leader's selected successor to rise to popular success. SWAPO, however, proved to be most unlike other African parties in the run up to the 2004 election. Rather than following a politically simpler path, it held internal elections to select its presidential candidate in which Pohomba was challenged by Hidipo Hamutenya. Nujoma did everything in his power to assist his preferred candidate Pohomba, dismissing Hamutenya from his post of Foreign Minister and claiming he had sought to incite division within party ranks in the Omaheke region.[19] Despite this, Hamutenya garnered significant support within SWAPO, garnering in successive rounds 166 and 167 votes to Phomoba's 213 and 341.[20] The internal challenge of Pohomba by Hamutenya and other SWAPO figures is a demonstration that representation of multiple interests is indeed strong within SWAPO, suggesting, in light of the role of the Regional Councils, that this single party has found a way to incorporate the responsibilities that traditionally are met by a multi-party democracy. In addition, Namibia's electoral practices are an example of liberty in a manner unlike many other African nations. Since 2004, all of its monitored elections have proven to be free and fair by both international groups and the Election Commission of Namibia, although some smaller opposition groups nonetheless have challenged these assertions through constitutional judicial means.[21]

In a single party state such as Namibia, one would expect to see corruption facilitated by the concentration of power, and indeed this was previosuly the case. Since Pohomba's election, however, this problem has been tackled quite successfully. After making a personal pledge against all forms of corruption and establishing an Anti-Corruption Commission whose members and authority are drawn solely from the Department of Justice, corruption of many kinds has fallen dramatically. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, only Botswana has a higher regional ranking. Additionally, a total of 19% of companies report non-specific official bribes, much lower than the 36% regional average.[22] At the same time, development in terms of GDP has progressed steadily, and Namibia ranks higher than all regional nations except Botswana in terms of the Human Development Index.[23] The economic success has not been radical, as demonstrated by the country's high Gini coefficient and its limitations in industry due to small population size and market domination by the much larger South African economy[24]. Nonetheless, it helps explain some of the popular satisfaction with SWAPO rule.

A good but not outstanding example of development, Namibia is more importantly a strong example—especially for those governed by former liberation movements—of how representation and legitimacy can be achieved in African nations by a government that closely resemble single-dominant party states. The country is also interesting for the paradox it presents: successful representational government within a state that does not conform to conventional concepts of democracy. It is a truism that to achieve democracy certain institutional foundations, like freedom of the press and elected legislative bodies, must be established. What is remarkable is that this same process can be undertaken outside of traditional centers of influence like political parties and the central government. While it would be rash to assert without considerably more analysis that the development of representative government in Namibia could serve as a template for other developing African states, one could do worse than make it a point of departure for future discussions of the development of democracy in the region.

ENDNOTES

1. Melber (15)
2. Forrest (43)
3. Melber (117)
4. Keulder (259)
5. Malan (10)
6. Hopwood
7. Namibia Institute for Democracy (87)
8. Ibid.
9. Keulder (243)
10. Melber (21)
11. Namibia Institute for Democracy (11)
12. Namibia Institute for Democracy (18)
13. Namibia Institute for Democracy (3)
14. Namibia Institute for Democracy (18)
15. Forrest (135)
16. Namibia Institute for Democracy (39)
17. Fox
18. Forrest (305)
19. May 27, "Tension Grips SWAPO
20. May 31, "Phomoba the Winner"
21. December 17, "Parties File Election Case,"

22. Enterprise Surveys, Namibia, World Bank Group
23. Human Development Index, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
24. "Independent Evaluation of the UNDP Country Programme Document (2006-2010)"

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LICHEN COMMUNITY DIVERSITY

A Bioindicator of Air Pollution in the Tropics

JACOB CRAVENS

LICHENS ARE USED AS BIOINDICATORS TO MONITOR LEVELS OF AIR POLLUTION IN THE TEMPERATE ZONE AND MAY BE USEFUL IN THE TROPICS AS WELL. THIS STUDY INVESTIGATED THE POSSIBILITY OF USING LICHENS AS BIOINDICATORS FOR AIR POLLUTION IN THE TROPICS. AIR POLLUTION AFFECTS PRODUCTIVITY, COMMUNITIES OF ORGANISMS, AND IMPORTANT BIOGEOCHEMICAL CYCLING IN TERRESTRIAL ECOSYSTEMS. TRANSECTS WERE PERFORMED TO IDENTIFY LICHEN COMMUNITY DIVERSITY AT DIFFERENT SITES EXPOSED TO LOW AND HIGH LEVELS OF POLLUTION FROM LOCAL TRAFFIC IN THE MONTEVERDE AREA OF COSTA RICA. LICHEN COMMUNITIES AT LOW POLLUTION SITES STILL HAD HIGHER DIVERSITY THAN THOSE IN AREAS OF HIGH POLLUTION DUE TO GREATER SPECIES EVENNESS AT LOW POLLUTION SITES. THESE RESULTS SUGGEST AN EFFECTIVE METHOD TO ASSESS AIR POLLUTION IN THE TROPICS BY MONITORING LICHEN DIVERSITY.

INTRODUCTION

Air pollution currently degrades many of the world's ecosystems. Chemical compounds that enter the air generated from transportation, industry, and other anthropogenic sources can affect forest productivity, community dynamics, and biogeochemistry within a terrestrial ecosystem.[1,2]

FIGURE 1. MAP OF THE FOUR STUDY SITES USED FOR SAMPLING. SE=SANTA ELENA; CP=CERRO PLANO; VE=VALLE ESCONDIDO; BT=BAJO DEL TIGRE. HIGH POLLUTION SITES (SE, CP) ARE CIRCLED, AND LOW POLLUTION (VE, BT) SITES ARE BOXED.

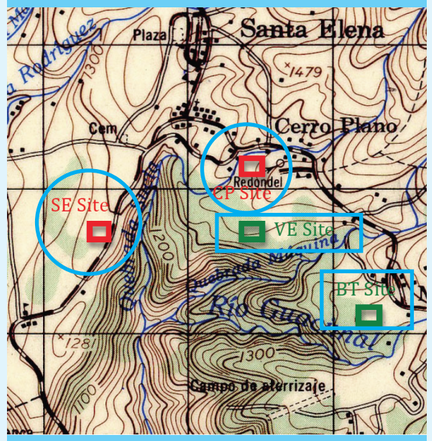
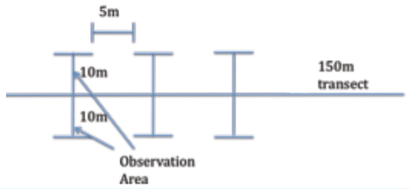


FIGURE 2. ILLUSTRATION OF TRANSECTS PERFORMED AT EACH SITE. TRANSECTS WERE DONE 10M ON EACH SIDE OF THE TRAIL EVERY 5M FOR 150M FOR A TOTAL OF 31 TRANSECTS.



Biomass, a measure of forest productivity, is decreased when tree physiology, and growth, is negatively impacted by toxic chemicals in the air.[3] Community dynamics are altered when these chemicals affect the fitness of certain species by reducing their ability to acquire resources. In a grassland study, sulphur dioxide reduced a clover's ability to obtain nutrients, water, and radiant resources, while other more resistant grassland plant species increased in abundance.[4] In biogeochemical cycles, air pollution causes acidification of soil that results in nutrient leaching in terrestrial ecosystems.[5]

Many terrestrial ecosystems are affected by point source pollution. Areas of high pollution, traffic, and factories negatively impact the biological diversity of the local area by lowering species richness, abundance, and evenness. For example, due to sulphur dioxide pollution near an iron sintering plant in Ontario, Canada, the surrounding area had low plant species richness, abundance, and evenness with only 0-1 species compared to 20-40 species in similar undisturbed areas.[6]

Air pollution can negatively affect many organisms. Particularly, some of the more sensitive are used as bioindicators for air pollution. Pine needles can accumulate contaminants from the air, so scientists can harvest pine needles and analyze them for contaminants to monitor air quality.[7] *Trifolium repens* undergoes DNA damage when exposed to air pollution, so samples of *Trifolium repens* can be examined for DNA damage to indicate air pollution as well.[8]

Lichens have also been used as bioindicators for air pollution throughout much of the world.[9] An important characteristic of lichen is that it absorbs all of its nutrients from the air, which makes it sensitive to air pollution.[10] Changes in terms of lichen communities have been shown to correlate with changes in atmospheric pollution.[11] Many of the studies using lichen as bioindicators have been done in North America and Europe. In the tropics, however, there has been little research done on lichen species and communities, so the effectiveness of using lichen as a bioindicator in the tropics still remains an important question to be answered.[12]

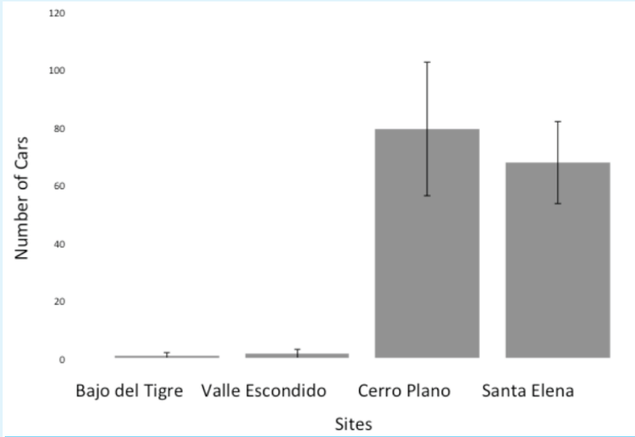


FIGURE 3. THE MEAN NUMBER OF CARS PER HOUR AT EACH SITE. THE ERROR BARS REPRESENT ONE STANDARD DEVIATION ABOVE AND BELOW THE MEAN. THERE WERE THREE CAR COUNTS FOR EACH SITE.

This study will use lichens as a bioindicator of air pollution at estimated sites of high and low pollution from traffic in the Monteverde area. Species richness, abundance, and diversity will be examined at each site, as well as analysis of the presence and abundance of specific species. It is hypothesized that there will be a difference in species richness, abundance, and diversity between sites and that specific species of lichens can be used as bioindicators. Depending on the results, lichens can be discredited as a bioindicator in the tropics or suggested for use in future studies assessing air pollution.

METHODS

Study Sites

This study compared four sites, two high pollution sites and two low pollution sites (Fig. 1). The first high pollution site was the Finca San Francisco in Los Llanos at 1250 meters above sea level (masl) (SE). Dust from the road was present throughout the forest as well as large amounts of dead wood. The second high pollution site was in a forest by a paved road near the town of Cerro Plano (CP) at 1380 masl. A stream was very close to this site. The first low pollution site was in the protected area Valle Escondido (VE) in Cerro Plano at 1350 masl. The second low pollution site was in the Bajo del Tigre (BT) sector of the Bosque Eterno de los Niños 1380 masl. All four sites were characterized as secondary forest and Premontane Moist Forest.

Traffic Counts

The numbers of cars using the roads near each site were counted. Each counting session lasted an hour, and three counts were done for each site. Counts were performed in the morning, the middle of the day, and in the afternoon.

Transects

All transects were done at least 70 m from the forest edge. Then, for a 150 m stretch of trail, transects of 10 m on both sides of the trail were done every 5 m for a total of 31 transects per site (Fig. 2). Different lichen species and their abundances present from 2m above the ground down were noted. Pictures were taken and sent in for identification by a lichen expert.

Canopy Cover

Canopy cover was estimated at each site using a densiometer. Readings were taken every 5 m for the 150 m section of the trail used for transects.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF OBSERVED SPECIES OF LICHEN AT SPECIFIC SITES.

Species	Sites			
	Bajo del Tigre	Valle Escondido	Cerro Plano	Santa Elena
Family Thelotremataceae	106	18	24	1
Cryptothecia (sp. 1)	219	82	233	147
Cryptothecia (sp. 2)	309	221	295	268
Cryptothecia rubrocinta	23	11	5	0
Leptogium sp.	58	107	32	18
Heterodermia sp.	36	57	21	11
Graphis sp.	16	11	5	3
Buellia sp.	59	35	0	8
Coccocarpia sp.	6	9	3	3
Morpho A	82	27	24	26
Morpho B	6	1	0	1
Morpho C	0	0	0	1
Morpho D	0	0	0	3
Morpho E	0	0	2	0
Morpo F	0	0	1	0
Morpho G	1	0	0	0
Morpho H	0	0	0	1
Morpho I	0	1	0	0
Total Abundance	**921**	**580**	**649**	**491**

Statistics

Species accumulation curves were calculated for each site. Mao-Tau sample based rarefaction curves and Abundance based coverage estimates (ACE) were used, both using EstimateS software.[13,14,15] The Sorenson Classic Index was used to calculate species similarity between sites. A One-Way ANOVA test was used to compare traffic and canopy coverage between sites. The Shannon-Weiner index was used to calculate diversity at each site and a t-test was used to compare diversity between each pair of sites.

RESULTS

Traffic

There was a significant difference in traffic between sites (One Way ANOVA, F=28.5, df=3, p<0.001). The road near the CP site had the most traffic (mean= 79 cars/hr), followed by the SE site (mean=68 cars/hr). Both the VE and BT sites had equal numbers of cars (mean=1 car/hr). Post hoc analyses showed significant differences between the high and low traffic sites (Tukey-Kramer, $P<0.05$)

TABLE 2. SPECIES SIMILARITY BETWEEN SITES USING SORENSON CLASSIC INDEX

Sites	Bajo del Tigre	Valle Escondido	Cerro Plano	Santa Elena
Valle Escondido	0.917	-	-	-
Cerro Plano	0.783	0.783	-	-
Santa Elena	0.800	0.800	0.667	-

Canopy Cover

There was no significant difference between canopy cover between sites (One Way ANOVA, $F_{3,11}=0.8$, $P=0.52$) with all sites having a mean of approximately 98% canopy coverage.

Lichen Diversity

BT (n=921) had the greatest abundance of lichen followed by CP (n=649), VE (n=580), and SE (n=491;Table 1). *Cryptothecia* sp. 1 and *Cryptothecia* sp. 2 were the dominant lichen species at all sites. The *Buellia* sp., family Thelotremataceae, and *Leptogium* sp. were only present in high abundances at low pollution sites (Table 1).

SE had the highest number of observed species (S=13) followed by BT (S=12), VE (S=12), and CP (S=11; Fig. 5a). SE also had the highest estimated number of species (ACE, S=18.54) followed by VE (ACE, S=16.09), BT (ACE, S=12.52), and CP (ACE, S=11.4; Fig. 5B).

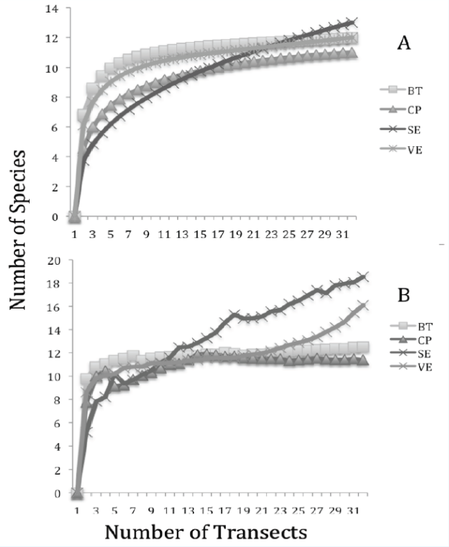
BT and VE were the sites with the highest similarity between species (0.917) while SE and CP were the sites with the lowest similarity (0.667)(Table 2).

There were no significant differences in diversity between BT and VE, and SE and CP sites. There were, however, significant differences between high pollution sites and low pollution sites. BT had significantly higher diversity than CP (Shannon-Weiner index; for BT: H'=1.88; for CP: H'= 1.37; t=10.21; p<0.001) and SE (Shannon-Weiner index; for BT: H'=1.88; for SE: H'=1.27; t=10.57; p<0.001). VE had significantly higher diversity than CP (Shannon-Weiner index; for VE: H'=1.84; for CP: H'=1.37; t=8.38; p<0.001) and SE (Shannon-Weiner index; for VE: H'=1.84; for SE: H'=1.27; t=9.05; p<0.001). While SE may have had the greatest estimated number of species, the low pollution sites had a greater degree of evenness of species in their communities making them more diverse (Fig. 6).

DISCUSSION

Air pollution seemed to affect lichen diversity more than any other variable, and other studies have found similar results.[16] There was significantly lower diversity of lichen in high pollution sites compared to low pollution sites. The *Buellia* sp., family Thelotremataceae, and *Leptogium* sp.

FIGURE 4. (A) THE MAO TAU SPECIES ACCUMULATION CURVES FOR EACH SITE SHOWING EXPECTED SPECIES RICHNESS VERSUS SAMPLING EFFORT (SPECIES OBSERVED PER SAMPLING EFFORT, AS MEASURED BY NUMBER OF TRANSECTS). (B) THE ABUNDANCE BASED COVERAGE ESTIMATOR (ACE) ESTIMATES SPECIES RICHNESS FOR EACH SITE VERSUS SAMPLING EFFORT (SPECIES OBSERVED PER SAMPLING EFFORT, AS MEASURED BY NUMBER OF TRANSECTS).



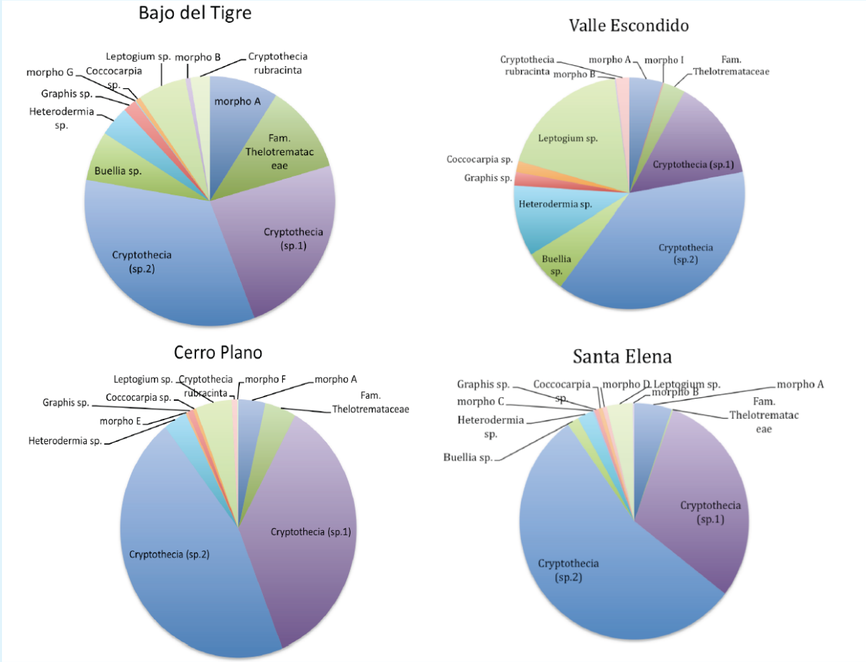


FIGURE 6. THE RELATIVE ABUNDANCE OF SPECIES OF LICHEN PRESENT AT EACH SITE.

were only present in high abundances at low pollution sites while *Cryptothecia* sp.1 and *Cryptothecia* sp. 2 were the dominant lichen species at all sites and were especially abundant at the high pollution sites. Although it has been shown that air pollution negatively affects lichen diversity, some of the results suggest otherwise. The SE high pollution site had the highest species richness out of all sites. The CP high pollution site had a greater abundance of lichens than the VE low pollution site. Although the low pollution sites had high species similarity, the high pollution sites had fewer species in common than a comparison of low pollution and high pollution sites.

These differences may be due to variability between sites. The SE site may have had the highest number of species due to conditions that favor a greater number of species in less abundance. Dead wood can increase lichen diversity and the dead wood present in the SE site may have increased the number of species, but the air pollution could have prevented all but the few tolerant species (*Cryptothecia* sp.1, *Cryptothecia* sp.2) from increasing in abundance.[17] *Cryptothecia* species have been observed in areas of much higher pollution than used by this study, including the urban area of Singapore.[18] The high pollution CP site may have had a higher total abundance of lichens than the low pollution VE site due to the CP site having greater humidity due to its proximity to a stream. Humidity has been shown to increase lichen abundance.[19] Also, the majority of lichen seen in CP belonged to the few pollution tolerant species (*Cryptothecia* sp.1, *Cryptothecia* sp.2) making overall lichen diversity low. The low species similarity between high pollution sites might be due to the variables of dust and deadwood at Santa Elena and the increased humidity from the stream at CP. These factors may have created different communities of lichen at the sites.

Future research could look at the mechanisms of how certain tropical species of lichen are negatively affected by air pollution. This study suggests that *Buellia* sp., family Thelotrematacеae, and *Leptogium* sp. would be useful bioindicators since they were only present in high abundances at the low pollution sites. Certain *Buellia* species decrease in abundance with exposure to sulfur dioxide, one of the chemicals in vehicle emissions.[20] Other studies have found the family Thelotrematacеae to be useful as a bioindicator for any disturbed habitat, with its strong preference for primary to old growth secondary forest.[21] Many *Leptogium* species have been found to be absent or in very low abundances in urban areas and present in high abundances in undisturbed forests.[22] Other future studies could investigate how some lichen species, *Cryptothecia* sp.1 and *Cryptothecia* sp. 2, are resistant to pollution.

Since tropical forests have high amounts of local topographical complexity, the fact that air pollution seems to affect lichen diversity more than any other factor may make it widely applicable as a bioindicator for air pollution throughout the tropics. With more forests being degraded by air pollution across the tropics, monitoring techniques that can be used in many locations and different environments are necessary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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COMMUNITIES IN CONFLICT

The Politics of Urban Housing in Northern Ireland, 1967-1975

CHRISTOPHER FITZPATRICK

AT THE HEIGHT OF THE TROUBLES, THE ETHNOPOLITICAL STRUGGLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THERE WAS A VARIETY OF SOCIOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS. AT THE FOREFRONT WAS A DIRE HOUSING CRISIS. THE POLITICS OF HOUSING, PARTICULARLY IN ULSTER'S URBAN CENTERS, PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN PERPETUATING DISCRIMINATORY POLICY AGAINST THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY. THIS FACT HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY DOWNPLAYED IN MUCH OF THE SCHOLARLY WORK ON THE TOPIC. ANALYZING DOCUMENTS AND JOURNALISM FROM THE UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST PERSPECTIVES, AS WELL AS A CRITICAL CONSIDERATION OF LATER SCHOLARSHIP ON THE TROUBLES, THIS ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT WIDESPREAD DISCRIMINATION DID TAKE PLACE. WHILE GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO REMEDY THE SITUATION MADE LIMITED PROGRESS, THE ROOT CAUSES OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE REMAINED LARGELY UNRESOLVED.

INTRODUCTION

Since the time of English plantation, there existed a great divide between the Catholic and Protestant populations of Northern Ireland. Due to a "siege mentality" felt among the Protestant community, oppression of the Catholic minority became a key facet of the region's sociopolitical order. In the post-war years of the 20th century, this inequality still pervaded Northern Ireland's society. In a 1967 letter to the editor of the *Irish Times*, Charles Clarke, a member of an Oxford University debating society and resident of Ulster, remarked that "the Catholic of Northern Ireland . . . is not free to enter into the life of the community."[1] Noting the lack of political opportunity for Catholics, he further stated, "In Parliament, Catholics are found on one side of the House only, they have never been in the Cabinet nor have they held the impartial office of the Speaker."[2] Discrimination found its way into all facets of life in Ulster—employment, education, and, perhaps most importantly, housing. In the late 1960s, Northern Ireland faced a housing crisis, particularly in its urban centers. In Derry, for example, an annual report of the executive sanitary officer in 1968 noted drastically overcrowded housing conditions, with over 1,000 dwellings in the city occupied by multiple families.[3] Similarly, a 1974 report published by the Housing Executive, an organization that would play a critical role in reforming housing policy in Ulster, found that 20 percent of homes in Northern Ireland were "legally unfit for human habitation" and that 33 percent were "in need of significant repair."[4] Anti-Catholic discrimination placed the burden of these housing problems disproportionately on the Nationalist community, though Unionists were not entirely immune from its effects. This paper will present evidence that from 1967 to 1975, a critical time in the period of violence known as the Troubles, there were significant levels of housing discrimination against Catholics, with government reforms achieving only limited success in solving relevant community problems.

PROTEST SIGN IN A LOYALIST NEIGHBORHOOD

SOCIOPOLITICAL BACKGROUND

In 1967, housing policy was administered by a network of largely autonomous local councils, which generally provided "very little slum clearance and redevelopment activity."[5] The only province-wide housing agency was the Northern Ireland Housing Trust (NIHT), which focused more on the "social role of housing" rather than "the provision of buildings and the technical aspects of housing."[6] The political authority of decentralized housing councils further diminished the role and efficacy of the NIHT. These councils—despite the existence of presumably fair systems of housing allotment—were able to shape urban communities to promote their own goals, often with discriminatory effect.

Many Catholics in Northern Ireland were housed in ghettos, like the Bogside in Derry and the Falls Road neighborhood in Belfast. The creation of segregated living quarters in the cities perpetuated inequality on a larger scale, particularly through voting manipulation and employment bias. For example, Birrell and Murie argue that while there may not have been a formalized and systematic policy of discrimination, "there are sufficient examples of building decisions being based on electoral calculation and of individuals receiving preferential treatment because of their politico-religious affiliations for the discriminatory element in policy to be undeniable."[7] In short, this refers to the Unionist policy of gerrymandering—shaping electoral districts in a manner that allowed them to maintain control of government. In Derry for example, in a particular neighborhood in which forty percent of residents were Catholics, only twenty percent of new houses were allocated to Catholics, suggesting efforts to limit Nationalist electoral power.[8] In November of 1968, MP Edmund Warnock admitted publicly that he had worked with other Unionist politicians to fix voting districts in Derry in favor or the Protestant community, effectively proving the existence of urban gerrymandering.[9] Similar electoral boundary creation and religious segregation existed in Belfast as well, enabling Protestants to control elections and discourage civic participation among individuals in the Catholic community. Furthermore, the existence of Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods led to discriminatory employment practices. Potential employers could in many cases recognize whether an applicant adhered to the Catholic faith merely by his street address, creating great potential for prejudicial hiring practices. A 1969 survey published in the Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission Journal found that in Long Tower, a Catholic neighborhood in Derry, nearly forty percent of the inhabitants were unemployed.[10] In the Protestant Fountain district, that figure dropped to a below five percent.[11] Belfast also played host to unemployment injustices. O'Hearn notes that in the two major factories located in Catholic neighborhoods of the city, "Catholics numbered only a handful in the workforces," with the remainder of the jobs reserved for the protestant majority.[12] Overall, these statistics suggest that while Protestants could easily find work in Catholic neighborhoods, the reverse did not hold true. This fact does not necessarily confirm a formally institutionalized discriminatory policy on the part of the Ulster government, but it illustrates that discrimination took place to a large extent and that the politics of housing played a critical role in perpetuating social inequality.

Despite this evidence, not all scholars agree that sociopolitical discrimination took place in Ulster's cities beyond isolated cases. For example, Hewitt claims that statistics supporting evidence of gerrymandering are skewed by "an ignorance of fertility differences between Catholics and Protestants."[13] He argues that former statistical analysis of Catholic political representation relied on a measurement of total population rather than voting-age population, making Catholics falsely seem underrepresented. If true, this reasoning would greatly undermine Nationalist claims of unfair treatment; however, in Hewitt's data, an interesting pattern emerges upon consideration of only the voting-age population. Over one-fourth of the districts he considered had Unionist controlled councils but a Catholic majority of the adult population.[†14] By comparison, the reverse—a primarily Catholic council governing a district in which Protestants were the majority of the voting-age population—existed in only one-twelfth of the districts.[15] This statistical analysis, while not disproving Hewitt's assertion that Nationalist claims about gerrymandering were exaggerated, illustrates that such practices took place more often than he would suggest. In fairness to Hewitt's reasoning, other

scholars claim that lower standards of education or lack of civic engagement among Catholics invalidates statistics that reflect gerrymandering and employment discrimination,[16] but these factors could very well be an effect of the problem rather than its cause. If fair housing policy had been in practice, individuals in the Nationalist community might have been able to receive a better education, become more competitive in the labor market, and pursue more opportunities to take part in the political life of the community.

"Segregating the Catholic community into gerrymandered neighborhoods, the Protestant power structure had created a 'powder keg', waiting for a spark to set off the explosion—and explode it did."

THE "POWDER KEG" OF HOUSING INEQUALITY

Another negative result of the Unionist policy of segregation was that social separation helped fuel the violence that gripped Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As Calame and Charlesworth argue in "Divided Cities," social separation universally leads to negative effects:

> Urban partitions . . . dominate local concerns and siphon precious energies away from social development concerns. . . . Public debate is often restricted to optimal modes of damage control, so that a gradual accommodation of abnormal and gratuitous forms of communal violence takes place within the popular imagination.[17]

Following this logic, the Unionist policy of segregation intended to maintain order and political control ironically contributed to the chaos of the Troubles. Segregating the Catholic community into gerrymandered neighborhoods, the Protestant power structure had created a "powder keg", waiting for a spark to set off the explosion—and explode it did. Communities living in the Catholic ghettos in Derry and Belfast, exasperated with what they perceived as grossly unfair conditions, rose up in violence. Perhaps the most significant episode of this conflict began in Derry on August 12, 1969, in response to a particularly incendiary annual parade by the Unionist "Apprentice Boys". The Battle of the Bogside, as it would come to be known, pitted police —including the hated "B Specials"—against mobs of angry Nationalists. Violence escalated and spread to other cities, including Belfast, where it reached such an extent that armed British soldiers were mobilized to secure the city.[18] Despite this military presence (or perhaps partially due to it), the violence would continue for decades.

Not all members of the Nationalist community responded to injustices with violence. Grass-roots political organizations like the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), the Derry Housing Action Committee (DHAC), the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and People's Democracy (PD) utilized peaceful methods of protest against unfairness in many areas of civil rights, housing being one of their major areas of concern. Their activism would often incite violence from the Unionist community, but these organizations kept their methods strictly political—with rallies, marches, and rent strikes.† Leaders of these organizations played crucial roles in the Catholic civil rights movement and promoted the cause of housing reform. In fact, John Hume and Bernadette Devlin, founding members of the DHAC and PD respectively, even won seats in Parliament; however, without cooperation from government, their grass-roots politics had little chance of success in the face of a staunchly defensive Unionist community.

REMAINS OF AN ARMAGH POLICE STATION AFTER AN IRA BOMBING ATTACK

THE HOUSING EXECUTIVE

Before the worst violence of the Troubles took place, there were some minor steps taken to bring about change in housing policy. Unfortunately, they proved to be generally insignificant. One such small change took place in 1968 when, for the first time in its twenty-three year history, the Northern Ireland Housing Trust featured a Catholic member.[19] In November of the same year, the Derry Housing Committee stated that "no account shall be taken of a housing applicant's religious or political beliefs,"[20] a politically significant remark that ultimately failed to bring about housing equality in the city but did set a positive tone for future progress. Another comparable policy was created in June of 1969 with the establishment of a new points system for housing allocation, designed to ensure fairness.[21] A Nationalist leader in Derry, Eddie McAleer, remarked, "It looks good in theory. I trust it works in practice."[22] Under control of the local councils, however, this policy too failed to produce any significant results.

With urban violence becoming increasingly pronounced, the need for significant political change became apparent to government leaders in both Stormont and Westminster. In 1969, a government body led by Lord Cameron, D.S.C. published the Cameron Report, which had been commissioned to "report upon the course of events leading to, and the immediate causes and nature of the violence and civil disturbance in Northern Ireland on and since 5th October 1968."[23] In the report's summary of conclusions, the commission presented a list of seven general causes of the recent violence, several of which pertained to housing policy. The first general reason noted the perception of deliberate unfairness in housing politics:

[There is] a rising sense of continuing injustice and grievance among large sections of the Catholic population . . . in respect of (i) inadequacy of housing provision by certain local authorities (ii) unfair methods of allocation of houses built and let by such authorities . . . (iii) misuse in certain cases of discretionary powers of allocation of houses in order to perpetuate Unionist control of local authority.[24]

The third stated reason for violence also directly relates to housing policy, noting a "well-documented fact" of "deliberate manipulation of local government electoral boundaries . . . in some Unionist controlled authorities."[25] Not surprisingly, the Cameron Report placed some blame for the violence on the Nationalist community that participated in the riots, but its recognition of flawed Unionist housing policy would encourage desperately needed reform.

LOYALIST HOUSE MURAL IN BELFAST

"Bloody Sunday played a key role in convincing Prime Minister Heath that the Westminster government should control security operations in Northern Ireland."

In 1971, Stormont enacted the Housing Executive Act, establishing the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE). This organization was tasked with several important functions, including the regular examination of housing conditions and requirements, the establishment of housing information and housing advisory services, the closure or demolition of unfit houses, the improvement and conversion of unfit houses, and the encouragement of the provision of new houses by other public or private bodies.[26] The NIHE took on central authority over housing from the Northern Ireland Housing Trust, local councils, and other public organizations, streamlining what had previously been a rather disjointed and discriminatory network.[27] In light of the politically motivated violence taking place, the greatest challenge facing the NIHE was to create an impartial allocation process. It achieved this by creating the Housing Selection Scheme, a new points-based system in which "those in greatest need of a home are always first to receive one."[28] Unionist politicians disliked the centralized nature of this new housing authority and its revised points system. Many of these individuals, like Alderman Tommy Seymour, tried to convince the government to put allocation powers back in the hands of local authorities.[29] In a speech before the Minister for Housing in Belfast, he cited "the experience of district councils" as a reason to revert to locally-controlled allocation; however, the Nationalist community feared that this return to old practices would lead to a renewal of housing discrimination.[30] It would seem that, even in the years immediately following its establishment, the Housing Executive achieved some level of success in allocating more houses to Catholics. In fact, one Unionist politician went so far as to claim that its new policies were biased in favor of the Nationalist community.[31] Despite this apparent progress, the housing problem remained far from resolved due to some key flaws in the NIHE. The greatest failure of the organization lay in its refusal to directly address the sectarian tensions behind the housing issue. In fact, Paris argues that the organization's policy "was characterised by a public avoidance and denial" of segregation's relevance to housing policy.[32] The NIHE tended to entirely disregard mention of sectarian neighborhoods in its publications. For example, as the Chartered Institute of Housing notes, "the Annual Strategic Policy, District Housing Plans, and programmes such as the Belfast Renewal Strategy rarely mentioned the way in which territory impacts on housing need and supply."[33] This political strategy, likely devised in order to avoid creating further sectarian issues, actually facilitated the opposite effect. Neighborhoods remained segregated, permanent walls were erected, and scarce progress took place in cross-community development; thus, while limited progress had been made, the root of the problem remained. In its decision to ignore the problem of sectarianism, the NIHE missed an important opportunity to strike at the root of the problems in Ulster's cities.

DIRECT RULE

On January 30, 1972, an event took place that would alter the course of Northern Ireland's history. In what would become known as Bloody Sunday, British Army soldiers in the Bogside opened fire on unarmed civilians, killing 14 and wounding several others.[34] John Hume stated, "The British Army opened fire indiscriminately on the civilian population attending a peaceful protest meeting . . . their action was nothing short of cold-blooded mass murder."[35]

Fulvio Grimaldi, an Italian journalist who witnessed the event, offered similar sentiments, remarking, "I have travelled many countries, I have seen many civil wars and revolutions and wars, I have never seen such a cold-blooded murder, organised, disciplined murder, planned murder."[36] Bloody Sunday played a key role in convincing Prime Minister Heath that the Westminster government should control security operations in Northern Ireland. After several days of negotiation with Faulkner's government at Stormont, the British government took this sentiment further by suspending the Ulster parliament and assuming "full and direct responsibility" for the region.[37] Westminster's control of Northern Ireland brought about many changes in the region's politics. Similar to the policies of the NIHE, direct rule involved drastic centralization of government, in which "virtually all of the major local services were delivered . . . by central government departments or statutory authorities."[38] This policy further cemented the new housing regime, preventing Unionists from regaining local control over housing allocation. Unionist gerrymandering abilities were significantly diminished as well under direct rule, because town and county planning now fell under the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland.[39] To the consternation of Ulster Unionists, Westminster's direct authority over Ulster ensured a decrease in discriminatory housing policy from government. It did not fully resolve the problem though, leaving segregated neighborhoods still largely intact and doing little to facilitate community development between the Nationalist and Unionist factions.

CONCLUSION

While reforms under the NIHE and the centralized Westminster government contributed to decreasing cases of state discrimination in housing, they did little to address the root cause of social friction. In fact, in some ways this friction may have grown more pronounced. By the close of 1975, reductions in local government control and the prorogation of Stormont had left the Unionist community with a diminished sense of sociopolitical control over Ulster, further inflaming their "siege mentality." Meanwhile, even as the NIHE embarked on a building program to create 6,000 new homes, no efforts were made to desegregate communities.[40] This left the Catholic and Protestant communities as divided as ever, and led to more sectarian violence. While government housing policy had become more equitable, the reforms failed to resolve the political divisions that gripped the war-torn streets of Northern Ireland's cities.

To this day, the violence continues. Bombings and shootings, while not as common or widespread as in the worst days of the Troubles, still exact a sad toll on society in Northern Ireland. With the economic crisis reaching unprecedented heights in Europe, many fear that worsening conditions for the poor will lead to more frustration and more acts of sectarianism. The future remains uncertain; however, it is clear that unless the people of Ulster can find a way to bridge the gap between the two sides of their divided province, there can be no hope for a lasting peace.

APPENDICES

Local Council	Roman Catholics as % of adult population	% of non-unionist councillors	Character of Council
Newry	81.1	66.6	Nationalist
Keady	79.5	100.0	Nationalist
Strabane	76.3	75.0	Nationalist
Newry No. 2 R.D.	70.1	72.4	Nationalist
Warrenpoint	68.9	75.0	Nationalist
Downpatrick	68.8	91.7	Nationalist
Londonderry/Derry	61.9	40.0	Unionist
Kilkeel R.D.	58.1	75.0	Nationalist
Omagh	57.2	42.9	Unionist
Omagh R.D.	57.0	42.9	Unionist
Lisnaskea R.D.	56.8	38.2	Unionist
Ballycastle	56.5	83.3	Nationalist
Newry No. 1 R.D.	56.4	58.8	Nationalist
Armagh	52.9	40.0	Unionist
Cookstown R.D.	52.6	36.8	Unionist
Magherafelt R.D.	51.2	28.6	Unionist
Irvinestown R.D.	49.7	36.4	Unionist
Limavady R.D.	49.6	56.5	Nationalist
Dungannon R.D.	49.5	31.6	Unionist
Enniskillen	48.9	33.3	Unionist
Clogher R.D.	48.2	26.3	Unionist
Dungannon	47.5	33.3	Unionist
Ballycastle R.D.	47.3	52.9	Nationalist
Downpatrick R.D.	46.2	20.8	Unionist

APPENDIX 1. 1967. ADAPTED FROM HEWITT, "CATHOLIC GRIEVANCES, CATHOLIC NATIONALISM AND VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND DURING THE CIVIL RIGHTS PERIOD: A RECONSIDERATION," 366. TABLE 1.

APPENDIX 2. FIGURES.

Figure 1. Posters like this from People's Democracy stressed non-violent means of protest. Source: People's Democracy, Poster, Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

Figure 2. Not all organizations stressed peace so fundamentally. This 1970 poster from the Official Sinn Fein depicts UK troops as murderers. Source: Official Sinn Fein, 1970, Poster, Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

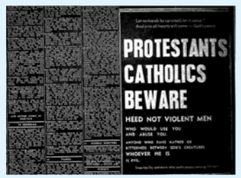

Figure 3. When considering the Troubles, it is tempting to generalize the entire urban population as violent. This anonymous personal advertisement taken out in the *Belfast Telegraph* suggests otherwise, imploring individuals from both the Catholic and Protestant communities to avoid violence. Source: *Belfast Telegraph*, January 3, 1969. *Microfiche*.

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5. Ibid, 13-14.
6. Ibid.
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8. Eileen O'Brien, "The Ghettos Hidden Behind Derry's Walls," *The Irish Times*, October 14, 1968. *Proquest Newspapers*.
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17. Jon Calame and Esther Charlesworth, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 162.
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21. "Guideline for Housing Allocation in North" *The Irish Times*, June 14, 1969, 13. *Proquest Newspapers*.
22. Ibid.
23. Cameron Commission, *Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland*, by Hon. Lord Cameron, D.S.C., Sir John Biggart, C.B.E., and James Joseph Campbell, Esq., M.A. (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), Warrant of Appointment. <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/cameron.htm> (April 15, 2011).
24. Cameron Commission, *Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland*, Summary of Conclusions on Causes of Disorders.
25. Ibid.
26. *Housing Executive Act 1971* (NIR) c 5 <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/hea1971.htm> (April 15, 2011).
27. Paris, *Housing in Northern Ireland – and comparisons with the Republic of Ireland*, 15.
28. Northern Ireland Housing Executive, *Brick by Brick...A Short History of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive*, (Belfast: Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 1991), 34.
29. John Deering, "Differences over How Best to Tackle N.I. Housing Problem," *The Irish Times*, December 18, 1974, 9. *Proquest Newspapers*.
30. Ibid.
31. "Unionist Says Housing Policy is Biased," *The Irish Times*, March 12, 1975. *Proquest Newspapers*.
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33. Ibid.
34. "'Bloody Sunday', Derry 30 January 1972 – Names of the Dead and Injured," CAIN Web Service, last modified March 14, 2011, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/bsunday/deadinj.htm>.
35. "Cardinal Asks Heath to Hold Public Inquiry" *The Irish Times*, January 31, 1972, 8. *Proquest Newspapers*.
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37. "Abstract of Important events – Prorogation of Stormont, 28 March 1972," CAIN Web Service, last modified March 14, 2011, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/abstract/72storm.htm>.
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39. Ibid.
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"A cautious approach and a better understanding of the narrative of the Easter Rising, and of similarly consequential events in recent Irish history, may help to calm those still-living, furious factions."

THE EASTER RISING

A Study of Legitimacy and Enduring Legacy

JORDAN DORNEY

THE EASTER RISING OF 1916 HAS HAD A LONG AND VARIED LEGACY, SHAPING EVENTS AND ATTITUDES FROM THE IRISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. TO UNDERSTAND THE RISING ON ITS OWN TERMS, THIS ARTICLE WILL EXAMINE THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF ONE OF ITS MOST PROMINENT PARTICIPANTS, PADRAIG PEARSE. TO UNDERSTAND THE IMMEDIATE AND SHORT-TERM IMPACT ON POLITICAL DISCOURSE, THE ARTICLE WILL LOOK TO THE SPEECHES OF EAMON DE VALERA, AN INFLUENTIAL POLITICIAN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. FINALLY, TRACING COMMEMORATION AND COMMENTARY FROM THE FIFTIETH TO THE ONE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY, THIS ARTICLE WILL ADDRESS HOW THE VIOLENCE OF THE RISING IS TO BE VIEWED FROM THE TROUBLES TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND BEYOND.

Even as early as 1917, when a young Éamon de Valera, the future giant of twentieth-century Irish politics, stood for election in East Clare, the importance of the Easter Rising as the seminal expression of Irish republicanism—and thus a touchstone of political activity—had been established.[1] With the advent of partition in the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the first accusations of the "betrayal of 1916" were leveled. In the first fifty years of the Republic, especially during the prominence of de Valera, this theme—of appropriating or misappropriating the mantle of the Rising—was a recurrent one in political discourse. As the people of the Republic of Ireland and those in the North approach 2016, the Rising has once more become controversial and relevant. The memory of Easter 1916, tainted by the violence of the Troubles and IRA bombing campaigns, has undergone some rehabilitation among the Irish public. This has garnered much criticism, as a perceived return to the triumphalist attitude. A discussion of the Rising seems to be ultimately concerned with the use of force as a means to secure political ends. In choosing whether to commemorate Pearse, Connolly, Clarke and the rest of the participants, we must determine whether we can tolerate the consequences. In order to examine this issue, I will look at the political writings of Padraig Pearse to establish some of the original meaning of the Rising, as its participants understood it. Then, I will trace the development of the Rising's legacy through speeches given by de Valera, covering events from his 1917 election in East Clare to his Easter 1966 address to the nation. Finally, I will look at 1916's place in Peace Process-era and contemporary discourse. Through such primary sources, as well as by providing sufficient historical background, I intend to determine the extensive political legacy of the Easter Rising of 1916.

"The memory of Easter 1916, tainted by the violence of the Troubles and IRA bombing campaigns, has undergone some rehabilitation among the Irish public."

The issues facing Padraig Pearse and the nationalist community in the years leading up to 1916 centered on the proposal of Home Rule—a system that would set up a semi-sovereign parliament in Dublin—and the outbreak of World War I. According to Pearse's writings and speeches, World War I was the coming triumph of the brave, of the oppressed over the tyrannical and, strangely, of the Germans over the British Empire. Furthermore, Pearse claimed: "It is the things that make war necessary that are evil."[2] For the Irish, this evil was Britain, "'the never-failing source of all our political evils,'" as Pearse quoted Wolfe Tone, hero of the Rebellion of 1798.[3] Resistance and revolt were to remove that evil. Pearse reached a rather ominous crescendo in his speech, "Peace and the Gael," and his words would only become more tragic in light of the Troubles: "Many people in Ireland dread war because they do not know it. Ireland has not known the exhilaration of war for over a hundred years. . . . When war comes to Ireland, she must welcome it as she would welcome the Angel of God. And she will."[4] He combined here a number of his constant themes: nationalism, religiosity, and war. In truth, these three seemed to be one in Pearse's mind. As he argued in "The Coming Revolution," nationalism would come "by whatever means," redeemed by the Messianic sacrifice of those brave enough to take up the cause.[5] From this rhetoric, we can draw Pearse's broader views on Irish nationalism and judge his and his fellow rebel's actions. Whether we classify Pearse as a poet, and thus grant him the license given to poets, or as a warrior, and thus view him in the light—or indeed the darkness—of World War I, affects our interpretation. In some ways, Pearse's speeches were conventional in their calling up the dead generations of Irish rebels. As in the Futurist poets of that era however, we recognize in Pearse the hopeful exuberance that fed nationalistic feelings and beat the drum of war, typified in Marinetti's poetry of "courage, audacity and revolt."[6] There is, on the one hand, the beauty and vigor of Boccioni's *City Rises*, with its wild colors, its throwing off of what bears down on the human spirit and its ascendance of a new age. And yet, the horror on the human faces of the Troubles, both in the early and latter parts of the twentieth century, recall that same painting, with its open-mouthed men, borne down upon by a great red warhorse[7]

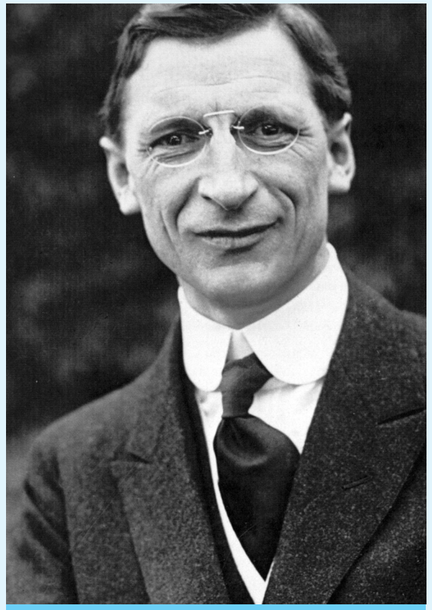
As the Home Rule crisis worsened and the enemies of Home Rule entered into H. H. Asquith's coalition government, the nationalist community became increasingly belligerent. Pearse's poetics took on a more corporeal form. The Irish Volunteers, who had been drilling and parading since 1914, came to be linked with the more radical Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), which, under the leadership of Pearse, began pushing for outright republicanism rather than Home Rule. The Military Council of the IRB then allied itself with James Connolly, an avowed socialist who believed in the possibility of a military victory over the British. A tension then existed within the nationalist community between the Redmondite parliamentarians, who had tried to operate through political maneuvering, and those republicans feeling an "insurgent mood."[8] Nevertheless, on Easter Monday, the leaders of the Rising pronounced a new Irish Republic, and for six days, the republican army fought off police and military forces from their seized posts in the General Post Office and other strategic buildings in Dublin. The rebels would succumb to British artillery and would be tried in military courts. This judicial action turned out to be a grave mistake, as the subsequent execution of the rebels turned public opinion, which had been firmly set against the men, who were perceived as traitors in a time of war. The new nationalist party Sinn Féin, taken over by the post-Rising Volunteers, then secured a number of victories in the by-elections of 1917 and in 1919, on the basis of this newfound popularity. Arthur Griffith's non-violent political party was now "radicalized, popularized and bound . . . with military separatism."[9] The Anglo-Irish war followed, in which the newly formed IRA carried out attacks on British military and police targets, eventually forcing negotiations with Lloyd-George that resulted in the Anglo-Irish Treaty.[10] As Jackson puts it, "It was a legion of the excluded who went to war against the British crown and against the Irish parliamentary tradition on Easter Monday, 1916. . . . It seems clear that the conspirators . . . were more anxious that a rising should take place than that it should be successful."[11] Connolly's serious-minded optimism about the Rising seems to have been overwhelmed by Pearsean poetics, the idea of revolt rushing ahead of its fulfillment.

PATRICK PEARSE (1879-1916) IRISH TEACHER WHO WAS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF OF THE EASTER RISING IN 1916.

In the 1917 by-election in East Clare, Éamon de Valera, just released from prison, pushed for adherence to the ideals of the Rising. His aims, he claimed, were those of Pearse and the rest: a free, Irish-speaking Ireland, sovereign over all thirty-two counties. It is interesting that de Valera made the Irish language a central aspect of living up to the ideals of 1916, for Pearse had remarked, "We did not turn our backs on all these desirable things [(i.e., the rewards from the "devil" for all "the great and the little who serve him well")] for the sake of *is* and *tá*."[12] Though Pearse himself was among the cultural nationalists, there was at least some ambiguity in this respect. But if de Valera showed himself to be concerned with Irishness, it was based not merely on culture, but on politics and political authority. Giving a speech to a cheering crowd, de Valera recounted something that had hap-

pened during his time in prison following the Rising. An official had called him a murderer and a criminal, to which de Valera asked by what law. Hearing it was the English law, de Valera said "that he refused to recognize that law, because that law had no legal or moral force in Ireland."[13] By 1919, de Valera made the claim that the only lawful authority in Ireland was the duly elected government of the Republic. The legitimacy of this government rested on the elections of 1919, but it is unclear how proper authority could have transferred to the Dáil. De Valera admitted that the authority of the Dáil was only *de facto* and noted the need to secure "our own *de jure* government."[14] When the 1925 agreement between the Free State, Northern Ireland, and British governments brought about partition, de Valera vehemently opposed such negotiations, lamenting that against partition "we should have held out to the death."[15] On Easter 1933, by which point he was the President of the Executive Council and had begun the process of amending the constitution, undermining the treaty, de Valera promoted the message of social reform on the part of the rebels. Speaking at the graves of the executed leaders of the Rising, he praised their heroism but did not dwell for long on the imagery of violence and bloodshed that marked Pearse's writings.[16]

Gradually, de Valera moderated his position, distancing himself from the violence, if not the actual message, of the rebels. Speaking at Fianna Fáil's 1937 *ardfheis*, or party conference, he argued that, on the basis of the new constitution, the next goal was indeed to get the whole thirty-two counties of Ireland within the bounds of that constitution. Force, however, was not to be one of the methods used and would "defeat itself." Responding to strong criticism from Kathleen Clarke, widow of Thomas Clarke, who had been executed for his involvement in the Rising, de Valera argued that there had been no "slipping back."[17] As before the Rising, the central complaint leveled by some republicans and nationalists was that with compromise. Pearse himself had warned, mockingly, "We have learned the great art of parleying with our enemy and achieving nationhood by negotiation."[18] De Valera remained firm, however, in asserting that violence was not to be used, criticizing in 1939 those who called for "manly" action—simply to declare a republic and use force to bring it about.[19]



EAMON DE VALERA (1882-1975) IRISH POLITICAL LEADER

Speaking on the issue of partition again a decade later, after resuming the office of Taoiseach, de Valera was more clear on his reasons for avoiding force. While the "nation's aim and right," that is, to end partition, was "only a just one," force would have been unsuccessful. De Valera did not address the question of force's rightness or wrongness as a political tool as such.[20]

In July of 1958, de Valera would offer an ambiguous message: "If force were to be used, it would have to be used with the authority of this House. I do not think it would be the right method in any case."[21] It is unclear whether the only standard was, again, utility. He took no issue, however, in blaming Sinn Féin for its methods. He claimed—though it might be disputed—that people who advocated or used force to end partition "[could] find no basis for their present action in the years from 1919 to 1921, nor [could] they find it in the Civil War."[22] De Valera did look back, in 1957, at his 1917 speech in Clare: "I said what I wanted the people of Clare to do—and what the people of Clare, thank God, did—was to prove, *post factum*, that the people who went out in 1916 did represent the will of the people."[23] De Valera apparently accepted this *post factum* approval for the Rising but would not extend the same logic to the IRA campaigns, noting their ineffectualness. This, of course, is deeply troubling, but perhaps we ought not to expect perfect philosophical coherence in a politician over the course of such a long period, especially over one in which the circumstances had changed so radically. Nevertheless, as the years passed and culminated in the fiftieth anniversary, de Valera significantly moderated his views on the Rising. Writing the foreword to *The Irish Volunteers, 1913-1915*, which analyzed the foundation of the Volunteers and paid tribute its leaders, de Valera wrote, "The manifesto [of the Volunteers] made it clear that defensive and protective, not aggressive, action was intended, but if force could be used to prevent Home Rule, then a greater force could be used to secure it."[24] Here de Valera seems to reinterpret the Volunteers and the subsequent Rising, as though they only meant to bring about Home Rule, though, indeed, de Valera's great complaint against the Treaty had been its failure to ensure a true Irish republic.

1966 was celebrated as "an occasion of national pride and of reflection on the extent to which the ideals of Easter Week had been realized or remained unrealized as inspiration to continuing effort."[25] Piaras Mac Éinrí recounted, "My proudest moment [as a boy of 12] in 1966, the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising against British Rule, was to read out, in Irish, the proclamation of the Republic." What Mac Éinrí called "the central myth of nationhood" was firmly in place.[26] The connection between this celebration and the emergence of violence in the North during the following years is, according to Jackson, "complicated but real" though, "it would be quite wrong . . . to argue for any straightforward connection."[27] The anniversary did, of course, "give rise to numerous impressive parades and related events, underlin[ing] the widespread popular reverence for the militant creators of the Irish revolution"—even in the North in the aftermath of the failed Border Campaign of 1962.[28] This did not translate into support for the IRA, as Brendan Hughes, a member of the IRA, related. On the one hand, Hughes believed the group at the time was "an organic part of the community, even if not all would approve or adopt their methods," yet the political and geographical isolation of the IRA in the North was worsened by "the Northern Catholic population's lack of enthusiasm for the IRA's methods and war aims."[29] Looking back at 1966, the *Wednesday Report*, on Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTE), conducted a survey in March 1991 that indicated young people, though they "knew little and cared little about 1916," nevertheless recalled "the 'triumphalism' of the 1966 anniversary and its serious contribution to violence in the North." The social injustices that existed during that period in the North—the political gerrymandering, the high unemployment, the discrimination in jobs and housing—seem to have been forgotten, as was the unpopularity at that time of the IRA, which to much of the seemingly abandoned Catholic community meant only "I Ran Away."[30]

As violence had begun in the North in the days of the Home Rule crisis, Pearse remarked that he was "glad . . . that the North has 'begun,' . . . glad that the Orangemen have armed, for it is a goodly thing to see arms in Irish hands."[31] It is clear that few who endured the violence of the Troubles adopted so cheery an outlook. Those who advocate for non-violence in all respects can disavow the Easter rebels in light of the license taken by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). Pearse undoubtedly presented violence as a viable and, indeed, necessary political tool. It was a short logical leap for the PIRA to extend the battlefield—never especially well-defined—to include civilian targets, and Pearse himself had a certain disregard for the consequences of his actions: "We may make mistakes in the beginning and shoot the wrong people; but bloodshed is a cleansing and a sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood."[32] In this view, the PIRA—and Gerry Adams' Sinn Féin—was not so out of bounds when it claimed to be the heir to Easter Week. To some, it might have been inevitable that Pearse's admitted unconcern for reckless violence should lead to outright terrorism. In a certain way too Pearse pre-

figured the IRA and Sinn Féin strategy of the "ballot box and Armalite" when he spoke of the great republican heroes Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet as having to carry out the "silent unattractive work, the routine of correspondence and committees and organizing" even as they prepared for war.[33] This connection is decidedly less sinister than the first, and perhaps Pearse might even be redeemed in part by it. Even his most rapturous, most violent poetics contained the seeds of quiet politics.

Although many Irish people seemed to connect the Troubles in the North with the legacy of the Easter Rising, such a direct correlation remained unclear in the 1980s and 1990s. Hachey relates this difficulty that existed in cross-border understanding: "As people in the Irish Republic discussed Northern Ireland during the 1980s in their homes or pubs, some often expressed sympathy for the IRA as the heirs of Easter Week and the Anglo-Irish war. Other than spontaneous reactions to outrages like Bloody Sunday, however, Irish opinion remained generally calm and often ambiguous on the subject of events in Northern Ireland."[34] As the Troubles dragged on into the 1990s, mainstream (i.e., non-IRA) celebration of the Rising faced a precipitous decline, and many people—facing a kind of "psychological embarrassment" about the Rising[35]—expressed their concerns. In 1991, a reporter questioned Taoiseach Charles Haughey why he might hold any ceremony commemorating the Rising, suggesting "IRA terrorists might derive comfort and succor from the festivities."[36] Conor Cruise O'Brien was a prominent critic. In his book *State of Ireland*, published in 1973, O'Brien had already expressed his concern that "the virus of violence in Northern Ireland might destroy liberal democracy in the republic."[37] In an article in the *Irish Independent* in 1991, he directly addressed the question of whether the 1916 Rising was a mistake. The Rising, "with no democratic mandate and no mass support at the time, set a precedent that legitimized future armed conspiracies." It was precisely on this basis that the PIRA started "another armed rebellion, to complete the unfinished business of 1916." Their work was "sanctified by the fifty years of a cult of 1916, first in the Free State . . . [then] in de Valera's Ireland." O'Brien expressed, quite absolutely: "If you are pro-1916 and anit-Provo, [the lack of a mandate in either case] leave[s] you without a leg to stand on." Legitimacy for illegal actions, he argued, could not be had because of a historical event, and Irish governments derived their legitimacy from the Irish electorate alone. O'Brien claimed to demolish four possible responses to the Rising. The idea of a "retroactive mandate" was patently illogical. Comparisons to other revolutions failed to hold up to scrutiny because of the lack of popular support for revolution *prior* to 1916. Attempts to celebrate the "spiritual aspects" of the rebels but not the violence failed because those aspects were only expressed militarily. Finally, the argument that the IRA would hijack the Rising if it were not officially celebrated did not hold. The IRA, O'Brien argued, already had Pearse's license to kill. However, in his third and fourth arguments, O'Brien overlooked the fact that the power of the state and of the public to control the narrative of 1916 could be used to diminish the IRA's own narrative of violence. What O'Brien made clear however was that he welcomed the decline of the cult of 1916, praising the people, both in the North and South, for "sens[ing] the mortal dangers that we now know to be inherent in the glorification of a patriotic violence applied by a *small* minority."[38]

Though O'Brien correctly identified a decline in the cult of 1916, a weakened legacy was not a dead one, and the controversy that attended earlier anniversaries would continue into the twenty-first century. Writing in 2006, Bernadette McAliskey, the civil rights activist, took issue with the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of the Rising, because of its contradictions. While distancing itself from IRA violence, the Irish government was at the same time conducting troop parades to mark the anniversary of the Rising. McAliskey asked derisively whether the Republic would invite the (then prospective) First Minister of Northern Ireland to the proceedings, allowing Ian Paisley—one of the most vocal of Unionist leaders and frequent provocateur—to take part in what was, according to the Irish government, merely a celebration of Irish independence. She succeeded in pointing out some of the ridiculousness of celebrating men like Pearse and Connolly while denuding them of their real political message.[39] Criticizing Bertie Ahern, Roy Garland made a similar point about the danger of forgetting the "fascist elements within early republicanism."[40] (As shown above, however, though there was a segment of the nationalist community with fascist leanings, this existed in tension with the socialists and Catholic nationalists.) Though Ahern declared "the spirit of 1916 [to be] our state's inheritance," the political posturing involved was also evident: Fine Gael and Labor, as well as Sinn Féin, were put aside in favor of Fianna Fáil's "particular claim."[41] Also on the ninetieth anniversary of the Rising, there was some resurgence of a more celebratory attitude, with one columnist grouping the Easter rebels with the hunger strikers and remarking how both represented "the best of Ireland . . . a valiant spirit that has endured much suffering over the years."[42] However, the moderate nationalist SDLP has been especially critical of efforts by Gerry Adams and Sinn Féin to tie unification efforts to the one-hundredth anniversary, in 2016, with one leader, Margaret Ritchie, calling those efforts "as laughable as [they are] dishonest" and Sinn Féin's outreach work with Unionists "at best patronizing and at worst deeply prejudiced."[43] Adams, for his part, has since taken to denying having ever had a goal of unification by the centenary. Other writers have looked ahead to 2016. Gerard O'Neill, who offered an updated "Proclamation" as vehicle for policy advice and an expression of "Irish exceptionalism," seems to have fallen into the trap of having too rosy a view of the Rising, the Troubles, and the future. He remarked on the relative peacefulness of the century—"despite the conflict in Northern Ireland" and, indeed, despite the Emergency, as World War II was called in neutral Ireland.[44] He praised Pearse's nationalism, despite the latter's strong rhetoric on war and violence. The problem in the North is, and has been, one not of too much nationalism, but not enough of it.[45] This seems to imply that a Nationalist outlook is straightforwardly the proper one, to the exclusion of Unionism. The difficulty, one hundred years on, of avoiding the idealization of the Rising, is apparent.

"As the Troubles dragged on into the 1990s, mainstream (i.e., non-IRA) celebration of the Rising faced a precipitous decline."

As the centennial of the Rising approaches, the proper way to look at 1916 becomes—or remains—an important issue. However, it seems difficult for one with a nationalist or republican viewpoint to reject the Rising, given its importance in affecting the 1919 elections, though one might bring up the strangeness of this "retroactive mandate." The probability of a wholly constitutional route to Irish nationhood is unclear. Yet one might still affirm the heroism of the Rising, placing Connolly and Pearse with Tone and Emmet, while scorning the wanton violence of the Troubles. The sectarianism of the Troubles, though exacerbated in the Home Rule crisis, does not define the Rising. Pearse tied Catholicism with nationalism to a certain extent, but his religiosity was less confessional than it was cultural. He invoked the example of the United Irishmen and Wolfe Tone: "Think of how [Tone] put virility into the Catholic movement, how this heretic toiled to make free men of Catholic helots, how, as he worked among them, he grew to know and to love the real, historic Irish people" knowing "that Protestant and Dissenter must be brought into amity with Catholic . . . [uniting] to achieve freedom for all."[46]

Given that the republic did not achieve that amity among its citizens, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the competing narratives of freedom and violence contributed to the formation of the state. De Valera only rejected the violence that Pearse upheld because he did not believe it would accomplish the republic's desired ends, i.e., the establishment of a thirty-two county republic. His approach was very different in this respect from that of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and others who promoted non-violence, though such arguments would eventually be used to convince paramilitary groups to give up their campaigns. De Valera did witness the early bombing campaigns of the IRA, but he did not have to live through the Troubles, when the PIRA became more indiscriminate in their targets. Perhaps he would

have condemned the Provisionals even more vehemently than he did the earlier incarnation of the IRA, though his emphasis on the *utility* of violence rather than its rightness or justice adds a complication. By focusing our attention on the violence of the Rising, however, perhaps we miss the point, as de Valera tried to point out later in his political career, as compromise took the place of sanguinity. In 1966, de Valera remarked, "We cannot adequately honor the men of 1916 if we do not work and strive to bring about the Ireland of their desire . . . [:] a nation of brothers—each working in industrial harmony, not for himself only, but for the good of all."[47] The extent to which de Valera's Ireland did in fact achieve this republic, is a great problem of the second half of the twentieth-century, and a question for another study. It does seem, however, that de Valera thought that the social and economic message of the rebels must be united to their idea of nationhood and independence from Britain.

Facing the specter of 2016, the Unionist approach to the Rising has, understandably, been a wary one. Nelson McCausland, a DUP culture minister, warned that any veneration of the event might lead a new generation of young men down the "nihilistic path of violence" of radical republicanism. Further complicating the anniversary is the fact that 2016 will also be the anniversary of the Battle of the Somme. "Those Irishmen who fought in France must not be forgotten," McCausland said.[48] In celebrating the hundredth anniversary of that Easter Week in 1916, people must do so without falling for the view that the Rising was wholly "heroic and bloodless, noble and dignified."[49] On the other hand, one might follow the example offered by Conor Cruise O'Brien, who quoted Edmund Burke: "True statesmen . . . ought not to call from the dead all the discussions and litigations which formerly influenced the furious factions which had torn their country to pieces."[50] But in a community like Northern Ireland where historical events like the seventeenth-century Battle of the Boyne and Siege of Derry are celebrated by some as if they happened only recently, Burke's (and O'Brien's) advice may be rather optimistic. Perhaps these discussions and litigations do not belong wholly to the past and as such cannot simply be buried. Instead, a cautious approach and a better understanding of the narrative of the Easter Rising, and of similarly consequential events in recent Irish history, may help to calm those still-living, furious factions.

ENDNOTES

1. De Valera *(1-2, 6)*
2. Pearse(216-217)
3. Pearse (78-79)
4. Pearse (215)
5. Pearse(91-93)
6. Marinetti (43)
7. Boccioni (159-160)
9. Jackson (245)
10. Hachey (128-140)
11. Jackson (201-202)
12. Pearse (92)
13. De Valera (1-2, 6)
14. De Valera (18, 20)
15. De Valera (123)
16. De Valera(237)
17. De Valera (330)
18. Pearse (66)
19. De Valera (374)
20. De Valera (541)
21. De Valera (586)
22. De Valera (581)
23. De Valera (585)
24. De Valera (589)
25. De Valera (605)
26. British Council Ireland (33)
27. Jackson (323-324)
28. Jackson (366-367)
29. Moloney (37, 42)
30. Kiberd (2-3)
31. Pearse (98-99)
32. Ibid.
33. Pearse (83)
34. Hachey (220)
35. Graff-McRae (209)
36. Kiberd (1)
37. Hachey (220)
38. O'Brien
39. British Council Ireland (127-128)

40. Garland
41. Graff-McRae (65)
42. Donovan
43. "Ritchie sets sights on united Ireland within her lifetime"
44. O'Neill (106-107)
45. O'Neill (105)
46. Pearse (59)
47. De Valera (606)
48. "McCausland issues Easter Rising centenary warning,"
49. McKay
50. Graff-McRae (25)

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"Because of the possibility for significant policy changes through the manipulation of the budget, the use of this strategy has led to intensely polarized budget showdowns and increased partisanship in American politics."

DEFUSING CONGRESSIONAL GRIDLOCK

Reaganomics v. the 97th Congress

ALEXANDER HOFFARTH

THIS ARTICLE ANALYZES PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN'S STRATEGIES TO PASS HIS ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1981. THIS ARTICLE DETERMINES THAT A COMBINATION OF STRATEGIES—INCLUDING REAGAN'S ABILITY TO CONTROL THE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA, THE USE OF THE BULLY PULPIT COMPLEMENTED BY DIRECT LOBBYING OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND THE MANIPULATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET PROCESS—LED TO REMARKABLE SUCCESS, AS THE BUDGET AND TAX PLAN BOTH PASSED THROUGH CONGRESS BY AUGUST 1981. THIS ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEGACY OF REAGAN'S SUCCESS ON LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS, ARGUING THAT REAGAN'S USE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET PROCESS TO ENACT SIGNIFICANT POLICY CHANGES HAS NOT BEEN REPLICATED SUCCESSFULLY AND HAS ACTUALLY LED TO INCREASED GRIDLOCK IN CONGRESS.

In his 1981 Inaugural Address, President Ronald Reagan outlined his plan to restore the economy by reducing government spending and taxes, which required a substantial decrease in the role of the federal government in the domestic sphere.[1] This economic recovery program, Reagan stated, would be the nation's first priority in the effort "to reawaken [the] industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten [the nation's] punitive tax burden."[2] By the middle of August 1981, Reagan's budget, which cut $130 million from the federal budget, and tax cuts (25 percent over three years) emerged virtually intact after a series of close votes.[3] This paper will argue that the President's ability to control the legislative agenda and his strategy of 'going public,' combined with an intensive behind-the-scenes lobbying effort, help to explain his success in passing the plan through the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives in 1981. The paper subsequently discusses the Reagan Administration's manipulation of the congressional budget process to pass the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981, showing that significant policy changes can be achieved using the congressional budget process. The paper concludes with an analysis of the harmful effect of Reagan's methods on executive-legislative relations. Reagan never replicated the legislative success of 1981, and this greater partisan discord later overshadowed the Bush and Clinton administrations.

To some extent, Reagan's success in passing his "Reaganomics" plan can be attributed to his ability to control the legislative agenda by limiting it to a few essential initiatives. "Unlike Carter's 'laundry list' of national agenda priorities four years earlier," writes the University of Vermont political scientist John Burke, "the need for a more focused and limited agenda—largely directed at enacting the President-elect's economic program—was emphasized."[4] By concentrating on a handful of legislative initiatives, Reagan showed the need to set priorities. His tax and budget cuts were the *only* items of business in 1981, which "focused congressional attention to an extent not known since Lyndon Johnson's drive for the Great Society in 1965."[5] In order to emphasize these initiatives as national priorities, both Reagan's Inaugural Address and his February address to a joint session of Congress focused on the economic plan. In his Inaugural Address, Reagan outlined the administration's objective of a "healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provid[ed] opportunities for all Americans" and expressed his intention to diminish the size and influence of the Federal establishment.[6] The February 18, 1981 address on the 'Program for Economic Recovery' focused on the specific goals of the economic plan.

"Reagan's use of the bully pulpit served to focus congressional attention on only those initiatives deemed 'national priorities.'"

In the opening quarter of the address, Reagan argued that the program was aimed at "reducing the growth in government spending and taxing, reforming and eliminating regulations which are unnecessary and unproductive or counterproductive, and encouraging a consistent monetary policy aimed at maintaining the value of the currency."[7] Reagan then advocated for two central tenets of his economic program—the budget and tax relief proposal—that would become the focal points of the national agenda for the next six months. Reagan asked Congress to join him in supporting the administration's budget that reduced Federal spending by $41.4 billion in the 1982 fiscal year. In addition, he called for a 10% across the board cut every year for three years.[8] Reagan's use of the bully pulpit served to focus congressional attention on only those initiatives deemed 'national priorities.'

Congress responded by expediting the process of considering both aspects of President Reagan's economic recovery program. The Gramm-Latta substitute budget bill, which "differed from Reagan's proposed budget in only minor ways," passed in the House of Representatives in May 1981 by a vote of 253-176, with 63 Democrat defectors and all 190 Republicans voting in approval.[9] The House then approved Gramm-Latta II amendments en bloc in June 1981 by a 217-211 vote (with 29 Democrats voting in favor), and the entire reconciliation measure as amended, 232-193.[10] Congress passed the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 in August with a 323-107 vote in the House (including support by 48 Democrats), which featured a 23% cumulative reduction in personal tax rates over three years and a decrease in the top marginal tax rate from 70% to 50%. The legislation was the largest tax cut in United States history.[11] It appears, therefore, that the Reagan Administration's

RONALD REAGAN, 40TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ability to control the congressional agenda by limiting it to focus at the outset on a few essentials (the budget plan and tax cuts) aided in the successful passage of both initiatives by mid-August.

However, some evidence exists to suggest that Reagan's success in 1981 could not solely be the result of his ability to limit the legislative agenda. For example, in his analysis of the key congressional votes in 1981, Professor Richard S. Conley argued that Reagan won four congressional votes regarding his economic program that he "should have lost."[12] Consequently, one must search for other reasons to account for Reagan's legislative achievements. Both contemporary commentators and later researchers have partly attributed this success to the President's decisions to 'go public.'[13] Reagan made four major addresses regarding his budget and tax cut proposal during June, July, and August 1981.[14] Reagan's July 27 address to the nation illustrates the success of this strategy. In the address, described as the "single most effective televised speech in history," President Reagan lobbied for his tax bill and asked the American people to contact their representatives.[15] The result was a significant grassroots response, with 33,000 calls to the Congressional switchboard the following day, equivalent to double the normal load.[16] Some observers have argued that this address and subsequent grassroots response pressured many moderate Democrats to vote for the package.[17]

This particular example was reflective of a more general trend of grassroots mobilization regarding Reagan's economic program in the year 1981. According to one historian, mail from the constituents of most members of Congress in 1981 ran in favor of Reagan by a ratio of "almost thirty to one."[18] In his memoir, former-Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill wrote that he received "more letters [during 1981] than [he] had seen in [his] entire career." In fact, during one week, O'Neill received "something like fifty thousand letters a day," including many from his own constituents in a "fairly liberal district."[19] The Reagan Administration also found that it was able to gain some votes by having common donors put pressure on their representatives without mentioning the White House.[20] By making these agenda priorities known to the American public and urging the nation to pressure Congress, Reagan "created momentum for his agenda and left House Democrats in disarray."[21]

While Reagan's use of the bully pulpit was a significant element of his presidency, he also succeeded because of a "comprehensive legislative strategy carefully mapped out and executed by the White House."[22] President Reagan's Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), David Stockman, recalled that the President worked hard lobbying conservative Democrats through a combination of phone calls, invitations to the White House, and private meetings.[23] In another anecdote, President Reagan invited 14 Democratic members of the House to lunch at Camp David three days before the tax vote; all but three of the Democrats invited later voted with the President.[24] The archival data also supports this anecdotal evidence. For example, 71 House Democrats were targeted for presidential contacts regarding the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981; of these members, 67% voted with the President on July 29. That group "had an average of six contacts with the President, and Reagan telephoned three-fourths of them at least once."[25] Besides his extensive lobbying effort, President Reagan showed a willingness to use concessions to achieve support. For example, Reagan exchanged sugar

price supports for budget cuts in June and peanut price supports for tax cuts in July. In addition, one member of the House of Representatives decided to vote in favor of Reagan's tax cuts proposal in July in exchange for a promise by the White House not to close a military base in his district, as well as a $37 million grant to clean up the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant. Members of natural gas states traded their votes for a promise to veto a windfall profits tax on gas companies.[26] The combination of Reagan's 'going public' strategy to develop grassroots mobilization and an extensive behind-the-scenes lobbying effort allowed the President "to foster and maintain extraordinary unity among Republican representatives" and pressured conservative Democrats to support the economic plan, resulting in such remarkable success.[27]

Complementing Reagan's direct lobbying effort was the Administration's use of the budget as a tool to achieve policy objectives. In the view of the late Washington State University political scientist Lance LeLoup, the 1981 reconciliation measure represented "a significant change in the budget process from previous years."[28] In the resulting Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981, Congress passed major reductions in both domestic discretionary items and mandatory entitlements, such as welfare and food stamps.[29] Stockman, rather than relying on the congressional committee system to make the cuts deemed desirable by the administration, created this budget sponsored by Phil Gramm (D-TX) and Del Latta (R-OH). Many scholars argue that the key to this process was that the budget cuts came to a vote as one reconciliation bill rather than as separate votes on each social, health, and education program cut.[30] The process undermined the ability of Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives to veto specific items, such as a reduction in Social Security that, Tip O'Neill wrote, "would never pass on its own."[31]

In this particular instance, one finds an extreme case of the weakening of committees and the committee system due to the reconciliation process, as "committees [were] simply ignored even on the specifics." According to LeLoup, the reconciliation process affected both the appropriations committees, "whose function was completely taken over," and the authorizing committees, "who saw legislation rewritten by one sweeping vote on the House floor."[32] Stockman acknowledged the irony of the administration's use of a legislative process designed to strengthen Congress' power regarding the budget. "Enacting the Reagan Administration's economic program meant rubber stamp approval, nothing less. The world's so-called greatest deliberative body would have to be reduced to the status of the ministerial arm of the White House."[33] In fact, Tip O'Neill's response to the Gramm-Latta I vote in June raised the same issue of the impact of the Reagan Administration's manipulation of the congressional budget process:

> I have never seen anything like this in my life, to be perfectly truthful. What is the authority for this? Does this mean that any time the President of the United States is interested in a piece of legislation, he merely sends it over? You do not have any regard for the process, for open hearings, for discussions as to whom it affects, or what it does to the economy. Do we have the right to legislate?[34]

Although one could raise the constitutional issue of whether the executive branch overstepped its constitutional powers, the matter is irrelevant from a political standpoint, as President Reagan would have achieved victory in terms of policy if the Democratic alternatives to Reagan's budget and tax cuts—"slight alterations but basically endorsed the President's program"—had passed.[35] Therefore, instead of scrapping the legislative budget process, Reagan convinced a majority of lawmakers to make it work for him by accepting the Administration's budget as their own.[36] Most importantly, Reagan's proposals allowed a majority in Congress to show that significant policy changes could be achieved using the budget process.[37] University of Virginia political scientist Eric Patashnik speculates that it was quite unlikely that such steep cuts in domestic discretionary programs could have been passed under the decentralized budget process that existed before the Budget Act of 1974.[38] Therefore, the reconciliation bill was the first instance in budgeting in which Congress was able to overcome its fragmentation in dealing with economic affairs.

"The reconciliation bill was the first instance in budgeting in which Congress was able to overcome its fragmentation in dealing with economic affairs."

Congress allowed itself to act on the budget as a whole, in line with the intention of the Budget Act of 1974.[39]

At the time he signed into law both the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981 as well as the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, Reagan's approval was at 60%, with 53% approval of his handling of the economy. In addition, 87% of the American public knew about Reagan's tax cut program, with 59% approval.[40] Yet the most important consequence of this strategy was that it only yielded temporary results, as subsequent attempts to replicate it have led to gridlock. As a result, Reagan's experience illustrates, in the words of University of Florida political scientist Richard Conley, "the limits of sustained legislative success and the challenges of marshaling cross-party support in a radically changed context of divided government, despite fully steady levels of presidential job approval and exceptional electoral popularity."[41] House Democrats emerged from Reagan's early tax and budget-cutting victories with a series of organizational reforms aimed at undercutting the President's influence over floor outcomes. In addition, the House majority became more internally cohesive and ideologically unified with the replacement of older, Southern Democrats, creating a "more solidly liberal Democratic base."[42] The development of "better-organized, more constituency-centered, and policy-focused" congressional majorities helps to explain the decline in Reagan's legislative success during the remainder of his presidency.

While the Reagan Administration's decision to combine all spending cuts into an omnibus bill has inspired the use of the congressional budget process as a political tool to achieve significant policy changes, these subsequent efforts have failed. For example, in 1994, the Republicans won a majority in both chambers for the first time in more than a quarter century.[43] The Republican House majority budget reform strategy in 1995 hinged on "exploiting the reconciliation process, which limited the participation of the Democratic minority."[44] In late 1995, both the House and Senate approved a Republican deficit-reduction package featuring "deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and education programs."[45] However, President Clinton vetoed the measure in early 1996 and budget negotiations between the two parties collapsed, ultimately leading to a government shutdown.[46] The Republican budget intended to replicate Reagan's manipulation of the budget process, but the greater partisan discord that arose from Reagan's success in 1981 impeded the GOP's ability to accomplish such dramatic policy achievements. Consequently, while the Reagan strategy worked in 1981 to pass the budget and tax plan, it is difficult to believe that the strategy is one that can be replicated to achieve as substantial policy changes. Because of the possibility for significant policy changes through the manipulation of the budget, the use of this strategy has led to intensely polarized budget showdowns and increased partisanship in American politics.

ENDNOTES

1. Brauer (221)
2. Ronald Reagan, "First Inaugural Address,"
3. Conley (214)
4. Burke (6-7)
5. Light (237)
6. Reagan, "First Inaugural Address,"
7. Reagan "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Program for Economic Recovery,"
8. Ibid
9. Brandt (41)
10. Ibid (48)
11. Collins (71)
12. Conley, "President Reagan, White House Lobbying, and Key Votes: A Reassessment," (135)
13. Weatherford (2)
14. Light (238)
15. Brandt (54)
16. Ibid.
17. Conley "Comparing the Legislative Presidencies of Eisenhower and Reagan," 214.
18. Brandt (9)
19. O'Neill (345)
20. Collier (809)
21. Conley "President Reagan, White House Lobbying, and Key Votes: A Reassessment," (136)
22. Collier (805)
23. Brandt (134)
24. Weatherford (8)
25. Ibid.
26. Light (239)
27. Halpert (721)
28. LeLoup (330)
29. Zelizer (678)
30. Maslin-Wicks (118)
31. O'Neill (345)
32. Leloup (330)
33. Zelizer, 678.
34. Light (239)
35. Leloup (336)
36. Zelizer (678)
37. Leloup (336)

38. Zelizer (678)
39. Leloup (330)
40. Brandt (58)
41. Conley "Comparing the Legislative Presidencies of Eisenhower and Reagan," (222)
42. Ibid (215)
43. Zelizer (678)
44. Ibid
45. Ibid
46. Ibid

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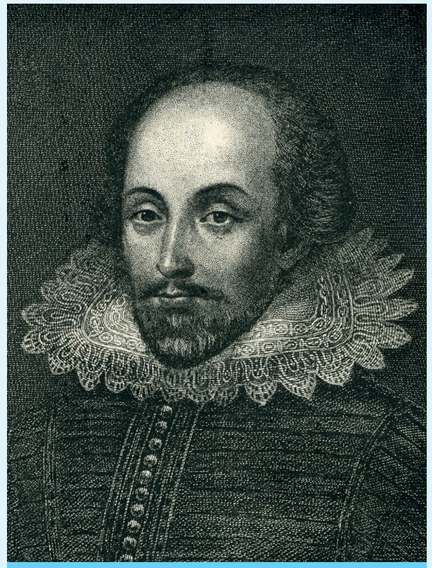
RACIAL TENSION IN *OTHELLO*

Intimations of Literary and Societal Prejudice

NEIL PATCH

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *OTHELLO* HAS GROWN TO BE AN INCREASINGLY POPULAR PLAY OVER THE PAST CENTURY, IN PART BECAUSE IT PROMINENTLY FEATURES A STRONG MINORITY CHARACTER IN THE LEAD ROLE. CRITICS HAVE WRITTEN MUCH OVER THE PAST CENTURY ABOUT THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT SHAKESPEARE INTENDED OTHELLO'S ETHNIC BACKGROUND TO BE, BUT THIS AREA OF INQUIRY DOES LITTLE TO BETTER UNDERSTAND OTHELLO OR HIS TRAGIC SITUATION. THIS IS BECAUSE IAGO IS THE CHARACTER WHO PUSHES OTHELLO'S SKIN COLOR AS AN ISSUE, DOING SO AS PART OF A REVENGE-DRIVEN PLOT TO BRING OTHELLO DOWN FROM POWER. ADDITIONALLY, SOME CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON *OTHELLO* HAVE EMPHASIZED THE SEEMINGLY LATENT PROBLEM OF NEGATIVE RACE RELATIONS IN THE PLAY BETWEEN OTHELLO AND THE REST OF HIS VENICE. HOWEVER, SUCH CLAIMS UNFAIRLY PROJECT MODERN CULTURAL ATTITUDES ABOUT RACE ONTO A SETTING THAT THEY DO NOT REFLECT. INSTEAD OF FOCUSING ON THE DETAILS OF OTHELLO'S ETHNICITY, STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS OF THE PLAY ALIKE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT OTHELLO REPRESENTS THE COLLECTIVE MINORITY "OTHER" AND ITS STRUGGLE TO DISSOLVE THE BARRIER OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ITSELF AND THE MYTH OF HOMOGENIZED EUROPEAN SOCIETY.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Perhaps the biggest critical topic related to *Othello* is what is now considered to be the *race issue*—that is, what exactly did Shakespeare mean by naming Othello the *Moor of Venice*? Over the past few centuries, scholars have been obsessed with attempting to concretely determine whether Othello is a Moor or a black African. From Samuel Taylor Coleridge to contemporary essays such as Ferial Ghazoul's "The Arabization of Othello," *Othello* has since become so heavily laden with racial meaning that this feature of the play has threatened to overtake its more subtle elements. Even within popular culture over the past fifty years, the question of Othello's race has been found to be the defining feature. This is illustrated in Laurence Olivier's controversial portrayal of Othello on film in 1965.Like many of the debates within the Shakespearean canon, speculation and inference have largely ruled the matter of Othello's race. But does it matter whether Othello is a Moor or black African? If so, what does a factual understanding of Othello's race contribute to the play?

The central question concerning *Othello* thus shifts from Othello's race to Shakespeare's intent: Why did Shakespeare construct the play in this way? Exploring the effects and implications of this critical feature of *Othello* becomes far more productive than chasing after clues about Othello's ethnic background. Iago invents and imposes the issue of Othello's skin color and its associated prejudices upon both the play's characters and the audience. Just as Othello's peers fall into Iago's trap by adopting his slander, so do those who take up the issue outside of the text. Thus, Shakespeare dares the audience to take up with, be it consciously or unconsciously, Iago's fabricated view of Othello, designed to bring Othello down from his position of power.

Neither Iago, nor the other characters, should be labeled as *racist*, as there is no conclusive evidence that Othello's race, whatever it may be, caused any problems in the past. This is not to say that the issue of Othello's race and the tension it creates is a misreading, but rather that Venice is seemingly beyond this tension at the start of the play. The ambiguity and mystery surrounding Othello's racial classification is thus intentional. An attempt to pinpoint Othello's ethnic background is a false lead woven into the narrative by Shakespeare, and as such, Othello's race is of no true importance. What Othello does represent is the position of the minority. As a paradoxical figure of acceptance and difference, Othello's presence challenges his fellow Venetians and onlookers to take on Iago's rhetoric. Ultimately, Shakespeare dares *Othello*'s audience to ascribe credibility to Iago's slander where there is none, and to see racism as the factual substructure of Venice where there is only artificial racial tension.

DISCUSSING RACE IN PRE-RACIAL CONTEXTS

To state that the definition of Othello's race is insignificant is not to imply that *Othello* is devoid of a discussion about race. Perhaps the first issue encountered in exploring this element of *Othello* is almost too easily overlooked: How

"This self-awareness marks a definitive moment in Othello's internalization of the prejudices Iago uses to tear him down: his skin will always display difference in European society, and all it takes is one jealous person to turn that into a weapon."

does one think about *race* or *racism* in Elizabethan contexts? Martin Orkin provides a constructive perspective on this preliminary obstacle by invoking the term *color prejudice*.[1] While a critical approach may tread cautiously regarding the use of these terms, the problem becomes one of linguistic preference for "as early as the sixteenth century, active exploitation/persecution on the basis of color, was . . . underway."[2] Similarly, Emily Bartels describes how *racism* is a twentieth century construction, but *racist ideology* was already taking hold in pre-imperialist England.[3] As "the Moor of Venice," Othello seemingly takes on the identity of being the sole minority figure in the city, or at least the symbol of racial difference.

However, this element of the play becomes problematic when critics use terms such as *racist* and *racism* as generalized labels for the play's dynamics and characters. Janet Adelman contends that "the play locates Othello in a deeply racist society," that "racist ideology is everywhere visible in Venice," and that Brabantio harbors a latent racism toward his son-in-law.[4] Racial tension is clearly the fuel that drives Iago's war machine, but he is the one who unleashes it upon Venice. At worst, Iago stirs up a long settled conflict, and at best, this conflict never existed. Edward Berry similarly views the "overt and vicious racism" of Iago and Roderigo as the background for Othello's introduction to the audience.[5] It is certainly true that Shakespeare crafts the play so that the entire first scene is without even one mention of Othello's proper name, all while the audience finds itself subjected to Iago's wild accusations. However, what Adelman and Berry view as racism may ultimately be deconstructed into misplaced frustration.

Accusations of widespread racism in *Othello* essentially devolve into anachronisms. Phillip Butcher notes that for clearly-defined racism to exist in Elizabethan England, there must have been a concrete distinction between the poles of Othello's racial background, but this is not necessarily the case:

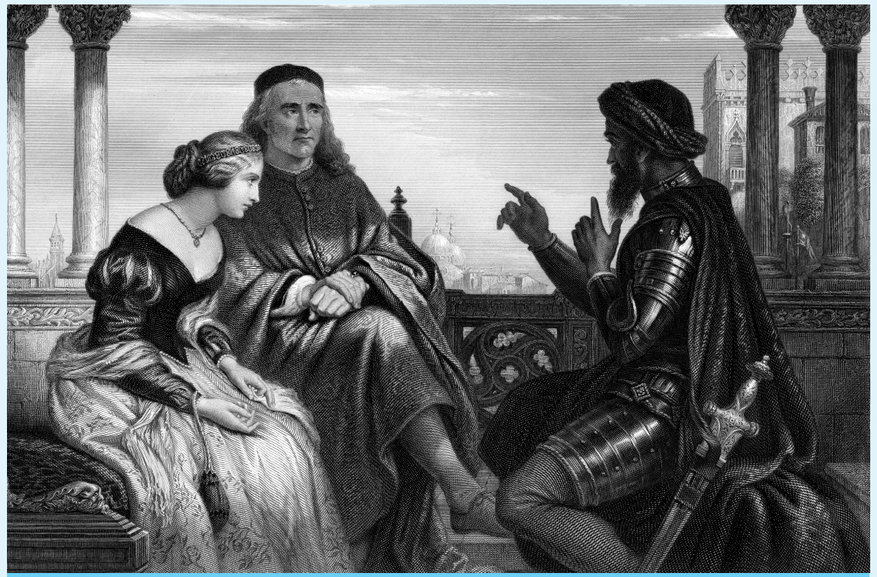
> Shakespeare's designation of his character as a Moor provides no simple solution to the problem, for it appears that neither he nor other Elizabethans made careful distinctions between Moors and Negroes.[6]

This point delegitimizes Butcher's own assertion that Othello is "undeniably black," and that of Ghazoul, who states that because Othello is named the "Moor," he is "therefore an Arab."[7] As an undefined symbol of the collective Other, Schwartz' argument that Othello represents an *Everyman* in the universality of his emotions must be tempered: Othello is the Everyman of minorities.[8]

The audience can at least surmise that Othello was born in Africa given the geographic information contained within Iago's comparison of him to a "Barbary horse" and other clues.[9] The various references made about the blackness of Othello's skin culminate in his own recognition of this upon telling Iago that his reputation matches his own visual darkness: "My name, that was as fresh/ As Dian's visage, is now begrim'd and black/ As mine own face."[10] This self-awareness marks a definitive moment in Othello's internalization of the prejudices Iago uses to tear him down: his skin will always display difference in European society, and all it takes is one jealous person to turn that into a weapon.

The claim that Venice was subject to an intrinsic and defined structure of racism further loses credibility when the reader considers that the action of *Othello* does not take place in Elizabethan London. It is no coincidence that Shakespeare chooses Venice as the location for *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, his two most famous plays featuring minorities. Venice's geographic location as a middle ground between Western Europe, the Arab world, and the continent of Africa already contextualizes the city as one far more versed in cultural contact, if not a basic acceptance of ethnic diversity, than Shakespeare's London. This quality of Venice's location is further amplified considering its historical importance and power for its seaport and trade. Venice's real-world reaction to *Othello* strengthens this concept even more. As early as the mid-eighteenth century, the general attitude of Venice was that a "Venetian audience was well prepared for a character such as Othello," and the "concept of a noble black character like Othello was not foreign to Venetian culture."[11] It appears rash to immediately ascribe rampant racism to a city whose own identity was defined by the necessity of cultural contact.

However, the shade of darkness Venetians see is insignificant and ultimately impossible to determine, for "[i]t is apparent that Othello's African birth does not establish his race or color."[12] Where some critics have attempted to draw a line between the Moorish and African qualities of Othello, it is much more likely that Shakespeare left the line intentionally blurred so that Othello can evade the racial stereotypes others project onto him. The question of determining Othello's race is a masterful example of misdirection by Shakespeare as he dares the audience to fill in the solution to this unresolved issue. This becomes even more problematic when directors must make a decision



OTHELLO COURTING HIS WIFE DESDEMONA IN THE PRESENCE OF HER FATHER BRABANTIO

about how to visually depict Othello. Paul Kaplan traces the arc of early artistic representations of Othello up until the start of the nineteenth century, and notices that "in every case Othello is unequivocally represented as a black African," but that, over time, "there is also a pronounced movement toward an orientalized character."[13] This shift between the poles of Othello's racial identity is external, and the entire perception of *Othello* being Shakespeare's play about "race" finds its origin in the racial tension Iago invents in the first scene.

THE OPENING SCENCE: INVENTING RACIAL TENSION

Much has been made of Iago's famous last lines, a defiant response to Othello's demand to explain why he effectively destroyed Othello's life with his lies: "Demand me nothing. What you know, you know. / From this time forth I will never speak a word."[14] While Iago is one of those most psychologically complex antagonists in the history of British theatre, one need not look any further than *Othello*'s opening scene to learn the astonishingly basic reason for Iago's machinations: jealousy. It is easy for the audience to draw this conclusion because only those in the seats of the production or reading the play know of the thoughts that Iago divulges to his lackey Roderigo.

Simply put, Iago is angry that Othello gave a promotion to someone else. Iago's plot is only hidden from those he deceives in the play, and yet historically the audience associates with Othello's frustrated lack of understanding regarding Iago's motive. Shakespeare provides an explicit answer to Othello's question at the start of the play, and contrary to more common analysis, Iago's course of action is not dictated by race in any way. A close reading of *Othello*'s opening scene reveals that Iago uses logic as far as it will take him, and only turns to baseless and wild racial stereotypes upon realizing he cannot change Othello's mind; the cause for failure lies within Iago, not Othello. Desperate to make Othello feel his pain, Iago uses the one characteristic that marks a difference between Othello and the other Venetians: his skin color. For Iago, Othello's race is the only tool he can use to exact revenge upon his commander, but it is a tool he invents in the first scene of Act I.

The play begins in the middle of a conversation between Iago and Roderigo as Iago explains how Othello has offended him by choosing to promote Cassio. Iago feels wronged, perhaps even rightly so, that Othello ignored all of his positive qualities, and offers the audience three key points expressing why he should have been chosen. Iago's first claim is that Othello did not pay attention to those in positions of power who could have vouched for his attributes:

> Three great ones of the city,
> In personal suit to make me his lieutenant,
> Off-capped to him; and, by the faith of man,
> I know my price; I am worth no worse a place.[15]

Iago claims that Othello ignored these references because his mind is "horribly stuffed with epithets of war," effectively implying that his promotion is of greater importance than the security of Venice.[16] Iago's second complaint is that Cassio is an inexperienced theoretician, who "never set a squadron in the field" and his value is "mere prattle without practice."[17] Iago builds himself up to be a man of action who has soldiered from Rhodes to Cyprus and "on other grounds Christian and heathen."[18] The final argument Iago outlines to Roderigo is one of longevity: "Preferment goes by letter and affection, / And not by old gradation, where each second / Stood heir to th' first."[19] Iago believes that he deserved the promotion if only because he has served longer than Cassio. Admittedly, Iago appears to have every reason to be upset with Othello: he possesses more references, hands-on experience, and a longer career. Iago also defines Cassio as a Florentine, further distancing Cassio from Venice and establishing him as perhaps the first *Other* in the play.

The next interaction serves as the turning point for Iago regarding his relationship with Othello. The previous list of reasonable grievances is meant to invoke some level of sympathy for the wronged soldier. Iago simultaneously reveals that at his core he does not harbor racist sentiments toward Othello and finds justification to launch his slan-

derous attacks. This dual motion comes with Iago's indirect question to Roderigo of whether he owes Othello any further allegiance: "Now, sir, be judge yourself, / Whether I in any just term am affined / To love the Moor."[20] If Iago truly believed in a natural superiority over Othello due to his ethnic background, he would not even consider the question of whether or not he should still "love" Othello. In fact, this sentiment shows that Iago has shared some level of friendship with Othello leading up until this point. This display is far from Berry's accusation of "Iago's blatant racism," since a Eurocentric racist would find it impossible to respect a man from Africa, let alone hint at personal affection for him.[21] At this point in the opening scene, Iago feels betrayed, desperate, and furious; a calculating man such as Iago surely views his misfortune as an incorrectly computed equation.

Having received the expected negative answer from his mirror Roderigo, Iago gains all the justification he needs to begin his siege of illusion: "I follow him to serve my turn upon him."[22] Roderigo utters the first racial epithet with the famous description of Othello as the "thick-lips," and this slur seems to inspire Iago to use the same language on Brabantio because Iago immediately outlines his plan after Roderigo finishes speaking.[23] Roderigo's insult to Othello comes after a passionate monologue by Iago describing how he will falsely serve Othello. Shakespeare constructs Roderigo as Iago's yes-man, and so Iago's anger is Roderigo's anger; Roderigo is a mirror for Iago's emotions. Roderigo's insult is a form of childish name-calling, but Iago recognizes that Roderigo has either intentionally or subconsciously unearthed the power of the visual difference between Othello and other Venetians. Given Othello's good standing and respect among his peers at the outset of the play, it seems as if any potential problems related to his ethnicity have been settled in the past.

Shakespeare makes it clear throughout the play that Iago's most masterful gift is that of language, and Iago is well aware of the power words can have—especially when used to create and perpetuate divisiveness. Combined with the trust every character has in "honest Iago," there is no reason for anyone, especially Othello, to doubt his words. This is most explicit, given Iago's command to "poison" Brabantio's "delight."[24] Iago seeks to change Brabantio's joy via his accusations, and yet Iago himself seems unsure if this will succeed as he references how he and Roderigo will "throw such chances of vexation on't as it may lose some color"[25]. If an atmosphere of racism truly pervades Venice as Adelman claims, Iago would not speak of his plan's success in terms of "chances" and the possibility that it "may" anger Brabantio. What follows are a few of the strongest pieces of evidence critics like Adelman and Berry use to construct Iago, Roderigo, and Brabantio as racists. These include Iago's claims of Othello being "an old black ram" and a "Barbary horse," invoking the apparently bestial element of Othello's otherness.[26] Berry notes that Brabantio's resulting "rage at Othello expresses the same racism Iago and Roderigo had incited on the streets of Venice," but Brabantio does not internalize these insults immediately. Brabantio's response to Iago's claim that Desdemona and "the Moor are making the beast with two backs" is one of powerful condemnation: "Thou art a villain."[27] There is no doubt that at this point Brabantio understands who Iago speaks of; his previous barbs have been wrapped in the linguistic cloak of opaqueness long enough to set up the bestial connotation with Othello. Even upon learning that it is indeed "the Moor" that is supposedly with Desdemona, Brabantio needs more convincing before taking this as fact.

Instead of directing Brabantio's sense of being threatened at Othello as part of some long-hidden racism, as Berry does, Bartels' provides a view that does not immediately assume Othello's race is the provocation:

> While we cannot know what that threat is, whether it involves Othello's race, Desdemona's sexuality, or something else entirely, Brabantio positions himself as one whose authority and 'guardage' have been violated.[28]

Furthermore, the audience later learns that Brabantio had previously welcomed Othello into his home, well aware of his connection to Desdemona, a point to which even Adelman and Berry admit. Perhaps the simplest reason for why Brabantio becomes so infuriated is that he has lost control of his daughter. To assume the issue of Othello's race is at the heart of Brabantio's concern is to follow Iago's lead,

and so the audience falls into the very same trap Iago sets for Brabantio. Iago deliberately imposes racial tension on the universal over-protective nature of fathers in order to make Brabantio explode with rage.

Furthermore, Iago's baiting of Brabantio does not only contain insults toward Othello, but also implicit insults directed toward Desdemona and Brabantio himself. Which father would react rationally to hearing of their virginal daughter's alleged sexual promiscuity while being told that it is his fault for not being vigilant enough? Rather than alluding to concerns of Othello's race, Brabantio reveals that he had feared Desdemona would defy him and elope, saying, "this accident is not unlike my dream."[29] Even upon confronting Othello two scenes later, Brabantio's emphasis is still on the notion that his daughter has been stolen from him, as he addresses Othello saying, "O thou foul thief, where hast thou stowed my daughter?"[30] Brabantio's newfound hatred for Othello emerges out of his apparent inability to protect Desdemona's "youth and maidenhood," perhaps the greatest responsibility a father feels for his daughter.[31] Later, Brabantio even warns Othello of Desdemona's inability to submit to masculine control, saying, "Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see; / She has deceiv'd her father, and may thee."[32] Iago gives Brabantio the ammunition to turn the pain of seemingly failing as a father into a conflict with the ability to threaten Othello's standing in Venice. Thus, the opening scene determines the course of the play and Othello's fate as Brabantio falls into Iago's trap and becomes fooled into making Iago's words a reality.

"Othello displays the unnatural birth of racial tension to an Elizabethan world that was slowly solidifying its own artificial construction of difference."

IAGO'S TRAP OF PROJECTION

From a modern psychological perspective, Shakespeare primes his audience to automatically think of Othello's race before actually knowing the details of his character, and this mirrors what Iago does with his misleading of Brabantio. Iago's devolution into irrational hatred in the first scene brings his credibility as a reliable figure into question, if not completely destroying it. Given Shakespeare's talent and vision, the effects of such a complex double movement are surely intentional. By the end of *Othello*'s first scene, the audience cannot help but view everything that follows in light of Othello's race. The genius of this construction is that the reception and interpretation of *Othello* since its creation becomes entirely dependent upon the climate of a society's own racial tensions. Every performance and reading of *Othello* serves to reflect the audience's own ideological presuppositions back onto themselves. Joyce Green MacDonald succinctly expresses this in her commentary on nineteenth century stage portrayals of *Othello* when she writes that the ability for actors to switch between Othello and Iago demonstrates "the status of blackness as an imaginative product of white cultures, both theatrical and racial."[33] Just as Iago projects his own feelings of failure onto Othello in the form of derogatory racial stereotypes, the audience projects their own assumptions onto the play as a whole.

There is perhaps no better element of the play that reflects this function than the scene of Desdemona's murder. As the imperial reach of Europe, and especially England, grew in the century following *Othello*'s creation, so did fascination with Othello's killing of his wife. By the turn of the eighteenth century, artistic accompaniments with editions of *Othello* increasingly focused on depicting the murder.[34] Over the next hundred years, this image of a black man violently strangling a white woman became dominant:

> [T]he repeated selection of the murder scene at the end of the play reveals a taste for the melodramatic, and implies a reading

of the tragedy in which Othello's violence assumes the most important position.[35]

This snapshot still possesses immense power today as it is still used for the cover of the most current edition of *Othello* in the Signet Classics series, a text intended for and used by countless students as an introduction to the play.[36]

Michael Neill highlights this trend in both artistic representation and performance, arguing that the bedroom scene has been used to "confirm the deep fears of racial/sexual otherness on which the play trades."[37] However, his interpretation of Henry Jackson's 1610 response to a performance of *Othello* reveals the phenomenon of injecting race into the play where there is no evidence of it being an issue. Neill states that Jackson's apparent silence regarding the murder scene's "racial otherness" must mean that "there was for him no real way of voicing" the concerns of racial tension.[38] Instead of accepting the lack of racial commentary as a sign that Jackson had nothing to say on the matter, Neill insists that this silence is "in some deep sense *unutterable*."[39] Neill attempts to connect Jackson's inclusion of commentary on the murder scene to this supposedly unspeakable element of the play, and yet Neill overlooks that this scene is perhaps *Othello*'s most tragic moment: a noble, virtuous man murders his loving wife out of crushing paranoia. Referring back to Bartels' characterization of Elizabethan attitudes toward race, they simply were not solidified during *Othello*'s original run. Neill effectively falls into the same trap that ensnares Brabantio as they both use Othello's skin to assume some level of causality; in Neill's case, the absence of racial tension somehow proves its existence.

Shakespeare provides evidence throughout *Othello* that Othello's race is a nonissue for Venetian society. The biggest leap for the audience to make in regards to understanding *Othello* is in believing that a Venice without racial prejudice exists in the play. The clearest starting point is how Othello's character has become synonymous with the virtue of nobility. Adelman notices how Othello is described in terms of being more complete and unified than Iago, whose fragmentation defines him throughout the entirety of the play. Such examples include Othello being a "full soldier" who possesses "solid virtue" and a "perfect soul."[40] Adelman compares Iago's creation of the *monster* Othello becomes to childbirth, for the "blackness Iago would attribute to Othello [is] something already inside Iago himself."[41]

Another key element is Othello's relationship with Desdemona. Desdemona's proclamation that she "saw Othello's visage in his mind" may refer to an awareness of the role his ethnicity plays in their relationship, but could have a far more simple intention.[42] Desdemona clearly knows that Othello is of a different ethnic background, but her expression may also be interpreted as one of a deeper understanding and love for Othello. If Desdemona sees Othello's true self, or "visage," in his mind, the most basic meaning is that she loves him for his inner self. This is no different than the modern trope that "beauty is only skin deep" or one should not "judge a book by its cover"; true love will always be based upon a connection between souls, not externalities.

The Duke's reaction to Brabantio's claims against Othello is another scene that has suffered racial projection. While Venice's need for Othello to defend against the Turks may relegate Othello to a tool, Brabantio hardly portrays his concerns of Othello stealing Desdemona as rational. Brabantio readily admits to everyone in attendance that his emotions are out of control, saying "my particular grief / Is of so floodgate and o'erbearing nature / That it engluts and swallows other sorrows."[43] The Duke judiciously allows Othello to respond to Brabantio's wild accusations as he explains his relationship with Desdemona, leaving the Duke to admit that Othello's tale would win his daughter as well.[44] Such a sentiment has nothing to do with the "exotic" quality of Othello's life story. Instead, it serves to further praise Othello for being the figure of nobility he is in Venice. Despite his hardships, he is a model of virtue. The Duke's admission of this simultaneously legitimizes Othello and discredits Brabantio, and thus the matter is essentially settled given the far more real threat of Venice's safety. Unfortunately, this does not stop Iago's plan as he continues to burrow into Othello's mind.

One particularly subtle moment that reveals Iago's insults as his own frustrated projection comes when Lodovico cites the strength of Othello's reputation upon witnessing him striking Desdemona: "My Lord, this would not be believed in Venice, / Though I should swear I saw't."[45] Venice is thus characterized as perhaps the only place in the world that would not believe that Othello has the ability to hit his wife even with the testimony of a Venetian nobleman. Additionally, this implies that Othello's reputation is even greater than that of Lodovico. Once Othello leaves Venice, he becomes subject to the greater awareness of the terms of Iago's racial stereotyping. Lodovico's lines almost read as recognition from Shakespeare himself that while Othello's fellow Venetians would fail to believe such an act against his character occurred, the audience in London will readily believe it.

CONCLUSION

In *Othello*, Shakespeare creates a Venice that exists outside of Europe's burgeoning solidification of racial stereotypes. The association between Othello's race and his character is one raised solely by Iago, and he does so out of his own irrational thirst for revenge. While Iago invents the racial tension in *Othello*, it is clear that Othello serves as a symbol for how any minority cannot escape the threat of negative difference due to physical appearance. Given that Othello's difference of ethnicity is the only element of his person that separates him from the rest of Venice, it is the only thread Iago can grab onto in his plot to unravel Venice's most admired man.

Shakespeare challenges his audience to read into the difference of physical appearance by fashioning a noble, heroic, and loving male figure and giving him a darker skin tone than those in the theatre and on stage. The definition of Othello's race does not matter to anyone in the play until Iago makes it an issue. Thus, the characters who turn on Othello are far from racist or displaying racism; Iago's slurs are external and projected. In fact, this makes their derogatory utterances even more deplorable than if they were a product of widespread racial prejudice, for at least in such a situation one could indeed blame societal environment. The stereotypes become internalized upon assuming the existence of a cause-effect relationship between Othello's actions and the fact that Iago poisons Othello with his own irrationality. *Othello* displays the unnatural birth of racial tension to an Elizabethan world that was slowly solidifying its own artificial construction of difference. What does matter is the disturbing readiness of Iago, and the collective Western mind, to so easily rely upon sight rather than belief.

ENDNOTES

1. Orkin (168)
2. Ibid.
3. Bartels (434)
4. Adelman (125-126)
5. Berry (319)
6. Butcher (243)
7. Ghazoul (1)
8. Schwartz (299)
9. Shakespeare (1.1.89, 111)
10. Shakespeare (3.3.384-385)
11. Kaplan (179)
12. Butcher (245)
13. Kaplan (185)
14. Shakespeare (5.2.299-300)
15. Shakespeare (1.1.8-10)
16. Shakespeare, (1.1.12)
17. Shakespeare (1.1.19, 23)
18. Shakespeare (1.1.26-27)
19. Shakespeare (1.1.33-35)
20. Shakespeare (1.1.35-37)
21. Berry (323)
22. Shakespeare (1.1.39)
23. Shakespeare (1.1.63)
24. Shakespeare (1.1.65)
25. Shakespeare (1.1.69-70)
26. Shakespeare (1.1.89, 111)
27. Shakespeare (1.1.113-114)
28. Bartels (450)
29. Shakespeare (1.1.139)
30. Shakespeare (1.3.61-62)
31. Shakespeare (1.1.169)

32. Shakespeare (1.3.292-293)
33. MacDonald (232)
34. Kaplan (181)
35. Kaplan (185)
36. Shakespeare
37. Neill (390)
38. Neill (394)
39. Neill (394)
40. Shakespeare (2.1.36, 4.1.66, 1.2.31)
41. Adelman (130)
42. Shakespeare (1.3.252)
43. Shakespeare (1.3.56-57)
44. Shakespeare (1.3.170)
45. Shakespeare (4.1.242-243)

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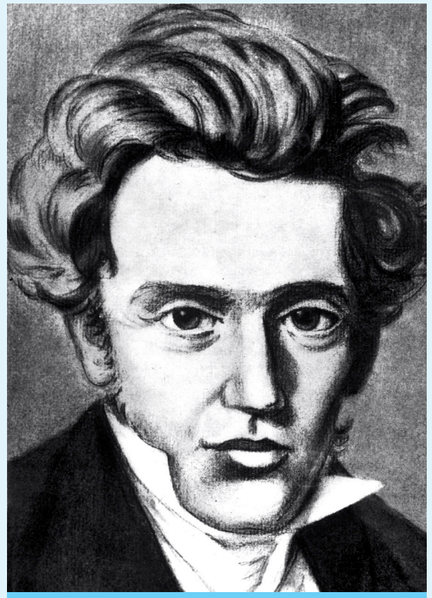
KNIGHT OF FAITH

Between Saying and Doing

SAM KENT

WHY IS A MAN ACTING ON FAITH OF GOD UNABLE TO RELATE HIMSELF TO HIS COMMUNITY? THIS ISSUE IS ROOTED IN THE INTRIGUING YET PROBLEMATIC SYSTEM OF EXISTENTIAL CHRISTIAN THOUGHT DEVELOPED BY THE 19TH CENTURY DANISH PHILOSOPHER SØREN KIERKEGAARD. KIERKEGAARD, WRITING UNDER THE VEIL OF SEVERAL PSEUDONYMS, ULTIMATELY SUGGESTS THAT LANGUAGE ITSELF IS INCAPABLE OF COMMUNICATING THE MESSAGE OF THE ABSOLUTE; CONSEQUENTLY, THE SO-CALLED "KNIGHT OF FAITH," OR TRUE BELIEVER, CAN ONLY COMMUNICATE THROUGH SILENCE. WHILE HIS SOLUTION IN SILENCE IS APPROPRIATE, KIERKEGAARD FAILS TO REALIZE THAT THE STRUCTURAL DICHOTOMY BETWEEN HIS ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS DIALECTIC, HIGHLIGHTED IN THE NECESSITY OF THE TELEOLOGICAL SUSPENSION OF THE ETHICAL, CREATES THE LINGUISTIC DILEMMA THAT ISOLATES THE KNIGHT OF FAITH. THIS IS TO SAY, KIERKEGAARD'S DIALECTICS, NOT LANGUAGE ITSELF, CAN EXPLAIN THE KNIGHT OF FAITH'S LINGUISTIC BARRIER. THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES THE POTENTIAL MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AVAILABLE TO THE KNIGHT OF FAITH AND EXPLAINS WHY THE KIERKEGAARDIAN DIALECTIC OBSTRUCTS EACH MEANS, DEVELOPING SILENCE, OR "INDIRECT COMMUNICATION," AS THE ONLY MEANS OF EXPRESSING THE ABSURD SUBJECTIVE TRUTH OF THE ABSOLUTE.



SØREN KIERKEGAARD

Kierkegaard distinguishes between the Knight of Faith—the "true believer" who can act upon the absurd—and the ethical man who acts according to rational and intelligible morality, expressed as laws and mores with an eye to the common good. The Knight of Faith's movement of faith is misinterpreted by the ethical man as a sinner's expression of particularity. Therefore it becomes necessary for the Knight of Faith to distinguish his transgression against the universal. But in the expression he experiences a dilemma: his apparent inability to communicate in ethical terms.

This essay examines both the failure of language as a medium of communication between the religious and the ethical, and the Knight of Faith's solution in silence. Three potential approaches to communication will be explored: (1) using ethical language, (2) using non-ethical language, and (3) transforming the ethical language. After these three are found to be insufficient, silence will be examined as the sole means of communication available to the Knight of Faith in the dialectic. The movement of faith can only communicate through silence, and then only to a limited audience of ethical individuals who are prepared to undergo the "leap" to the religious dialectic. Ultimately, the dichotomy between styles, not an intrinsic limitation in language, will be faulted for the communication barrier experienced by the Knight of Faith.

Let us define our terms. The ethical is rational, intelligible, universal morality, encapsulated in laws and mores that are identified by a community as the highest good. Transgressing these explicit laws and mores is considered a sin, and in all likelihood will also be deemed irrational, unintelligible, and particular by the ethical community. Through an "absolute relation with the absolute"—that is, God—the Knight of Faith establishes himself as a particular above the universal.[1] He becomes an individual justified by a personal relationship to a universal source, not by conforming to a universal sets of laws. In doing so, he "transcends and dialectically recapitulates" the aesthetic and ethical stage of moral progression in a way that "retrieves the character of subjective immediacy and inwardness" of the aesthetic without its "irresponsible quality."[2]

Let us dwell a moment on this description. The aesthetic phase—in which an individual morally responds to his personal feeling without universal consideration—results in a narrow, particular morality justifiable from one outwardly inaccessible perspective. The movement of the Knight of Faith echoes this aesthetic turn toward an individual passion. The difference is that in the case of faith, the individual's passion is focused on the universal in the form of God, not the ever-shifting palate of human appetites. In this way, the Knight of Faith gains access to the universal for direction and recourse to the same for justification, relying upon God in the same way that the ethical man relies on ethical laws and mores. Inevitably, his higher expression of particularity will be misinterpreted as sin—an expression of an aesthetic urge transgressing a universally applicable ethical standard. The Knight of Faith must distinguish himself from the sinner, but here he experiences a communication barrier.

The ethical is the disclosed.[3] As such, it demands all particulars to mediate with the universal by giving expression to their interiority. Such expression demands a means of communication that is comprehensible to the ethical—that is, language. However, faith, a secondary interiority, is unable to utilize the ethico-linguistic construct. This, *ipso facto*, would appear to preclude any justification of the Knight of Faith's transgression against the universal.

"Kierkegaard himself declared, 'Philosophy cannot and should not give us an account of faith.' Consequently, faith, this absurd paradox, cannot be articulated within the logical language of ethical philosophy."

The Knight of Faith's inability to use the ethical language stems from its structure, particularly the structure of argument. According to logic, a *reductio ad absurdum* invalidates a claim. This occurs with the claim of faith: "the single individual as the particular is higher than the universal."[4] Universality denotes ubiquity: the claim that there exists a particular beyond the universal seems to violate the principle of non-contradiction when put into language. The *statement* of faith constitutes an absurd claim that violates logic, and therefore must be disregarded in the context of an argument. Yet faith *is* this absurdity and thus "the single individual is quite unable to make himself intelligible to anyone."[5] Faith's subjectivity is irreducible to adequate expression. Accordingly, any individual who "seeks to prove God's existence by means of logical syllogisms is denounced by Kierkegaard as being *ipso facto* a heathen."[6] Furthermore, the ethico-linguistic construct contains a temporal aspect that is unable to account for the atemporal essence of the divine; as Kierkegaard's pseudonym Johannes *de silentio* relates, "for in the world of time God and I have no language in common."[7] Kierkegaard himself declared, "Philosophy cannot and should not give us an account of faith."[8] Consequently, faith, this absurd paradox, cannot be articulated within the logical language of ethical philosophy.

The next potential approach to communication is the use of a non-ethical language. To communicate, it is a *sine qua non* that a language is comprehensible to both parties. Yet, the ethical dialectic is inexorably tied to its own logical constructs, inevitably ruling out this possibility for those unable to engage in philosophical ethics. Moreover, extra-argumentative conviction—the emotive acts of artists, for example—are unlikely to sway those who hold up the logical dialectic as the form of philosophy. As Johannes *de silentio* states, "Though [the Knight of Faith] himself understood all the tongues of the world, though the loved ones understood them too—he still could not talk—he speaks a divine tongue."[9] This divine tongue is unintelligible to the uninitiated (including ethical philosophers) in the same way that the ethical logic is unintelligible to the uninitiated. As a result, the Knight of Faith cannot use a non-ethical language to communicate a convincing argument to the ethical community.

There remains the prospect of transforming the ethical language to incorporate the capability to properly express the movement of faith. This would require conducting the movement of faith through the ethico-linguistic construct. Doing so, rather than merely utilizing language as a means of explanation *ex post facto*, would enable the reformation and contextualization of the language. For example, ethico-linguistic logic equating absurd with invalid could be inverted through the *Knight of Faith's* use of the absurd. An isomorphic dialectic transformation would occur as mutual usage of a common language would both introduce a proper religious lexicon to the ethico-linguistic construct—thereby recognizing the religious in the universal—and

structure the movement of faith in a form that is more compatible with the ethical dialectic. This would facilitate a transvaluation of the movement of faith.

Yet, such a dialectic convergence between subjective interiority and objective universality conducted through the bridge of language is ultimately impossible due to the teleological suspension of the ethical—the obligatory transcendence of the ethical due to a higher *telos*.[10] When no higher *telos* exists, the *Knight of Faith* adheres to the ethical. While acting in accordance with the ethical, language is a sufficient means of communication and thus the *Knight of Faith's* linguistic dilemma is irrelevant. However, when a higher *telos* does exist, the ethical is suspended and with it, the ethical language is forfeit. Any subjective interior experience negates the structural rationalization impulses of the ethical through the teleological suspension. This explains why faith "cannot be fit to conceptual form" or "be put into form at all."[11] The process can be reduced to a *telos*-dependent question of either/or: either the *Knight of Faith* is adhering to the ethical, making the *Knight of Faith's* linguistic dilemma irrelevant; or, he is suspending the ethical, isolating the movement of faith from the ethico-linguistic construct. To recapitulate, utilizing the ethico-linguistic construct, utilizing a non-ethical linguistic construct, and transforming the ethico-linguistic construct have all been found to be ineffective means for the Knight of Faith to communicate to the ethical community. The use of silence must now be examined.

"Wittgenstein and Kierkegaard fundamentally agree that silence is the appropriate expression of those experiences which lie beyond the propositional, sensibly meaningful limits of language."

Ludwig Wittgenstein concludes in his seminal *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, "What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence."[12] While disputing whether it is the ethical or the religious that belongs in the domain of silence, Wittgenstein and Kierkegaard fundamentally agree that silence is the appropriate expression of those experiences which lie beyond the propositional, sensibly meaningful limits of language. At first, this may appear to be a perplexing claim due to the conventional denotation of silence as "the fact of abstaining or forbearing from speech or utterance."[13] However, the Kierkegaardian usage of "silence" signifies, as Mark Taylor claims, an "indirect communication."[14] While the Knight of Faith can speak, he cannot articulate his message. After the stammering articulations and botched argument of the eager believer, the choice to be silent is a pious acknowledgement of his own limits. In this silence "he doesn't say anything, and that is his way of saying what he has to say."[15]

Take the case of Abraham. In response to Isaac's question, Abraham says, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering."[16] This is Abraham's expression of his absurd compulsion of his faith. Yet, this is utterly unintelligible to ethical philosophy (as Chris Hitchens was always quick to note), which cannot comprehend the infinite double movement of faith in which this claim is made—it is as if he "speaks a foreign tongue."[17] From the ethical perspective, "if [the movement of faith] is to be perceived at all, it can appear only in the dislocation effected within the ethical."[18] Nevertheless, there does exist a select audience within the ethical community who are preparing to undergo the "leap" to the final dialectic stage. It is this group that can receive the Knight of Faith's claims and comprehend the unarticulated meaning. Silence, Kierkegaard argues, can go beyond the ethical language to convey the movement of faith to a select audience.

Kierkegaard, however, is mistaken for faulting the intrinsic deficiencies of language for the Knight of Faith's inability to justify himself to the ethical community.[19] Humankind is "given language only as it occurs, and whatever

meaning it happens to convey depends upon perceiving it as such."[20] Accordingly, language constitutes a very dynamic and non-restrictive medium of communication. Rather, it is the dichotomy between the ethical and the religious that is responsible for the communication barrier.

IMAGE OF THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC BY ABRAHAM

Each dialectic acts to resist the other. The ethical construct demands rational proof of the inherently absurd movement of faith. As Kierkegaard notes in *On Becoming a Christian*, "To prove is to demonstrate something to be the rational actuality it is. Can one demonstrate that to be a rational actuality which is at odds with reason? Of course not, unless one would contradict oneself."[21] Likewise, the religious dialectic frustrates any attempt to conceptualize or formulate it in the terms of an argument, as "faith is possible for thought only through a particular movement of negation in which the possibility of thinking faith requires the negation of thought itself."[22] Furthermore, the ethical and the religious community derive their perspective from two distinct, non-relatable realms of experience. As Anti-Climacus (a pseudonym) notes, "the relation between the natural man and the Christian . . . is like the relation between a child and an adult: what makes the child shudder and shrink, the adult regards as nothing."[23] There is a fundamental barrier to communication beyond language due to the dichotomy between the ethical objectivity and the religious subjectivity. The ethical dialectic is necessarily objective due to its claims to universality. For the religious, as Kierkegaard notes in his *Concluding Unscientific Postscripts*, "God is a subject, and therefore exists only for subjectivity in inwardness."[24] God can be conceptualized as an absolute particularity that infinitely abrogates the ethical universality. In doing so, God violates the essence of the ethical dialectic. It therefore becomes incumbent on the ethical community to reject such claims to a higher absolute particularity. As such, the Knight of Faith's inability to communicate does not constitute a linguistic deficiency, but rather an essential incompatibility of the dialectics. This explains the necessity of "suspending" of the ethical and "leaping" to the religious, instead of a gradual transition between the two. The inevitable failure of this gradualist approach becomes apparent in Kierkegaard's narration of the ethical man who wants faith. The man requires the assurance of objective demonstration and thus utilizes the scientific process of approximation:

> [Faith becomes] the almost probable, the very probable, the extremely and exceedingly probable: that he can almost know, or as good as know, to a greater degree and exceedingly almost *know*—but *believe* it, that is impossible, for the absurd is precisely the object of faith, and only that can be believed.[25]

Any attempt to objectify faith will result in dogmatism, which is antithetical to Kierkegaard's existential faith. In short, the subjectivity of faith violates the principle of ethi-

cal universality; therefore, the ethical community cannot comprehend the Knight of Faith's message in principle.

The complexities of the Knight of Faith's extremely limited ability to communicate with the ethical community has been examined, revealing that the Knight of Faith could not use the ethical language, a non-ethical language, or a transformed ethical language. Silence was found to be the Knight of Faith's only adequate and appropriate means of communication with the ethical, and then only with a select few: those prepared to undergo the "leap" to the religious dialectic. Ultimately, the dichotomy between the dialectics runs deeper than an intrinsic limitation in language and is the root of the communication barrier experienced by the Knight of Faith. There remains the possibility of using non-linguistic communication—albeit forms like the arts, which appeal to aesthetic sensibilities and not logical sensibilities—as a means of conveying the movement of faith. But we can conclude that according to Kierkegaard, no argument can be as dynamic the leap of faith.

ENDNOTES

1. Kierkegaard 1985 (85)
2. Kearney 1988 (202)
3. Kierkegaard 1985 (109)
4. Kierkegaard 1985 (84)
5. Kierkegaard 1985 (99)
6. Kearney 1988 (202)
7. Kierkegaard 1985 (35)
8. Kierkegaard 1985 (63)
9. Kierkegaard 1985 (138)
10. Kierkegaard 1985 (96)
11. Hale 2002 (147)
12. Wittgenstein 1922
13. "silence, n." OED Online..
14. Zijlstra 2006 (96)
15. Kierkegaard 1985 (142)
16. Ibid.
17. Kierkegaard 1985 (143)
18. Hale 2002 (167)
19. Note that Wittgenstein's earlier philosophy can be faulted for his emphasis on the intrinsic limit to language.
20. Hale 2002 (2)
21. Kierkegaard 2005 (28)
22. Hale 2002 (146)
23. Kierkegaard 1980 (8)
24. Kierkegaard 2005 (18)
25. Kierkegaard 2005 (24)

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THE EMERGENCE OF FATHERHOOD

The Reversal of Parental Roles for a New Age

TRISH CLASEN

WOMEN HAVE TOSSED THEIR APRONS, GRABBED THEIR BRIEFCASES, AND HEADED OFF INTO THE LABOR FORCE. MEN HAVE STARTED IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, DITCHING THEIR BRIEFCASES IN ORDER TO SPEND SOME QUALITY TIME RAISING THEIR CHILDREN. WITH THE ALTERATION OF THE DEFINITION OF WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE FAMILY COMES THE INEVITABLE REDEFINING OF THOSE OF MEN. FATHERS HAVE TRANSFORMED FROM THE DETACHED BREADWINNERS PORTRAYED IN CLASSIC AMERICAN SITCOMS LIKE *LEAVE IT TO BEAVER* INTO HANDS-ON DADS. THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES THESE CHANGES, WHILE PAYING SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO THE ROLES OF FEMINISM AND THE MEDIA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NEW TREND.

"Welcome to the world of modern fatherhood, formerly known as motherhood."[1] Mothers of the twenty-first century have found new support in parenting from their husbands, an illustration of the transformation in the traditional family. "The line between fathering and mothering is beginning to blur."[2] The new trends in fatherhood appear to have trailed behind the shift in the definition of motherhood. A surge in the gender rights movement resulted in the transformation of the paternal role; no longer the patriarchal ruler of the home, fathers are starting to reevaluate the traditional fathering roles they once possessed. This trend is a direct response to the feminist movement. Yet this new movement to redefine the role of the father faces just as much backlash as its feminist predecessor continues. An array of exterior factors, primarily the media and feminist movements, serve to manipulate and reshape the roles of fathers in our modern day society—for better and worse. Media portrayals represent negative feelings towards the new trend in fatherhood, through their satirical messages and the absence of helpful advice for fathers. Feminism and the media are serving as dialectic tensions, in regards to the defining of masculinity and the role of fathers in today's society. This paper aims to explore the feminist movement's relationship with the new trends in fatherhood, and the media backlash ridiculing them both.

"Industrialization and notions of normal masculinity can be held responsible for the development of the traditional father role with which we are so familiar today."

TRADITIONAL FATHERHOOD

Ward Cleaver. Bill Cosby. Howard Cunningham. Mike Brady. These sitcom fathers captivated American audiences, as families gathered around the television on Saturday nights. They greeted their wives before sitting down to a family dinner; they left them each morning with a peck on the cheek and a newspaper in hand. If "television content is illustrative of some of the many concerns, traditions, values, and norms of the day in which it was conceived and produced," then these sitcom fathers epitomize the definition of fatherhood for the 1950s-1960s.[3] The characterization of these fathers as patriarchs resembles the societal expectations of the traditional roles a father is supposed to fulfill.

Traditionally, the phrases "father" and "breadwinner" were synonymous with one another. Fatherhood, in the traditional sense of the word, was conceptualized as the provider of means, the "breadwinner," throughout various studies.[4] According to Jessie Bernard (1981), "the more traditional model is the good-provider model, in which men demonstrate their commitment to the family by being responsible workers and bringing home an acceptable high income".[5] Scholars and the media continuously emphasized the father's breadwinning role, emphasizing his familial responsibilities to earn enough money to put food on the table night after night.

Industrialization and notions of normal masculinity can be held responsible for the development of the traditional father role with which we are so familiar today. According to Gentry,

> hegemonic masculinity narrows [mens'] options, forces them into confined roles, dampens their emotions . . . precludes intimacy with children, and dooms them to living in fear of not living up to the masculine ideal.[6]

Society's constricting definition of masculinity parallels its narrowed conceptualizations of male parent roles. In a historical context, the distinction of fathers as "breadwinners"

WITH AN INCREASE IN PATERNAL RESPONSIBILITY HAS COME AN INCREASE IN THE ACCEPTABILITY OF SHOWING FATHERLY AFFECTION.

and mothers as "nurturers" emerged from the effects of industrialization.[7] As men sought employment in industrial factories, they left behind their farms, small businesses, and child-rearing responsibilities. Mothers, as a result, assumed the primary parental role, while "the predominant construction of fatherhood in the twentieth century had at its core fathers' instrumental or breadwinning role in the family."[8] Here is where the gender-socialized parenting roles strengthened. Men were constantly counting figures and earning paychecks, while women were glued to the kitchen, never ceasing to serve their husbands and children.

These traditional roles defined the ideal family, as presented through the *Leave it to Beaver* era sitcoms. Society's model of the conventional American family definitively divided the parental roles via gender. Furthermore, it allowed for little flexibility in male and female roles. Because men were deemed the "breadwinners," there was little room left for fathers to become involved with their children's lives. After all, they needed to spend their time and energy focusing on climbing the career ladder and providing steady paychecks. To sufficiently fulfill this duty, fathers had to stay away from the nurturing end of the spectrum. Men were often absent from the home for the majority of the week, missing out on their children's lives. Thompson and Walker argue, "fathers, in the traditional image, are breadwinners who are neither competent nor desirous of nurturing children on a day-to-day basis."[9] These traditionalist views peg men as absent, uninvolved, and career-focused. For these "breadwinning" fathers, work and family are two entirely separate spheres; work schedules and career commitments are rarely affected by the father's child-rearing responsibilities.[10] Children's activities, achievements, and emotional needs tended to be left for the mother to deal with, as traditional fathers spent the majority of their time in the office.

However, traditional fathers were not entirely nonexistent throughout their offspring's childhoods. Weekends and holidays for fathers meant quality time spent with children. Though, the conventional manner in which this time was passed definitely does not resemble the way mothers shared moments with their children. Thompson and Walker's research on parental roles leads them towards "terming fathers 'playmates' and mothers 'caregivers and comfort givers.'"[11] Playtime is pivotal for traditional father involvement. Imagery of father-son fishing trips, father-daughter dances, and games of catch between a father and his son work to illustrate the notion that fathers only interact with their children through fun activities. The entertainment aspect of a father's relationship with his children works on a superficial level; a traditional father is only involved with his children via transactions—minimal time spent, and maximal funds exchanged. Definitions such as these result from the traditional viewpoint that men focus their time and energy in the workforce, while mothers focus their efforts towards providing a nurturing and caring environment for her children.

NEW TRENDS IN FATHERHOOD

Today's fathers demonstrate an increased "paternal involvement, responsibility, and care."[12] There has been a shift from the traditional role as breadwinners towards more hands-on roles and involvement in the family.[13] Fathers are contributing more in regard to familial responsibilities today than in the past. According to the time-diary based research of Yeung et al. (2001), "about three quarters of the children received personal care from their fathers, two thirds were involved in play or companionship activities, one third spent time in achievement-related activities, and about one fifth spent time with fathers in household or social activities on weekdays."[14] As it emphasizes the increased presence of fathers in their children's lives, this study drastically differs from the perceptions of fatherhood in the 1950s.

The father-child interactions explored by Yeung et al. demonstrate a shift in fathering methods as fathers spend time providing personal care, homework help, and household conversations for their children, rather than allocating any time spent with children specifically as play time. Fathers are expanding beyond their hands-off roles as the breadwinner; they are starting to take on some of the nurturing responsibilities usually designated to mothers.[15] "The 'new fathers' of today are ideally more nurturing, develop closer emotional relationships with their children, and share the joys and work of caregiving with mothers."[16] The superficiality of a father-child relationship diminishes as the emotional connection between the child and his or her father increases.

An illustration of an increasing paternal presence can be found in the increased number of fathers present at the birth of their children. Previously, fathers were left to sit in the waiting room while their wives experienced one of life's greatest joys, the birth of a child. Keeping their wives company during Lamaze classes and accompanying them on shopping errands for baby cribs, men now want to become more involved in their children's lives, starting before they are even born. Trends now show that more and more men are becoming involved in the birthing process.[17] Men's involvement in the childbirth process extends beyond being physically present during labor. Many fathers are not returning to work immediately after the birth of their children.[18] As explained by Balter, "presence at the birth is a precursor and indicator of an increasing father involvement with children, reversing a trend that began with the advent of the Industrial Revolution."[19] A father's initial involvement in his child's life will inevitably follow throughout the next eighteen years or longer. An emotional connection is established in the labor room, one that was quite impossible for a father to attain while he sat at a distance in the waiting room.

"The traditional provider role of fathers has been challenged in recent years by a model that emphasizes direct involvement of fathers in family work."[20] These "modern" fathers no longer separate family and work identities, but rather recognize the constant competition between the two responsibilities. "Competition between the role of worker and father may become more salient."[21]

> As [men] looked for commitments beyond the workplace and became involved with women who desired and expected help in child rearing, involved fathers found unexpected pleasure in parenting.[22]

As fathers redefine their roles and begin to form more permanent, meaningful relationships with their children, a new contemporary form of fatherhood replaces the traditional one.

REVIEW OF THE EXISTING RESEARCH

Several researchers, albeit few in comparison to the amount of motherhood scholars, have focused their attention on conceptualizing paternal involvement. "Fathers have been 'discovered' by both development researchers and the mass media."[23] One of these researchers, Michael E. Lamb, arrived on the forefront of the father-focused, scholarly movement. His academic profile illustrates his array of knowledge in psychology, parent-child relationships, and non-parental childcare, among other family communication phenomena. Through Lamb and his contemporaries emerged the conceptualization of fatherhood into three major components—"the extent of the father's accessibility to his children, the extent of the father's actual interaction with his children, and the degree of responsibility that the father assumes for his children."[24] Almost twenty years later, Wall et al. extended the definition of fatherhood by creating sub-categories for fathers, distinguished by behaviors and methods of parenting. Seeking understanding of fatherhood in the greater context, the researchers examined the practices of fathers (from diaper changing to recital attendance), the types of father-child bonds (emotionally open or uses a mediator to communicate), and a man's viewpoint towards fatherhood (whether he sees himself as a good or bad father).[25] Carlson extensively researched the influence of structure and parental involvement on the behaviors of children. His study was the first "to directly measure variation in fathers' as well as mothers' parenting across family structures," yet was not published until 2006.[26]

A majority of the accessible sources have made clear that researchers disproportionately examine the roles of mothers, leaving evaluations of the paternal role neglected.[27] With the rise in academic interest concerning fatherhood and non-traditionalist patterns, it is clear that there is a movement to counter the dominance of motherly studies and prevalence in the lives of children. Exploring the diversity of fatherhood styles, Wall makes note as to which fathers take on paternal, relational (partner-oriented), and breadwinning roles. The complexity and depth of the way our society constructs fatherhood has caught the attention of academic scholars. As these researchers understand the effects and outcomes of these fatherhood trends, they examine the societal movements and backlash that sparked and burden this paternal movement.

FEMINISM AND ITS POPULARITY

With the first Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, an organized movement dedicated to eliminating the gender-based inequalities afflicting women emerged. Deemed "feminism," this movement originally focused on woman's suffrage, but has now shifted its efforts towards establishing equal settings for women in the realms of careers and academia. Feminism is centered around two pivotal themes: first, "feminism values women as important and worthwhile human beings; second, feminism recognizes the need for social change if women are to lead secure and satisfying lives."[28] The feminist movement pushes for the shifting of traditional values towards more modern, egalitarian principles. This insistence on change does not only apply to women, but also extends to men.

With the increased popularity of the feminist movement arrived a dramatic increase in the number of women seeking employment. Ambition to climb the career ladder does not seem to have been extinguished by child rearing, especially as female presence in the labor force has increased. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the rate of women balancing both a career and children under the age of 18 increased from 47% to 73% between March 1975 and March 2000.[29] "Since 1970, the gap between the labor force participation rates of married men and women has narrowed."[30] These statistics point out that the movement of mothers entering the labor force is undeniable. For this reason, it is necessary to understand both the positive and negative consequences of this trend.

"Nothing has changed family life more in the twentieth century than the dramatic increase in mothers' labor force participation."[31] The female's increased role in the workplace, has resulted in a diminished presence of women in the home. No matter how they try, it is impossible for women to attain the highest career success while managing their familial duties. Here is where men have stepped in. With the alteration of the definition of females' roles in the home comes the inevitable redefining of roles of males. "The family structure in which the male is the sole breadwinner continues to erode as women become increasingly present and powerful in the workforce."[32] Mothers add work responsibilities into their daily routines already full of multi-tasking, while some fathers are taking on fewer workplace responsibilities. "Fathers are changing more diapers, cooking more meals, and reprioritizing the means of work, increasingly adding more family responsibilities to their daily activities."[33] As women's time is devoted more

THE SIMULTANEOUS DECLINE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE INCREASED NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN CORPORATE AMERICA, THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF MOTHER AND CHILD HAS CHANGED.

towards career and less towards child-rearing and household chores, men are starting to take on some of the familial responsibilities, once solely designated for women.

FACTORS ACCELERATING THE SHIFTING OF FEMALE ROLES: THE ECONOMY

> Lost my job, came home mad
> Got a hug and kiss and that's too bad
> She said I can go to work until you find another job.
> Lonestar, "Mr. Mom"[34]

External factors, irrelevant to the ideologies of the feminist movement, served to accelerate the process through which women entered the workforce, and men spent increased time at home. The external factor having the greatest influence on delegating breadwinning tasks is the economy. Paternal involvement "appears to be sensitive to macro- and microeconomic circumstances."[35] Economics definitely come into play; the occupations, financial security, and salaries of all the members of the family play a great role in the distribution of familial responsibilities. With the current economic recession, there are financial situations in which women are earning more than their husbands, or in which women are the sole wage earners of the household. If a family were to continue to organize itself through traditional roles during these difficult economic situations, the family would find themselves in dire poverty.[36] For this reason, the current economic situation continues to influence new trends in parental roles. Men who earn less than their wives, and men whose work schedules differ from that of their partner are more likely to care for the children.[37] "As lucrative workplace opportunities for women increase, there are more cases where families decide that it makes more economic sense for the husband to quit working than for the wife to do so."[38] Adjustments are made based on what makes most financial sense, rather than on the ideologies possessed by both members of the child-rearing couple. Economics, in conjunction with the feminist ideals of the era, cause the increased commonality of dual-earner and dual-career couples.

Resultant Relational Equality

The values of the feminist movement extend beyond the labor force; women seek equality in non-career oriented aspects of their lives, as well. Women emphasize a need for equality as they begin redefining the key characteristics of their marital partnerships. Egalitarianism is increasingly promoted; its commonality represents the altering definitions and acceptance of gender-equality.

Studying a large sample of couples provides insight todifferences in human relationships. Just as there are fiery, passionate couples, and subdued, comfortable couples, there are couples whose members engage in traditional, rigid roles and couples who break from conventional norms. This has lead to researchers' development of subcategories within the framework of defining intimate relationships. As Wall et al. use a previously conducted Portuguese qualitative study to define and classify these sub-categories, they create the sub-divisions based off of roles, perceptions of gender, and responsibilities.[39] The characteristics of these couple styles extend beyond their simple definitions. "Companionship families" place an emphasis on cohesion, togetherness, and collaboration, and less on autonomy. "Principles of individual fulfillment and gender equality are subordinate to the well-being of the family."[40] The dual-earner husband and wife collaborate to share household responsibilities, rather than divide them equally. Gender definitions are buried in the background, as the main focus remains on the children, and on doing what is best for them. "Bastion families" establish strong boundaries, separating the family unit from the community. Family relationships function as the main point of identity, but traditional views of gender roles tend to accompany this system. Women are seen as the managers, although the roles are no longer traditional and rigid. An emphasis is placed on the goals of the family, leading fathers to take a more hands-on approach, as they come to the understanding that material and emotional contributions from both parents are needed for their children to thrive. "Parallel families" demonstrate much more rigid roles with its male breadwinners and emphasis on "gender-differentiated autonomy."[41] Patriarchy reigns, and fathers are frequently absent on a day-to-day basis. "Equal associative families" possess more gender equity, as both members invest a greater amount in their own careers, and divide all household tasks fairly. "Time-condensed fatherhood" and "stay-at-home fatherhood" span the more extremes of the spectrum. The amount of investment in a career links directly with the amount of involvement in housework and parenting tasks; the gender taking on the career-focused role leaves the opposite partner with the household and childcare responsibilities. Wall et al.'s subdivision of fatherhood roles provides a good introduction of the varying roles taken by men and allows for each man to hone his own ideal version of parenting.

The new trend of fatherhood correlates with the increase in "companionship families," "equal associative families," and "stay-at-home fatherhood." As ideologies and gender perceptions shift, these subcategories alter in regards to their popularity and proportions. With the promoted awareness of gender equality, families fostering an egalitarian environment are on the rise, as altered roles replace traditional ones and fairness is emphasized.

Couples who best exhibit relational equality tend to be the happiest. Saginak et al. conducted an extensive literature review of the variables contributing to marital satisfaction, and they discovered that the manner in which the housework is divided among heterosexual couples plays a key role. The manners in which the household duties are divided tend to be based on what each member of the relationship deems and values as "gender appropriate."[42] As viewpoints on gender shift, a transition into a less gender-stigmatized division of chores emerges.

Relational equality extends beyond the allocation of menial chores and tasks as partners divvy up their parenting responsibilities as well. Co-parenting replaces a system of

primary maternal parenting.[43] Overall, society has come to the realization that children need two parental forces in their daily lives. Researcher Ehrensaft defined the new concept of shared parenting as she interviewed forty shared-parenting couples and questioned—"were both father and mother primary parents—a couple "mothering together" rather than one parent and one helper?"[44] Her studies illustrated that co-parenting has not yet achieved the desired 50-50 split in household and parenting responsibilities. Despite these patterns that highlight the absence of equal sharing of parental tasks and responsibilities, fathers do express the desire to become more involved with the raising of their children.

Stay-at-Home Dads

Directly resulting from the higher frequency of working mothers is the emergence of a new brand of fathers. Increased dependence on child-care facilities and extended familial support result from the mothers' seeking employment outside of the home. Grandmothers, day-care workers, and au pairs started taking on the roles traditionally assigned to mothers. As a response to the bad reputations of certain day care centers and to discomfort with having other adults play such a prevalent role in their young children's lives, parents have reevaluated their parenting roles, resulting in some men volunteering to stay home with the children.[45] Other men find themselves staying at home, cooking, cleaning, and nurturing as the result of the economic recession. Whatever the reasons, "an increasing number of men are opting to stay at home to raise their children as more women head to the work force."[46]

Stay-at-home dads epitomize the new trend in fatherhood. Their decision to take on a traditionally maternal role demonstrates the new lengths men are taking to become closer to their children. These men embrace the roles that are typically assigned to women. Picking up the children from school, helping them with their homework, serving dinner, packing lunches—stay-at-home fathers cover it all, while their wives take on the role of the breadwinner. Stay-at-home dads are increasingly prevalent, but the media has addressed this new phenomenon with patronizing humor and satire.

BACKLASH FROM THE MEDIA

Following on the heels of the blog/web forum movement, Troy Lanier, Clay Nichols and Brad Powell combined their fatherhood experiences to found the company DadLabs. With a mission to assist "the busy father by providing him with accessible and digestible information and parenting ideas," the media-based company organizes an updated blog, forum, book, DVD, and video database to cater to modern dads, the fathers who are actualizing the present "fundamental shift in the role of men in parenting."[47] Its motto, "taking back paternity," seems appropriate while taking a look at the mother-devoted media bombarding parents.

Media portrayals appear to counter the new trends in fatherhood. There is an increased fascination among the media with this new brand of fathers. This has lead to a plethora of satirical jabs and sarcastic articles written on the subject. In an array of television sitcoms, the modern, caring father has served as the butt of many scripted jokes. Late night talk show hosts have mocked these new trends during their opening monologues. Most of the media's portrayal of these men are somewhat negative. The backlash corresponds with the negative viewpoints expressed by traditionalists with respect to the transformation of familial values and roles.

An example of the satire mocking the new trends of fatherhood comes in the form of a media clip played during an episode of *The Colbert Report*. This humorous clip encapsulates the modern trends in fatherhood through its representation of stay-at-home fathers. Categorized as a "problem without a solution," stay-at-home dads, men who have "surrendered their manhood," are studied biasedly. "Despite the terrifying diagnosis, SAHDS refuse to accept the fact they are behaving like women."[48] Jabs at the feminization of males, the abnormalities of career-successful women, and the effect of primary-caregiving fathers on crying children are all utilized as rhetorical tools to evoke humor. Although the ideas of a satire are supposed to seem ridiculous and the words are to be taken lightly, satire does not necessarily provide the most positive depictions of modern fathers. Poking fun at the men who stray from the traditional roles designated by society does minimal harm in comparison with the manner in which the media snubs these involved fathers—stripping them of any acknowledgement and assistance.

Parenting magazines are almost exclusively aimed towards helping mothers. Time Inc.'s *Parenting* has received a plethora of awards and recognitions. Recently being the only parent-geared magazine to place in the top ten of *Advertising Age's* "Magazine A-List," *Parenting* continues to gather readers and interest marketers.[49] The title implies that the magazine's readership consists of all individuals who are currently raising children. Yet, a glance at the magazine's webpage suggests otherwise. Out of all the subdivisions organizing the abundance of information available to expectant and current parents—fertility, pregnancy, baby, toddler, child, mom, recipes, activities, gear, community—none cater to male parents.

A study into the allocation of male and female roles in a series of advertisements yields similar results. Recognizing the advertising agency's ability to reaffirm the traditional status quo, researchers conducted a content analysis of three categories of commercials to see the differing representations of males in the media. According to Gentry et al., "of the 1392 commercials observed during sports coverage, only two showed a man in an indoor-domestic role."[50] Advertisements portraying male domesticity were rare, if not invisible. Commercials aiming to persuade men to buy products did not represent a male-nurturing character to any extent whatsoever.[51] Rather, commercials containing two male stereotypes—"the stereotypical macho man and the horse's ass" dominated, only serving to reaffirm the traditional stereotypes of fathers and men.[52] Overall, the commercial industry is failing "to provide any encouragement for men to perform traditionally atypical roles associated with alternative definitions of masculinity."[53] The absence of fathers in advertisements extends to the commercials geared towards the youth demographic. None of the 225 commercials observed represented the father in a nurturing role.[54] A non-recognition of fathers dominated. The absence of materials and representations of these new fathers provides an obstacle for the fluidity of the new trends. Gentry et al. found that "the non-traditional male role was unseen by men, rendering it less permeable to change."[55] As they promote negative stereotypes and self-doubt, unflattering media portrayals and the lack of available resources for fathers dramatically hinder the ability for these fathers to adjust to new styles of parenting.

"As they promote negative stereotypes and self-doubt, unflattering media portrayals, and the lack of availability of resources for fathers dramatically hinder the ability for these fathers to adjust to new styles of parenting."

The backlash extends beyond the media. Various men, especially stay-at-home fathers, complain about feeling unwelcomed on the playground, as they describe being "ostracized by mothers."[56] An article in *The Washington Post* quotes a stay-at-home father named Peters: "I feel like discriminated against a lot when we go to swim class or the gym . . . they're in a clique, and I'm like an outsider."[57] In the study conducted by Coltrane, a story was told about Susan and Gary, a couple who chose for Gary to stay home rather than send their children to daycare. Unfortunately, the couple spoke of neighborhood judgments against this decision: "Gary was seen as less of a man because he cut back on his time at work and Susan's maternal instinct was called into question because she left the kids with Gary rather than 'allowing' him to go to work."[58] These sentiments strengthen the media's unfavorable judgments. Scenarios such as these illustrate the continuing hardships faced by family types breaking free from the traditional norms, with both children-rearing fathers and career-focused mothers.

CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE FOR THIS TREND

As with most cultural movements, backlash against the new trends in fatherhood is inevitable. Resistance to the feminist era best illustrates this inevitability. Dominant males belittled the academic and persuasive articles presented to illustrate gender-equality and the subsequent need for societal, educational reform. "Classic" American television series, such as *Leave it to Beaver,* haunted the women who juggled a career and a family. Romanticized, idealistic versions of families with stay-at-home mothers have hindered the efforts made by women to climb the career ladders of the corporate world. However, the feminist movement continues to persevere to this day. The exorbitant amount of academic and journalistic articles available on the gender-equality movement elucidates this. Just as women struggled to reevaluate and redefine their familial roles without losing their steadfast determination, men should continue to question the construct of the stereotypical, traditional father, and should proceed in embracing the new, more involved trends in fatherhood.

ENDNOTES

1. Skenanzy (1)
2. Coltrane (5)
3. Scharrer (35)
4. Crawford et al.; Gentry et al.; Kaufman et al.; Saginak; Wilkie
5. Cited in Kaufman et al. (933)
6. Gentry et al. (75)
7. Cabrera et al.
8. Cabrera et al. (127)
9. Cited in Lamanna and Riedmann (375)
10. Kaufman et al..
11. Cited in Lamanna and Riedmann (378)
12. Cabrera et al. (128)
13. Cabrera et al.; Kaufman
14. Yeung et al. (142)
15. Kaufman
16. Wall (509)
17. Gentry et al.
18. Kaufman
19. Balter (226)
20. Kaufman
21. Kaufman (944)
22. Gerson (324)
23. Radin (11)
24. Cited in Radin (12)
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26. Carlson (150)
27. Radin; Wall
28. Crawford (8)
29. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics
30. Wilkie
31. Cabrera et al. (127)
32. Scharrer (23)
33. Saginak (162)
34. Harbin et al.
35. Cabrera et al. (128)
36. Crawford et al.
37. Cabrera et al.
38. Nakamura (Z07)
39. Wall et al.
40. Wall et al. (109)
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45. Coltrane
46. Nakamura (Z07)
47. DadLabs
48. Ibid.
49. Dobrow
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53. Gentry et al. (88)
54. Gentry et al.
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56. Coltrane; Nakamura (Z08)
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VENICE AND THE MIND

A Psychoanalytic Essay on Thomas Mann's Death in Venice

ALEXANDRA FRANCOIS

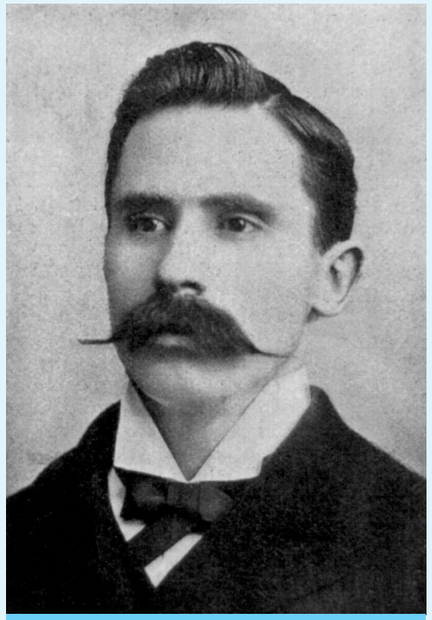
THERE ARE SEEMINGLY INFINITE POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF THOMAS MANN'S CLASSIC NOVELLA *DEATH IN VENICE*. THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES HOW THE LENS OF PSYCHOANALYTIC LITERARY THEORY OFFERS A COMPELLING ELUCIDATION OF HIS METAPHORICAL APPROACH TO THE CITY OF VENICE AND THE HUMAN MIND. SIGMUND FREUD AND FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE BOTH MADE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE APPLICATION OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND STUDY OF LITERATURE, WHICH IN TURN INFLUENCED MANN'S LITERARY PLOT. AN INTRICATE EXPLORATION OF MANN'S AUTHORIAL INTENTIONS FOR THE CREATION OF HIS PSYCHOLOGICALLY DAMAGED PROTAGONIST ALLOWS FOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL REVELATIONS THAT SPEAK TO THE AUTHENTICITY OF HUMAN NATURE. THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNAL DEGRADATION OF MANN'S PROTAGONIST, ONE CAN BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THE PARALLELS BETWEEN THE DUALITIES OF BOTH THE HUMAN PSYCHE AND THE CITY OF VENICE ITSELF.

> In books we never find anything but ourselves. Strangely enough, that always gives us great pleasure, and we say the author is a genius.
>
> Thomas Mann

Published in 1912, Thomas Mann's novella *Death in Venice* has catalyzed significant discussion within the literary world regarding the diverse interpretations that can be drawn from Mann's work. A primary understanding of *Death in Venice* involves wan analysis of the work through the lens of psychoanalytic criticism. However, a thorough understanding of psychoanalytic criticism itself is essential before elucidating Mann's literary themes in terms of human psychology. Many psychoanalytic theorists have contributed to the utilization of psychology within notable literary texts while concurrently uncovering novel insights into that particular work. Friedrich Nietzsche and Sigmund Freud were two prominent theorists who possessed a considerable amount of influence over Mann and his writing of *Death in Venice*. While Nietzsche's distinction between Apollo and Dionysus in his *The Birth of Tragedy* shaped Mann's plot, Freud's theories of repression, the division of the human psyche, and the struggle between the conscious and unconscious also influenced Mann's writing. Ultimately, analyzing Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* through the lens of psychoanalytic criticism allows for a deeper exploration of Mann's protagonist, and Mann as an author. This both external and internal literary exploration of the psyches of Mann's protagonist and Mann himself, respectively, allows for the recognition of the ominous force behind the psychological disintegration of Mann's protagonist, Gustav von Aschenbach. This further illustrates a visceral explication of Mann's intentions behind the writing of a work that authentically mirrors the landscape of the city of Venice itself.

AN INTRODUCTION TO LITERARY PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

The presence of psychoanalytic criticism within the literary world has offered new approaches and methods for interpreting classic poetry, novellas, and novels. Sigmund Freud is considered by most academics and theorists to be the founder of psychoanalytic criticism of literature. Ross



THOMAS MANN, AUTHOR OF *DEATH IN VENICE*

C. Murfin writes in his essay "Psychoanalytic Criticism and *Death in Venice*": "If, by understanding human psychology according to Freud, we can appreciate literature on a new level, then we should acquaint ourselves with his insights."[1] Freud was initially drawn to the works of writers and novelists, in which he believed that they coded their true ideas and thoughts in symbols—symbols whose meanings could only be revealed through a thorough interpretation of their works. Between 1909 and 1949, the psychoanalytic approach to literature soon disseminated across the field of psychological theorists and literary critics, as well as that of authors and poets. While most tended to adhere to Freud's model of psychoanalytic criticism, many were also attracted to the alternative models developed by psychological theorists such as Alfred Adler and Carl Jung.[2]

Furthermore, notable authors James Joyce, Marcel Proust, and Henry James wrote Freudian criticism or novels that incorporated Freudian terminology or theory into their plots. Freud believed that the writers' desire to compose works in terms of their models or language was because of the strong link between the nature of the art of writing and the act of psychoanalysis, for both involve a thorough expression and utilization of human language.[3] In their book *Theory of Literature*, Rene Wellek and Austin Warren incorporate psychological criticism into one of their techniques of the study of literature. According to Wellek and Austin, analyzing literary works through a psychological perspective aims at one of many purposes. Wellek and Austin describe these goals as: ". . . to provide a psychological study of an individual writer; explore the nature of the creative process; generalize about the 'types and laws present within works of literature;' or theorize about the psychological effects of literature upon its readers."[4]

"Rogers discusses the Double, or Other, hidden within every individual's psyche, in which each person possesses an external demeanor that is socially acceptable, while also harboring an innate internal component that thrives on the individual's clandestine thoughts and desires."

Prior to 1950, theorists applying the psychoanalytic approach to literature tended to focus more on the author of the work than the work's protagonist. As Nietzsche professed in *The Will to Power*, "It does not seem possible to be an artist and not to be sick," many psychological theorists deemed the works of writers to be a manifestation of their repressed desires.[5] Since authors and poets did not want to disclose these unacceptable, perverse thoughts within the constraints of society, they instead disguised their covert thoughts and wishes in the plot, characters, or symbolic elements of their literary work.[6] Although attempts were meticulously made to psychologically analyze the writers' protagonist, critics soon returned to the writer himself/herself because their characters were thought to be merely projections of the author or poet's psyche. Therefore, the key to the interpretation of a complex literary work was found through the psychoanalytic lens of approaching the novel, novella, or poem. In his 1970 *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature*, Robert Rogers discusses the presence of the Double, or Other, hidden within every individual's psyche, in which each person possesses an external demeanor that is socially acceptable, while also harboring an innate internal component that thrives on the individual's clandestine thoughts and desires. Rogers claims that ". . . writers reveal instinctual or repressed selves in their books, often without realizing they have done so."[7]

According to many psychoanalytic critics of literature, literary works depict the same elements as a past fantasy or dream of the author's. Because Freud focuses on the importance of dreams in his 1900 publication of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, critics have utilized Freudian terminology in describing a dream-like piece of literature and its relationship to the psyche of its creator.[8] The author's purpose is to satisfy an unconscious desire that is continuously present within her repressed thoughts, and in order to uncover these thoughts, psychoanalytic critics utilize the same methods in the study of literature that Freud used in the study of his patients' dreams.[9] Freud applied two particular processes within his work of dream analysis, in order to discover his patients' hidden desires and thoughts. The explicit content of a dream is designated the "manifest content," and the implicit, concealed content is termed the

"latent content." Therefore, Freud strove to analyze the manifest content of a patient's dream in order to expose the unconscious, repressed urges of her psyche. One of Freud's processes, condensation, involves an abundance of ideas and thoughts that are truncated into one mere expression of the dream. Displacement, Freud's second process, involves a repressed desire or thought that becomes displaced onto another image or idea. As the thought becomes more and more displaced, the psychoanalyst must attempt to locate the original source of the displacement in the patient's dream.[10]

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE'S INFLUENCE ON THOMAS MANN

Once one thoroughly understands the presence of psychoanalytic criticism in the realm of literature, one can incorporate the theories of Friedrich Nietzsche in order to develop a psychological interpretation of Mann's complex work. At the beginning of his novella, Mann's protagonist, Gustav von Aschenbach, is a renowned German writer who thrives on his regimen of hard work and perfection. On the surface, Aschenbach appears gifted, talented, and disciplined; however, underneath this, Aschenbach possesses a deceptive demeanor that is disguised by his superficial, artistic eloquence. Mann's protagonist exemplifies Nietzsche's philosophy of the relationship between Apollo and the Dionysus as discussed in *The Birth of Tragedy*, which consequently illustrates Nietzsche's strong influence on Mann in the writing of his novella.

Rodney Symington, in citing a book on Nietzsche written by Walter Kaufmann, offers one interpretation of *Death in Venice* regarding Nietzsche's influence on Mann:

> [Mann's novella] . . . relates Aschenbach's tragedy to the clash of the twin poles of Apollo and Dionysus. Representing form, order, clarity, and reason . . . Apollo, symbolizes in myth all that Aschenbach's life and works represent, whereas Dionysus, the mythical symbol of disorder, chaos, sex, and unreason . . . summarizes the unsatisfied and suppressed inclinations of Aschenbach's darker side.[11]

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Mann first depicts Aschenbach as an artist driven by the desire for fame and recognition, while continuously exuding a tense and fraught demeanor that never strays from the expectations and demands of his society. Aschenbach is regarded as an educator of the German youth for the sole reason that his writing complies with the conduct deemed acceptable by the German government. A companion of his describes Aschenbach's demeanor and overall character as a "closed fist"—an observation which correlates with the Apollonian traits of form, order, and reason.[12] Furthermore, Aschenbach never seems to stray towards a manner that is compatible with the idea of an open fist, which characterizes formlessness, disorder, and irrationality. Instead, Aschenbach is concerned with aesthetics in the sense that he only focuses on his exterior. Upholding an honorable status in German society is Aschenbach's most prominent priority, as his reputation directly relates to his superficial exterior.

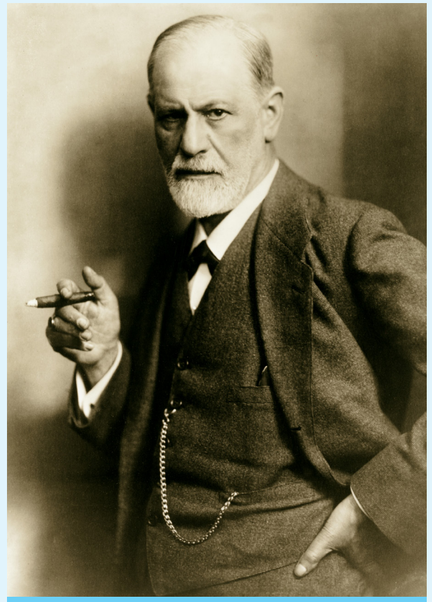
Aschenbach conforms to the order dictated by his art form; yet, in this strict sense of Apollonian form, Mann's protagonist fails to adhere to his artistic responsibilities—a failure which marks the Dionysian presence hidden within Aschenbach. Like his notable societal status, Aschenbach's writing appears intelligent and perceptive, but when one looks beneath the surface of his words, one discovers:

> Elegant self-control concealing from the world's eyes until the very last moment a state of inner disintegration and biological decay; sallow ugliness, sensuously marred and worsted, which nevertheless is able to fan its smouldering concupiscence to a pure flame . . . gracious poise and composure in the empty austere service of form . . . the heroism of weakness.[13]

Just as Aschenbach fails to divulge the truth within the pages of his writing, he also continuously fails to uphold the responsibilities of an accountable artist. Thomas Mann utilizes his protagonist to share with his readers the unfortunate reality that a portion of German writers corrupt society because of their inability to share the truth in their literary works. Since Aschenbach's work is used to educate the German youth, falsities and deceit would infiltrate that generation's minds within an environment ostensibly educating and enlightening.

Interestingly, the distinction between Apollonian and Dionysian characteristics correlates with the landscape of Venice itself. On the exterior, Venice is considered a beautiful and exquisite gift to the eye. Yet, on the interior, Venice houses a sense of deceit and corruption tracing back to its historical origin. Venice maintains its status of grandeur for the sole reason that beauty is always on the surface of the artistic ideal. Mann describes the paradoxical concept of beauty in the third chapter of *Death in Venice*. Venice's surface beauty is depicted as ". . . that most astonishing of all landing places, that dazzling composition of fantastic architecture . . . that only as he [Aschenbach] was now doing, only by ship, over the high sea, should one come to this most extraordinary of cities."[14] In contrast, Mann connects Venice's interior as inversely grotesque to the image of the infamous gondolas that blemish the water of the Grand Canal: ". . . and so characteristically black, the way no other thing is black except a coffin—a vehicle evoking lawless adventures in the plashing stillness of night, and still more strongly evoking death itself, the bier, the dark obsequies, the last silent journey!"[15] In his work "The Grand Canal," Henry James describes Venice as "the most beautiful of tombs"—an expression which exemplifies the irony of Venice's beauty.[16] This irony lies in the reality that Venice's beauty is sometimes found in death, nothingness, and non-existence. Nietzsche describes this manner of irony in a conversation between King Midas and Silenus, a friend of Dionysus. When King Midas asks Silenus to name man's greatest good, Silenus refuses to answer, because he believes that humankind's greatest good is *not* knowing the correct response to that inquiry. Unwillingly, Silenus responds: "What would be best for you [mankind] is quite beyond your reach: not to have been born, not to be, to be *nothing*. But the second best is to die soon."[17] Because Aschenbach conforms to his strained existence, he is overcome by his Dionysian impulses and meets his demise. However, Nietzsche is advising that an early death is deemed best for humankind only when man has located a proper balance between his Apollonian and Dionysian impulses. Yet, if one force continues to dominate over the other, that individual's existence shall be deemed unworthy.

Consequently, this essential balance requires the presence of both Apollonian and Dionysian forces within one's character. Each force needs its opposite in order to maintain its existence, in which Apollo and Dionysus share an interdependent relationship. Their contrast allows for a symbiotic relationship that can only be disrupted when one force possesses unequal weight over the other. Nietzsche writes: "And lo and behold! Apollo found it impossible to live without Dionysos. The elements of titanism and barbarism turned out to be quite as fundamental as the Apollonian element."[18] Furthermore, the distinguishing boundary between Apollo and Dionysus is merely a thin line—a reality illustrated by Aschenbach's quick transition from his Apollonian dominating exterior to his Dionysian dominating interior. This duality is also evident in the city of Venice, in which the land and water also represent Apollo and Dionysus, respectively. The land symbolizes form and order, whereas the water symbolizes formlessness and



SIGMUND FREUD, THE FATHER OF PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM OF LITERATURE

chaotic disorder. Immediately prior to Aschenbach's death, as he sits in contemplation on the Lido, Tadzio beckons him towards the water—a motion that Mann includes in order to denote the victory of Dionysus.

Implicitly referring to this duality between Apollo and Dionysus, Mann writes: "And is form not two-faced? Is it not at one and the same time moral and immoral—moral as the product and expression of discipline, but immoral and even antimoral inasmuch as it houses within itself an innate moral indifference, and indeed essentially strives for nothing less than to bend morality under its proud and absolute scepter?"[19] Aschenbach manifests his dark, impulsive, and unreasonable side as he continues to watch Tadzio, makes himself over into the stranger by whom he is first repulsed at the beginning of the novella, and then fails to warn Tadzio and his family about the cholera outbreak. Since he has been preventing any inkling of his Dionysian side from being exposed to society, Aschenbach's repressed desires and thoughts saturate his unconscious and eventually begin to leak into his conscious, where they are exposed to the public. Ultimately, Aschenbach represses his innate, Dionysian impulses in order to allow the flourishing of his Apollonian exterior. Yet, Dionysus reigns victorious, while simultaneously bringing about the demise of Apollo and Aschenbach himself. Aschenbach has always possessed an internal Dionysian darkness, and his desire to travel to Venice of all places emerges as a consequence of his repressed Dionysian impulses—a repression created by the imbalance of his Apollonian and Dionysian forces. The fall of Apollo and subsequent rise of Dionysus within Aschenbach's character can also be described in Freudian terminology, a clear indicator that Freud served as a significant influence on Mann's writing of *Death in Venice*.

SIGMUND FREUD'S INFLUENCE ON THOMAS MANN

Nietzsche's philosophy of both the distinction and similarity between Apollonian and Dionysian forces is directly related to Sigmund Freud's theory of repression. Freud exerted a substantial influence over Mann, despite the fact that Mann did not make a proclamation regarding incorporation of Freudian ideology into his novella until fourteen years after its original publication. Rodney Symington argues "Perceptive writers have always had the capacity to fathom the human soul: Psychology has always played a major role in literature."[20] Therefore, even if Mann wasn't directly influenced by Freud, he may have foreseen the ideas soon to be published by Freud in his own writing. Regardless, when *Death in Venice* is analyzed through the lens of psychoanalytic criticism, the psychological theories of Freud are essential for acquiring an insightful, complex interpretation of the text.

Freud's theory of repression is intricately intertwined with the plot of *Death in Venice*, while simultaneously corresponding with Nietzsche's philosophy of rational, Apollo-

"The reader must understand the protagonist's internal drives and motivations, as well as her external appearance and demeanor in order to reach a conclusion about the distinction between interiority and exteriority, authenticity and superficiality."

nian drives and impulsive, Dionysian desires. In order to adequately understand Freud's theory, one must first understand the distinction between the conscious and unconscious as made by Freud. Freud characterizes an individual's mental thoughts according to the rate at which a thought arrives into her awareness. The thoughts which continuously exist in one's awareness are considered to exist in her *conscious*, and the thoughts which can be transferred into one's awareness only with great struggle are considered to exist in her *unconscious*. Freud was primarily concerned with the human unconscious, for this area of the mind is directly connected to repression and possesses the power to indirectly influence human behavior.[21] Renowned Freudian scholar Peter Gay explains the relationship between the human unconscious and repression: "Everything that is repressed must remain unconscious; but let us state at the very outset that the repressed does not cover everything that is unconscious. The unconscious has the wider compass: the repressed is a part of the unconscious."[22] Therefore, every repressed thought forever remains in the unconscious unless that particular thought is manifested in a form besides human awareness, such as a dream, daydream, or fantasy. Mann's protagonist possesses many repressed thoughts in his unconscious, and those thoughts are eventually revealed before and during his time in Venice. Prior to Aschenbach's trip, this revelation exists in the covert form of his writing, but while in Venice, this revelation manifests itself in the form of his obsession with Tadzio and Aschenbach's infamous inability to convey the truth.

Gay utilizes an instructive metaphor to describe the link between Freud's ideologies as follows: "This unconscious [consisting of repressed materials] . . . resembles a maximum security prison holding antisocial inmates languishing for years or recently arrived . . . barely kept under control and forever attempting to escape."[23] He continues to explain how the escape of those inmates creates danger to themselves as well as others. Aschenbach's characteristics clearly correlate with Freud's theory of repression. Prior to his trip to Venice, Aschenbach maintains a demeanor and reputation that coincides with German societal standards. Additionally, like his literary work, Aschenbach lives according to structure, discipline, and form. Any Dionysian desire that emerges within Aschenbach is quickly suppressed into his unconscious in order to uphold his external appearance of perfection. As mentioned previously, Aschenbach's character is compared to that of a closed, clenched-up fist—an adequate metaphor to illustrate his strictly contained unconscious.[24] Aschenbach's repression is the catalyst for his mental exhaustion and failing health. Symington notes, "But the physical symptoms are merely the outward reflection of an inner weakness, the bodily fatigue the harbinger of spiritual collapse."[25] Furthermore, when Aschenbach arrives in Venice and begins to allow the release of his Dionysian desires and unconscious impulses, he catalyzes his personal self-destruction.

While Nietzsche discussed the forces of Apollo and Dionysus, Freud explored a similar philosophy involving the duality of the human mind. Freud utilized Nietzsche's idea of Dionysian desire and Apollonian rationale but characterized these forces as the id and ego, respectively. Irwin Sarason and Barbara Sarason explain Freud's distinction between the id and ego as follows: "Whereas the id is con-

cerned simply with maximizing pleasure, the ego's efforts are directed toward maximizing pleasure within the constraints of reality."[26] Therefore, the id exists as the impulsive and animalistic drive of an individual, while the ego exists as the realistic and perceptual drive of an individual. Additionally, Freud considered the superego to be the mediator between the id and ego, as this force strives to attain perfection and balance between the id and ego, while also adhering to societal expectations. The id is also described as the human pleasure-principle, and because of this, most desires driven by the id are harbored in the unconscious. Since attaining pleasure in a particular situation is not always deemed acceptable by society, those id drives are repressed into the human unconscious. When incorporating Freudian ideology into *Death in Venice*, Aschenbach exemplifies situations in which he is acting in harmony with either his id or his ego.

One form in which Aschenbach's repressed thoughts and desires are revealed is in a dream that he experiences after he decides not to inform Tadzio and his family about the cholera outbreak. Mann describes Aschenbach's dream as follows:

> That night he had a terrible dream, if dream is the right word for a bodily and mental experience which did indeed overtake him during deepest sleep, in complete independence of his will and with complete sensuous vividness, but with no perception of himself as present and moving about in any space external to the events themselves; rather, the scene of the events was his own soul, and they irrupted into it from outside, violently defeating his resistance—a profound, intellectual resistance—as they passed through him, and leaving his whole being, the culture of a lifetime, devastated and destroyed.[27]

Aschenbach's dream appropriately demonstrates the consequences of his built-up and compressed repression. Since he continuously fails to convey the truth in his writing in order to prevent his repressed thoughts from being made available to the German public, his inability to *ever* communicate the truth becomes a recurring flaw in is character. After he is deceptively omissive about the infectious disease threatening Venice, Aschenbach is punished for allowing his id to reach his conscious. Instead of learning how to retain his id-driven impulses in his unconscious, Aschenbach allows the forces of his id to overcome the preservation of his ego and taint his overall character.

While Mann's *Death in Venice* has aroused a great number of complex interpretations in the literary realm, understanding the novella through the lens of psychoanalytic criticism offers the reader an insightful and intuitive rendering of an artist's battle between Dionysus and Apollo, as well as his id and ego. In order to conduct a thorough psychoanalytic study of Mann's text, one must understand the goals of applying psychoanalytic criticism to a classic piece of literature. Although Freud contributed greatly to psychoanalytic criticism, other psychological theorists, and authors themselves, are integral to the development of the link between literature and psychology. This link involves a meticulous exploration of the protagonist's psyche to arrive at a literary interpretation that is deeper than the surface impact of the author's words. The reader must understand the protagonist's internal drives and motivations, as well as her external appearance and demeanor—similarly to the understanding that one must possess of the city of Venice—in order to reach a conclusion about the distinction between interiority and exteriority, authenticity and superficiality.

Nietzsche and Freud both possessed a significant amount of influence over Mann in his writing of *Death in Venice*. Nietzsche's philosophy of the contrast and similarity between Apollonian and Dionysian forces is incorporated into Mann's plot, while also explaining the importance of maintaining harmony between the two forces. If balance is not reached, Dionysian drives will triumph over Apollonian dispositions, inevitably leading to the demise of the individual's psyche. Aschenbach clearly adheres to his Apollonian disposition for the majority of his lifetime, despite the threat of his Dionysian impulses to emerge into his conscious. In fact, a semblance of his Dionysian desires does emerge into his conscious in the shape of his writing, in which the "empty austere service of form" masks the deception Aschenbach houses in his literary work.[28] When Aschenbach travels to Venice, his Dionysian desires completely emerge into his conscious as he develops his obsession with Tadzio and then fails to warn him about the cholera outbreak. Therefore, Aschenbach possesses an imbalance between his Apollonian and Dionysian forces, allowing the victory of Dionysus, suppressing the presence of Apollo, and essentially assisting in his own disintegration.

Freud also contributed to Mann's writing of *Death in Venice*, in Mann's use of Freud's theory of repression and psychological terminology within his novella. While the human id is housed in the unconscious, these animalistic and impulsive forces are repressed in order to prevent their emergence into the conscious. Like Nietzsche's battle between Apollonian and Dionysian forces, Freud's battle between the id and ego is also illustrated in *Death in Venice*. Although Aschenbach conforms to his ego for the greater portion of his life, he continues to harbor darker thoughts and desires that he constantly represses into his unconscious. These dark desires are evident deep beneath the surface of his writing, but to society's perception, Aschenbach conforms to the ideals of perfection and discipline.

Mann's decision to revolve the plot of his novella around the city of Venice is directly connected to the influence of Nietzsche and Freud on *Death in Venice*. While Venice is known for its external beauty and allure, Venice also harbors an internal layer of deception and greed. Beauty in itself is deceptive and superficial, and while the beauty of Venice manifests itself in the originality of its landscape, it also houses a sense of decay, corruption, and, in *Death in Venice*, cholera. Ultimately, Mann questions the duty of the artist with respect to truth and candor. Furthermore, he challenges whether artists are honorable individuals who create works of beauty in order to exceed the pragmatism of everyday life, or if they are merely fraudulent individuals simply reveling in their selfish concupiscence.

ENDNOTES

1. Murfin (111)
2. Murfin (113)
3. Murfin (114)
4. Cited in Murfin (114)
5. Cited in Symington (127)
6. Murfin (114)
7. Cited in Murfin (115)
8. Murfin 115
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Symington (127-8)
12. Mann (29)
13. Mann (31)
14. Mann (38)
15. Mann (39)
16. Mann (71)
17. Nietzsche (553)
18. Nietzsche (556)
19. Mann (32-33)
20. Cited in Symington (130)
21. Sarason and Sarason (49)
22. Freud (573)
23. Cited in Symington (131)
24. Symington (132)
25. Ibid.
26. Sarason and Sarason (50)
27. Mann (80)
28. Mann (31)

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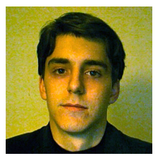

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LIST OF ARTWORK