Writing

for a

Real World

A multidisciplinary anthology by USF students

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Editor's Introduction

TRACY SEELEY SERVED as a beloved Professor of English at USF from 1993 until her passing in the summer of 2016. Among her many contributions to this campus's intellectual life, she was instrumental in co-founding USF's Center for Teaching Excellence. Tracy, to those of us who knew her, was also a powerful mentor, whose candor and humor and insight positively impacted colleagues and students alike. She was universally respected here, and the renaming of USF's Center for Teaching Excellence in her honor is but one way we recognize her contributions; the powerful and poignant celebration held in her honor among colleagues in Fall 2016 was another; and the dedication of this issue to her memory likewise seeks to keep her works and days foremost in our hearts.

Notes on the Selection and Publication Process

This issue, as with all thirteen of its predecessors, is the result of a competitive selection process. Each year the WRW publication committee issues a call for students to submit their top two papers in May. More than twenty faculty and librarian readers, in service to the university, then spend about three weeks anonymously scoring the work. Naturally, all reviewers agree to recuse themselves if they recognize their own students' work. Everything here in print—and every honorable mention—received high marks from at least four faculty or librarian reviewers. From our many submissions this year we selected ten works. Notifications were issued in June, after which the authors were invited to revise and polish their work before resubmitting manuscripts in August. Student copyeditors in my RHET 325/ENGL 325 course then took over in August and helped lay out and revise every page of this book throughout the fall. To my staff of ace copyeditors who pored over every sentence you're about to read, I owe a great debt. They truly helped professionalize this book, and many of them will be compassionately wielding red pens in editorial capacities in the future.

Notes on This Year's Publications

First and foremost, we congratulate Adrian Bihun, winner of the *Fr. Urban Grassi, S.J., Award for Eloquentia Perfecta* for his top-scoring entry, "Dejima and Japan's Trepidatious Relationship with the West." Written for Professor Glyn Redworth's history course at Oxford, which Adrian took during his study abroad program in association with USF's St. Ignatius Institute, Adrian's work offers an insightful analysis of Japan's ill-fated attempts to thwart European influence. It's an outstanding essay, carefully researched. (It was also, I must say, a pleasure to work closely with Adrian in preparing this piece for publication.)

Following Adrian's piece we present Mindie Bernard's outstanding essay, "Gendering Violence in the Bosnian War." Written for Professor Filip Kovacevic's Politics and Change in East-Central Europe course, Mindie's research offers a powerful reminder of how nationalism and hypermasculinity combined to catastrophic effect in the Balkans in the 1990s.

Next we offer Luis Camacho's "Can Motivated Cognition Exacerbate a Bias?" Written for Professor Saera Khan's Advanced Research Methods class, this research makes a strong contribution to sociolinguistics, especially in terms of perceptions of stereotypes in accented English.

Following Luis's piece is Alex Casey's "Transgender Migration and the Movement of the Body," springing from an analysis of Thomas McBee's novel *Man Alive*. Professor Christina Garcia Lopez has high praise for Alex's work in her introduction, and I echo her sentiments here.

Dai Guerra's "Stigma, Abuse, and Mental Health in the Transgender Population," written for Professor Kevin Chun's Critical Diversity Studies capstone project, offers not just important insights on transgender research, but also valuable advice to the USF community.

Moving from Psychology to Art + Architecture, we are happy to print Akana Jayewardene's senior thesis, "Twenty-first Century Place-making: Finding a Sense of Home in a Super-modernized, Hyperglobalized World," which explores San Francisco from numerous perspectives.

Her work was conducted at the fascinating intersection of philosophy and architectural theory. Professor Tanu Sankalia and Professor Ron Sundstrom are also credited for having encouraged the interdisciplinary cooperation that led to Akana's fine work.

Our seventh essay, "Shared Experiences of Multiethnic Children in *Stealing Buddha's Dinner,"* by Paula Mirando, was written for Professor Christina Garcia Lopez's class on Literature and Migration. I've known and respected Paula's great eye as an editor but I see that she is also an insightful essayist.

We then move to Natalie Ochsner's fine exploration of Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde*, which offers a fresh perspective on how Stevenson's characters embody the ethical concerns of Victorian-era science. This piece, written for Professor Ana Rojas, certainly succeeds as a model essay in terms of coalescing literary and historical observations.

Our penultimate essay, Annette Taylor's skillful exegesis of the very intriguing Garden of Bomarzo, written for Professor Kate Lusheck's Renaissance Art Seminar, leaves little doubt about why Annette earned the Department of Art + Architecture award for Best Art History Research Paper in 2016.

We conclude with Maisy Wildermuth's "Too Much Bad News: The Mental Repercussions of Distressing Media," which does a terrific job of exploring the apathy, fear, hopelessness, and other potentially detrimental effects of consuming too much media that belabors what Brooke Gladstone calls "the bad news bias." Written for Professor Devon Holmes's Written and Oral Communication class, I think this essay will serve as an excellent model for future students in RHET 130/131.

Our Gratitude

To bring *Writing for a Real World* to fruition both as a book and as an annual celebration of student writing requires an enormous collaborative effort. People at every level of the university are involved—from the dozens of students who submitted papers, to the 20 faculty members and librarians who judged manuscripts, to the 10 student copyeditors who

created and pored over all the layouts, to the valuable behind-the-scenes work of the WRW Publication Committee members and our program assistants, to the presentations of our inspiring guest speakers at our ceremonies, to the fine work of our tech support crew who have enabled us to accept online submissions, and to the Deans who have enthusiastically supported our efforts—this project could not be what it is without multivalenced support. I thank you all for rallying behind this project with such enthusiasm.

Let me name here a number of our valued allies and supporters. We are, first of all, deeply grateful to Provost Donald Heller, for his support. We also thank Marcelo Camperi, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Eileen Fung, Associate Dean of Arts and Humanities, College of Arts and Sciences—both of whom continue to back this project with unwavering enthusiasm.

I also thank my class of eagle-eyed student copyeditors whose names are listed prominently on our masthead for their detailed review of manuscripts and layout of the journal. Our Fall 2016 course was devoted to carefully preparing this book, as indeed any book of this kind deserves. Their professionalism in handling matters was very much appreciated.

And making those layouts possible through the acquisition of the very latest version of InDesign, I would like to thank John Bansavich, Director of the Center for Instruction and Technology (CIT) and Ken Yoshioka, also with the CIT—both of whom have provided more than just tech support for this journal for the last several years. The CIT folks have been instrumental in securing us plenty of lab time to devote to making this book a reality.

And speaking of serious tech support, I'd also like to thank Alexey Fedosov for helping us streamline our submissions process by creating an online review portal for students and editors. This innovation helped us make a quantum leap, not only in terms of our efficiency in reviewing, it will also, we're certain, pay off in terms of increased submissions in the future. Thank you again, Alexey.

I'd also like to thank Jamil Hellu whose haunting image graces our cover. I first encountered this image in an exhibition called *Once Upon a Time* at the Thacher Gallery at USF and Jamil has since generously allowed us to reprint his work. Clearly, as you'll see if you go to his webpage, www.jamilhellu.net, Jamil is creating outstanding images.

We also gratefully acknowledge the important work of Digital Collections Librarian Zheng Lu who spearheaded digitizing WRW—making this, and every issue, available for future researchers.

Special thanks go to Deja Gill, program assistant for the Department of Rhetoric and Language, who deserves special praise for helping us with publication, publicity, distribution, and ceremony details.

Many thanks of course go to John Pinelli and Dan Dao for helping us pay the bills.

I'd also like to underscore my thanks to all 20 of our journal referees who spent many collective hours reviewing the research that ultimately ends up in WRW. As the saying goes: "Many hands make light work"—but the fact that so many people rallied to carefully review so many manuscripts while also grading final papers and resisting the siren song of summer, well, that effort demonstrates the real camaraderie to be found here at USF—and—the genuine devotion to honoring student work, as we have done in various forms for more than a century.

Our deepest thanks, of course, are reserved for those students who submitted their work. As our Honorable Mentions list illustrates on the following page, we received many more fine papers than we were able to publish. Congratulations go to all those who earned honorable mention, and especially to those students whose work we hope you will now read.

—*David Holler, Editor*

Honorable Mentions

GRACE BERG
"For the Love of God:
Queering the Historical Jesus in the Gospel of John"
Written for Origins of Judaism
Professor Stephen K. Black, Department of Theology and Religious Studies

VERONICA FRIEND
"Chivalry is Dying: Morality and Illicit Paternity in *Le Morte d'Arthur*"
Written for Senior Seminar in Literature
Professor Ana Rojas, Department of English

PAULA MIRANDO
"Culture and Kapwa: Identity Formation in the Filipino Diaspora"
Written for Filipino Experience Through Film
Professor Michael Gonzalez, Philippine Studies Program

VICENTE PEDROZO
"Fog of War: A Scrutinization of Drone Warfare"
Written for Martín-Baró Scholars Program
Professor David Holler, Department of Rhetoric and Language

VIVIENNE PISMAROV
"Wet-Housing in San Francisco:
A Method of Reducing Alcoholism and Homelessness"
Written for Martín-Baró Scholars Program
Professor David Holler, Department of Rhetoric and Language

STEPHANIE REYES-ALIX
"If Not a Tool, a Wall: Silence in Asian American Women"
Written for Senior Seminar in Literature
Professor Ana Rojas, Department of English

SARAH TOUTANT
"My Skin Color is Only Attractive on a Brochure:
African Americans' Experiences at the University of San Francisco"
Written for Sociology Honors Thesis Seminar
Professor Kimberly Richman, Department of Sociology

This issue is dedicated to the memory of
Tracy Seeley
(1957-2016)
Professor of English
and
Co-founder, Center for Teaching Excellence

ADRIAN BIHUN

Dejima and Japan's Trepidatious Relationship with the West

Adrian Bihun, class of 2016, graduated with a degree in History. He is now pursuing a Masters in Education at USF.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

As an ethnic Ukrainian I have closely followed my people's fight for closer ties with the former Western Bloc, as we believe that the future of our country is intimately linked with cooperation with Europe. Ukraine's government is convinced that its people will benefit from the influx of culture, technology, and wealth which only the West can provide. A stark juxtaposition to this belief is the rhetoric of Vladimir Putin's Russia and the Brexit campaign, which lambast Western-led unilateral cooperation on the grounds that it threatens to erode national identities and create homogeneity. I recognize the validity of both of these perspectives, and it has become a fascination of mine to study the tension between homogenous cultures and the pan-ethnic entities which seek to assimilate them. Perhaps no polity in the Early Modern period encapsulates this dichotomy better than Japan, which provides a quintessential case of a people's wariness to associate with a globalist entity. As I came to understand what Dejima was to the Japanese, I began to notice that sentiments regarding homogeneity and national identity back then are all too similar to what I have observed in the twenty-first century—indicating skepticism, xenophobia, and isolationism as ubiquitous features of globalization.
  —*Adrian Bihun*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Adrian Bihun's beautifully presented article derives from the research he undertook during his time at the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, in the heart of the Oxford. Using state-of-the-art understandings of how space is not a given but rather is something that has to be consciously articulated, Adrian found the ideal subject to study—Dejima, the area chosen by the Japanese as the sole point of entry into the country for European merchants. As an artificial island in the harbor at Nagasaki, Dejima was constructed to show symbolically that foreigners were not to enter the sacred and self-sufficient space of Japan. Adrian employed all the resources at Oxford's disposal, using not only the University's venerable Bodleian Library but consulting rare items only available in the private collections of Worcester and Keble Colleges. With the help of centuries-old maps and sources in various languages, Adrian's work skilfully blends the visual with the written and even questions received historiography. The popular imagination sees Japan's policy of *sakoku* (closed country) as being brought to an end by the gunboat diplomacy of the 19th century, but Adrian's article deftly reveals a far longer—and richer—history.
  —*Glyn Redworth, Associate Member, History Faculty, Oxford University*

Abstract

During Europe's seemingly unstoppable expansion during its "Age of Exploration," one country held its own: Japan. Despite its size being a fraction of that of previous victims to European avarice, Japan, under its newly founded Shogunate government, was adamant to retain its autonomy and homogenous culture in the wake of increasing globalization. As a testament to its determination to show both the world and its people who controlled its future, Japan's government built an island in Nagasaki Bay for the explicit purpose of trading with Europe. Naming this artificial island Dejima, its architects used its space and strict rules to force Europe to capitulate to the will of the Shogun. The Dutch were the only European power allowed to participate in direct trade with Japan, and so were the unofficial (and only) ambassadors of Europe in Japan until the nineteenth century. Dejima would prove to epitomize the East–West dichotomy in Japan, with the Dutch's intellectual and exotic imports conflicting with the official isolationist policy of the Japanese government. Over centuries, despite the draconian efforts of various Shoguns, Dejima became the focus of both Europe and Japan's desire to learn about each other. By the time Commodore Perry infamously "opened" Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, the Dutch on Dejima had already used their unique position to connect Western civilization to Japan and steer the Japanese away from isolationism.

Dejima and Japan's Trepidatious Relationship with the West

FOR OVER TWO HUNDRED years virtually all of Japan's contacts with the West took place on a man-made island hardly larger than a football field. Called Dejima, it was built for the specific purpose of confining the Dutch, the only Europeans allowed in Japan, into a space which would keep Western influence out of Japan, and overseeing what goods came into the country. Designed by the Japanese to emphasize Dutch submission to Japanese sovereignty, Dejima was intended to epitomize Japan's policy of *sakoku* (meaning "closed country"), introduced by the newly formed Shogunate government. Over the centuries, Dejima's role as a trading station lessened, and instead became a catalyst for an increasing fascination with Western peoples and their practice. In terms of both the island and the buildings erected on it, Dejima proved to be the main stage for Euro–Japanese interactions until the mid-eighteenth century, and ground zero for the expansion of European influence into Japan.

From its conceptual origins in the 1630s, Dejima was intended to be a profound statement—distinguished from every other construct in Japan. Its design as an island of reclaimed land set it at odds with conventional Japanese architecture which, even in the Early Modern period, remained based on traditional notions of harmony with nature. The Japanese saw nature and *kami*, the spirits which dwelled within it, as preexistent to all of man's structures. Therefore, all constructs were placed in the space that nature had left vacant for the use of people.[1] The notion of "space," or *kukan,* was not even conceptualized until the nineteenth century, millennia after this practice was first implemented, implying that Japanese architects were focused on accommodating themselves to preexisting natural features, and not interpreting the world as a blank canvas. Temples and other religious complexes in particular exhibited these notions, typically being adapted to the landscape so as not to disrupt the aesthetics and spirits of the natural world. Figures one and two in the Appendix show both the larger and smaller scale how the Japanese architecture accommodated previously undesirable terrain in their construction. Nature was the ultimate foundation for any significant Japanese structure before

1 Kevin Nute, *Time and Being in Japanese Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 11.

the Momoyama and Edo periods,[2] with edifices being additions to what had already been there, rather than replacements.

   As an artificial island, Dejima was therefore seen by Japanese as having less status than its contemporary buildings. In being reclaimed land and built off the shore of Japanese land, Dejima was just as foreign and unnatural to Japan as its foreign-born tenants. The island was designed to be a confining space that would not only restrict foreign trade to a particular area, but also to minimize contact between the Japanese and the Europeans. This need to erect cultural and physical barriers between the Dutch and Japanese came at the behest of the Shogunate government to consolidate its authority by restricting foreign access to the country, thereby maintaining singular influence over the Japanese people. By making the decision to place the Dutch on Dejima, the Shogunate employed what Marcia Yonemoto called the "logic of difference": the notion that proximity to the geographical center of cultural sophistication indicated status.[3] According to Yonemoto, this concept has existed in societies around the world, but in the case of the Shogunate government it was used it to make its new capital city, Edo, the locus for all Japanese sophistication and culture.[4] By moving the Dutch from their previous base at Hirado to the artificial island at Nagasaki in 1641,[5] the Shogunate pushed the Dutch to the very edge of Japan and Japanese society. After all, the word Shogun meant the "barbarian-quelling generalissimo," and with Europeans being known dismissively as *nanban*, or "southern barbarians,"[6] the Shogun was making a statement to his own people that he was subduing these nanban by confining them to a virtual prison in Nagasaki Bay, which lay in the southernmost region of Japanese territory. (see Figure 1). Dejima was thereby the Japanese government's proclamation that

2 From 1573–1603 and 1603–1867, respectively

3 Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) , 3.

4 Yonemoto, *Early Modern Japan*, 103–104.

5 Leonard Blussé, Willem Remmelink and Ivo Smits, *Bridging the Divide: 400 Years of Dutch–Japanese Relations* (Leiden: Hotei, 2000), 43; Cal French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639–1853* (Rochester: Meadow Brook Art Gallery, 1977), 27; Suzuki Yasuko, *Japan–Netherlands Trade 1600–1800: The Dutch East India Company and beyond* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2012), 14.

6 Due to their arrival and presence in Japan being predominantly in the southern regions.

it was to dictate to what extent Japan was to interact with Europe.[7]

The construction of the island of Dejima, and the erection of buildings on it, was deliberate as to reinforce such notions (both explicit and implicit) of government control. On the largest scale, the island, being off Japanese soil, but still under the direct authority of the Shogunate, was an enforcement of Japanese sovereign "territoriality"—that is, the right of the Japanese to freely include or exclude whomever they wished from their land.[8] The island was only physically connected to the mainland by a narrow causeway, access to which was restricted to government officials, merchants, and prostitutes from the local brothels.[9] A *kosatsu*, a signboard, at the main gate read the following proclamation to all those hoping to enter:

> Prohibitions concerning Dejima's Entrance by Women other than Prostitutes; Entrance by Priests other than the Holy Men from Mt. Koya;[10] Entrance by beggars or Those who Live on Charity; Approaching by Boat within the Area Indicated by the Markers Surrounding the Island; Exit of Any Dutchmen Without Good Reason. The Above shall be Strictly Obeyed.[11]

With such a statement, the Japanese government explicitly labeled the island for what it was: an area that was as fervent in keeping the Japanese out as much as it was keeping the Dutch in. Surrounding the island was a wall high enough to keep its contents from being seen by the Japanese, and to inhibit the Dutch inside from seeing the outside world. These walls were not to be approached by any on the inside, who were to keep several meters' distance. Guardhouses were located on each corner of

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7   The Portuguese were actually the first Europeans placed on Dejima, but their tenancy there was only three years, after which they were expelled from Japan and the Dutch moved there. The Portuguese's involvement in Dejima will not be discussed in this essay. French, *Through Closed Doors,* 42.

8   Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 6.

9   Blussé, *Bridging the Divide*, 43; Cal French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639–1853* (Rochester: Meadow Brook Art Gallery, 1977), 41.

10   A general term meaning members of the Koyasan Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism.

11   Blussé, *Bridging the Divide*, 49

the island, as well as in the center of the south, east, and north walls, with over twenty guards on duty in and around the island at any given time. Around the perimeter of the island in Nagasaki Bay were sixteen wooden posts protruding from the water, creating a buffer zone into which no vessels could enter. Given these clearly defined barriers, Dejima was an island that was as much forbidden to enter as it was to leave. The Shogunate intended for the Japanese people to view the island as taboo, a place where the nanban dwelled and needed to be restrained from corrupting the superior Japanese society.

It was a militarized zone of extraordinary segregation, meant to enforce "social solidarity"[12] on the Dutch, making them feel socially isolated and therefore unable to connect with Japanese society. This sense of isolation greatly affected the Europeans who stayed there, with one writing that: "An European [*sic*], that remains here, is in a manner dead and buried in an obscure corner of the globe. He hears no news of any kind; nothing relative to war, or other misfortunes and evils that plague and infest mankind; and neither the rumours of inland or foreign concerns delight or molest his ear."[13] These seemingly extreme measures to separate the Dutch from Japan were based on the fears of the spread of Western influence (primarily Christianity) and its purported threat to the Edo government's authority.[14] Portuguese Christians began to convert Japanese to Western ideals in the sixteenth century, a trend which the Shogunate wished to stop by any means necessary. The decision to erect barriers in order to keep the Europeans from polluting the pure Japanese society is what Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier called the "moral science of design." The segregation of Dejima's space from the greater Japanese world was a calculated move made by the Edo government to physically separate the foreigners from the Japanese, a space that was "the external projection of their social and mental processes" in regards to Japanese

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12 Hanson and Hillier, *Logic of Space*, 20.

13 Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London: Penguin, 1990), 232–233.

14 Tashiro Kazui and Susan Downing Videen, "Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined" in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 2 (Seattle: *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 1982), 288; Mia M. Mochizuki, "Deciphering the Dutch in Deshima" in *Boundaries and Their Meanings in History of the Netherlands*, ed. Benjamin Kaplan, Marybeth Carlson and Laura Cruz (Boston: Brill, 2009), 72.

xenophobia.[15] Leaving Dejima was nearly impossible for the Dutch, who were subjected to either total imprisonment on the island, or were allowed to leave on the condition that they paid extortionate prices for an armed escort of Japanese guards.[16] Dejima's strictly confined space was therefore a matter of national security to the Japanese government, who employed such draconian measures of spatial isolation as means to make the Dutch dependent on the Japanese government for information and supplies.

Within the walls of Dejima itself, there lay more subtle indications of how the Dutch were seen by the Japanese. As mentioned earlier, the Dutch were viewed by the Japanese as "others"—barbaric foreigners who were allowed to sell their wares by the good graces of the Shogun. Since their earliest encounters with Europeans in the sixteenth century, the Japanese people were taught by their superiors to distrust and even loathe their Occidental contemporaries. One Jesuit in 1590 recorded his observations in his diary: "Our customs being contrary to those of the Japanese [people],… [they] had been led to believe that the [Europeans] were worthless and undeserving of respect."[17] This sense of superiority that the Japanese felt certainly translated into the architecture of Dejima, as it was a blatant method of segregating the "inferior" nanban. Though the island may have been explicitly built for trade, underlying Japanese architectural and cultural themes are perceivable. Firstly, regarding Japanese xenophobia, the situation of the Dutch on Dejima and their mode of entrance and exit correlate to contemporary architecture elsewhere in Japan. Since the Dutch were seen as visitors to Japan and did not enjoy the diplomatic or mercantile rights given to their fellow *Vereenigde Oost–Indische Compagnie* (VOC) merchants elsewhere, they could not even enter and leave Dejima through the front door. With this in mind, it can be interpreted that Dejima was not dissimilar to the *shinden–zukuri* architectural style that was prevalent in other larger-sized Japanese complexes. Shinden–zukuri was employed typically for mansions reserved for

15 Hanson and Hillier, *Logic of Space*, 4–5, 28.

16   Leonard Blussé, Willem Remmelink and Ivo Smits, *Bridging the Divide: 400 Years of Dutch–Japanese Relations*(Leiden: Hotei, 2000), 43; Rietbergen, "Meeting Point Deshima," 208.

17 Charles Ralph Boxer, "When the Twain First met: European Conceptions and Misconceptions of Japan, Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries" in *Modern Asian Studies* vol. XVIII, no. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 532.

the aristocracy, and would initially seem incompatible with the negative stigma associated with Dejima. However, despite the inferiority of social status that Dejima may have had, there still was a certain degree of ceremony associated with Dejima's business, making its designers designate entrances that were to be exclusively used by the Japanese or the Dutch. The need to outline the importance of the social hierarchy via architecture was also found in shinden–zukuri houses, with two entrances, on the south and east side, reserved for official and visitor use, respectively.

If Dejima's portals are compared with the shinden–zukuri style, the juxtaposition is clearer. In both Dejima and shinden mansions, processions and important visitors entered through the south entrance, which was grander and offered wider access to the complex upon entry. The Dutch, on the other hand, could only enter and exit through the sea gate, or *suimon,* on the east side—with a few extremely rare exceptions. By limiting the Dutch to the use of the east portal, the Japanese (whether intentionally or not) were enforcing the notion of the Dutch being visitors in their home, and making them feel lesser than those who came in from the south.

From the east entrance, the Dutch were spatially the farthest from the majority of the island's contents, giving their entry less substance than their Japanese counterparts, who were able to have even access to all sections of the island. Dejima was 214 by 64 meters, with the main "cross straits" being located at the center. Any Japanese inspector, or *bongioisen*,[18] entering from the main entrance in the pursuit of contraband would therefore have a shorter distance to travel and get to the warehouses before any of the Dutch on the east side would be able to. This superiority of mobility on the Japanese's part gave them an advantage in maintaining control of the island, for if the need arose to storm the island in case of a Dutch insurrection, troops could reach the cross straits before the Dutch could, and cut the island in half. The Dutch were no doubt aware of this and throughout their two-hundred year tenancy of Dejima, always understood their position as visitors to Japan.

The layout of the settlement on Dejima reflected other trends in Japanese spatiality, further reinforcing the perceived inferiority of the Dutch in Japan. Since Dejima was technically built to house the Europeans, as

18 Bachofner, D*eshima Diaries Marginalia 1700–1740,* 1.

well as facilitate their imports and exports, the designers of the island's layout placed living areas according to themes similar to that in traditional Japanese residential spatiality. Larger residences in Japan—in this case, structures that served both residential and administrative functions, such as palaces—were quartered into tangibly noticeable north, south, east, and west areas.[19] Like the shinden–zukuri style, other kinds of residential spatiality served to designate hierarchy within the settlement itself, not just society in general. The spatial distribution of particular buildings within the larger complex was a calculated feature in Japanese residential planning, which sought to distinguish different rooms and buildings from others based on their spatial relation to one another. Another significant structure built around the same time as Dejima, was the Hommaru palace of the Shogun at Edo castle. Similar to Dejima, Hommaru served as both a place of residence and official business, containing the private living quarters of the Shogun and his family, along with spaces reserved for administrative use. Both structures in Edo and Nagasaki share a similar theme of spatiality, and parallels can be drawn to their layouts, despite their difference in geography and status.

In typical Japanese residential spatiality, the southern half, in being closest to the entrance, was used typically for formal use. Receptions halls, ceremonial spaces, and other official functions happened closer to the entrances, so visitors would not go too far into the complex and violate the privacy of the owner by entering any personal quarters. In Dejima, the southern half of the island (with the cross straits acting as dividers) contained the buildings and spaces where the formal business and general Japanese–Dutch interactions occurred. The store, gardens, games house, sale house, and weighing areas were all located near the entrances for both the Japanese and Dutch on the southern and eastern sides of the island. A similar observation can be made at Hommaru, with the reception hall and ceremonial reception all being near the entrance. Space close to the entrance designated foreignness to the residence, and were used and occupied by guests. At Hommaru, the rooms of the Shogun's retainers were located closer to the south of the residence than the private quarters of the *shujini*, or master of the house, designating their inferior status to the homeowner.

19 Inoue, *Japanese Architecture,* 114

At Dejima, it appears at first glance that this pattern is not followed, but the distinction between official and "guest" entrances must be kept in mind. The Dutch, as much guests to Dejima as they were to Japan, were given housing near *their* entrance, not the one used by the Japanese. Since the front gate was predominantly exempt from their use, the Dutch perspective on Dejima was therefore focused around their position near the sea gate on the eastern side. In keeping with the practice of putting guests near the entrance to the complex, the Japanese situated the Dutch homes and offices on the eastern side of the island near the sea gate. The more important residents of the island, that is the Japanese owners and the warehoused goods, were farther from the Dutch part of the island than the main entrance was, making the goods stored on Dejima less of their property and more in the ownership of the Japanese. The Japanese residents of Dejima lived on the northern half of the island, and since they did not come through the eastern "guest entrance," their location on the island fit with traditional Japanese residential spatiality in that their homes were located farther north than the areas for formal use and their guests, the Dutch. By orienting their residence in relation to the official Japanese entrance to Dejima, the Japanese kept with traditional themes of Japanese spatiality and subliminally established themselves as the shujini of Dejima. In keeping with contemporary notions of residential spatial configuration, the Japanese made Dejima a microcosm of Japanese society, with themselves as the absolute holders of authority over the island in which the Dutch were merely guests.

As mentioned earlier, Dejima was meant by the Japanese to be a secluded, tightly controlled space meant merely for trade, not for diplomatic interaction. Evidence of the strict emphasis on the function of the island, as opposed to its residential qualities, comes from the various depictions of Dejima over the centuries of its use. In both European and Japanese maps of the island from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, the overwhelming majority of labeled structures and spaces on Dejima are related to the island's function as a trading post, not as a small community. The most detailed European depiction, by the resident *secunde*, or VOC second-in-command, Heere Voogt in 1729, labels virtually every space on Dejima. As a Dutchman, his depiction (not for the Japanese government's use) would be an honest representation of how the nanban saw the island and gives an insider's perspective on how the island was laid

out. From the multitude of varying warehouses, to the houses (*wonings*) of the VOC officials on the island; to the facilities for bleaching flour, eating, and the selling of goods, Voogt meticulously identified the functions of nearly every structure on the island. Absent, however, is any mention of the barracks which housed the non-administrative VOC employees on the island. Dejima's European population was tightly controlled, with a range of only eleven to twenty-two men being on the island at any time.[20] Voogt's map depicts only eight employees' wonings on his map: the old and new *opperhofdt* (VOC senior officer), the secunde, bookkeeper, warehouse keeper, chief medical officer, butler in charge of the liquor, and the storekeeper. VOC records, however, describe several more employees on the island, such as a scribe, several of his assistants, a cook, and a smith.[21] The absence of these men's spaces from the map of Dejima suggests that even the Dutch emphasized the business aspect of the island, leaving out these "lesser" positions because they either assisted a higher official or did not directly contribute to the function of the island as a trading post. Half a century later, a Japanese artist working for the *Toshimaya* publishing company depicted the island using very similar themes (fig. 4): pointing out only the points of entry, guardhouses, and houses of the senior officials of the VOC. These analogous renderings of the island's layout convey that the Shogunate had succeeded in making the island a known and clearly defined trading post, with both European and Japanese artists emphasizing the function of the island rather than its inhabitants. This notion is what Hanson and Hillier called "global-to-local dimensionalism," and illustrates the Japanese government's method of defining the island of Dejima by its buildings.[22] By depicting the island by its most characteristic features—in essence the walls that surrounded it, the guardhouses that protected it, and the buildings that served its desired function—the artists were reinforcing the Shoguns' desire to make Dejima a segregated trade post with a confined Dutch population. The lack of mention of housing

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20 No official Japanese order explicitly states any desired number, but Dutch accounts never mention more than twenty-two Europeans on the island during its busiest time of year. Blussé, *Bridging the Divide*, 48; French, *Through Closed Doors*, 41; David A. Heinlein, "The New Brunswick–Japan Connection: A History" in *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, vol. LII, no. 2 (Rutgers: Rutgers University Library, December 1990), 3.

21 Blussé, *Bridging the Divide*, 48

22 Hanson and Hillier, *Logic of Space*, 21.

further makes the island seem like a settlement, and more of a less welcoming area designed strictly for business.

The subliminal and explicit means by which the Japanese strove to make Dejima a foreign place to the Dutch were successful in isolating them socially from the Japanese, but the Dutch were still able to express their own culture within the walls of the island itself. Despite the fact that the island was designed by the Japanese and the buildings on it oriented to convey their social superiority over the Europeans, the Dutch were allowed to furnish the inside of these buildings in almost any way they wished.[23] With the exception of Christian icons, the Dutch on Dejima were given a fairly generous degree of cultural expression, giving the island the sobriquet of the *Oranda heya* (the Dutch Lodge), and *Oranda yashiki* (the Dutch Mansion).[24] The Dutch knew that they were confined within the walls of Dejima and were virtual prisoners of the Japanese government (*Bakufu*), but as the VOC began to acclimate itself with the conditions it lived under on Dejima, the island began to take a more prominent European appearance. The architecture remained in the Japanese style, but the Europeans there filled in the space with whatever they could, for both peace of mind and advertising their culture. VOC employees wore the latest European fashions and decorated their living quarters with not only European items and luxuries, but also goods from the Middle East, Africa, and anywhere else the VOC traded. North American tobacco was smoked by pipes made in Europe, Persian carpets adorned the office of the *opperhofdt*, exotic animals such as peacocks from India roamed the island freely, and men wore shirts made from the finest Chinese silk. European technology too was brought to Dejima, such as thermometers and clocks, and lampposts from Amsterdam which adorned its streets.[25] European technology became a popular commodity for the Japanese, who liked what they saw on Dejima and

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23 Coenraad Liebrecht Temminck Groll, *The Dutch Overseas, Architectural Survey: Mutual heritage of four Centuries in three Continents* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 275.

24 Blussé, Bridging the Divide, 49.

25 Lettie S. Multhauf, "The Light of the Lamp–Lanterns: Street Lighting in 17th-Century Amsterdam" in *Technology and Culture*, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 251.

sought to procure it for themselves.[26]

Dutch luxury goods particularly fascinated the Japanese, who previously had no idea how the *Oranda* (the Japanese way of saying "Hollanders") spent their leisure time. Since the trading season was only the month of October,[27] the majority of the Dutch's year was spent drinking, gambling, and smoking. One European on the island during the off-season wrote that time was spent walking up and down the streets over and over again, all the while "droning over a pipe of tobacco."[28] This habit of smoking became a defining feature of the Oranda, as Japanese depictions of them seldom excluded pipes. Slaves from Java were brought as both a labor and entertainment force, serving their Dutch masters by performing menial tasks such as carrying parasols and playing instruments for ambience. Sport and games were also exported to Dejima, with casual gambling being the Dutch's favorite pastime during the off-season. One Japanese person, upon seeing a billiards table for the first time, described it as "A bed-like structure with tall legs … wrapped in wool, with holes in the four corners … upon which the Dutch roll balls and place bets."[29]

The Dutch flavor on Dejima became so noticeable by the mid-eighteenth century, that even the Japanese outside its walls began to take fervent interest in the Oranda. Though adamantly condemned by the Shogunate, a profound fascination of the Dutch fostered in Nagasaki, creating a significant market for wood block prints of Dutch activities as depicted by those allowed on the island.[30] These Nagasaki Prints, or *miyage*, are incredible depictions of European culture as interpreted by the Early Modern Japanese. The growing interest that the Japanese had in Dutch culture and technology made Nagasaki a popular destination for Japanese anthropologists, keen to catch a glimpse of an Oranda or

26 Bruce L. Batten, "Review: 'Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700–1850'. By Martha Chaiklin" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. LX, no. 4 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 2005), 532.

27 Alexandra Curvelo, "Nagasaki/Deshima after the portuguese in dutch accounts of the 17th century" in *Bulletin of Portuguese–Japanese Studies*, no. 6 (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, June 2003), 150; Blussé, *Bridging the Divide*, 43.

28 Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire,* 233

29 Yonemoto, *Early Modern Japan*, 76

30 French, *Through Closed Doors,* 32.

hear their music from over the walls of Dejima. In this way, the Dutch adapted to the space that confined them, and used their culture to stake some sense of ownership of the island, at the very least, affiliate Dejima with the Europeans and not solely the Shogunate's policy of sakoku.

The issue that presents itself is essentially this: Does ownership of a particular area belong to those that claim it for their legal jurisdiction, or to those that live, work, and practice their culture there? Dejima may have been built and founded on Japanese principles of sovereignty and sakoku, yet the Dutch adapted to their situation by increasingly making the island a unique space: as much European as Japanese. Although the architecture and layout of Dejima were distinctly Japanese, designed to manifest the precarious and temporary nature of foreign tenancy, by the mid-eighteenth century the consolidation of European technology and culture turned the once-loathed nanban into "merchants of light" for many Japanese.[31] Along with their normal activities of bringing goods to Dejima, the Dutch were importing European understanding in the form of science and technology, as well as news of international affairs. It was through Dejima that the phenomenon of Japan opening its borders to Western knowledge, called *rangaku* (literally meaning "Dutch learning"), originated.[32] As some Japanese who were aware of the change in perspective put it, Holland had gone "from a trading nation to an information nation." From the West's point of view, the island had also changed. One European described Dejima as transforming itself from a "hugely profitable factory" to "a Dutch stronghold in the far east," illustrating Europe's growing influence in eastern Asia during the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[33]

To sum up, it may be fair to adjudge that Dejima, despite the clear intentions of its Japanese founders, came to be identified over time more with its Dutch tenants than with its Japanese owners. Dejima's layout and architecture was originally intended to mark the island as perpetually Japanese, despite the Europeans who lived there. The Shogunate's measures

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31 Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire,* 267.

32 *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 267; David A. Heinlein, "The New Brunswick–Japan Connection: A History" in *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, vol. LII, no. 2 (Rutgers: Rutgers University Library, December 1990),3; Rietbergen, "Meeting Point Deshima", 211, 221; Yonemoto, *Early Modern Japan*, 105.

33 Yasuko, *Japan–Netherlands Trade,* 192, 194.

to exclude the nanban from Japanese society may have been successful in the early stages of the island's history, but they ultimately failed to keep foreign influence out of Japan. The influx of European culture and scientific knowledge throughout the eighteenth century proved overwhelmingly alluring to the Japanese, and their desire to import such knowledge into their society became insatiable by the nineteenth century. From the late eighteenth century onwards, Dejima began to attract larger and larger numbers of Japanese interested in the "window to the world" (*Oranda no kakehashi*).[34] Indeed so profound was the Dutch cultural impact on Dejima that Nagasaki developed a reputation for being an "international city," based on its access to the VOC's imports, both in terms of goods and—more importantly—culture. By the 1860s, and the end of sakoku, the Dutch came to call the island their own, if not juridically, then at least in terms of cultural dominance.

34 Groll, *The Dutch Overseas,* 277.

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Appendix

Figure 1.
The map above indicates the significant distance between Nagasaki Bay
(where Dejima is located) and the capital of Japan at the time (Edo).

Figure 2.
Nagasaki Harbor as depicted by Kawahara Keiga (early 19th century, ink and color on silk, 56 x 79.5cm).[1]

1 Yukiko Shirihara. *Japan Envisions the West: 16th–19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 76.
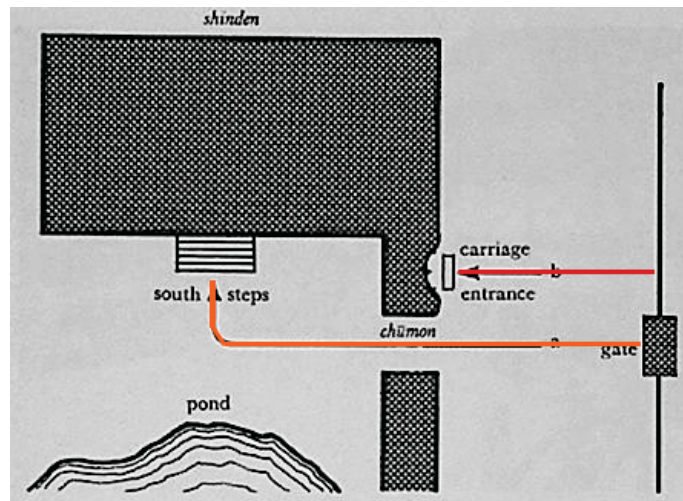
Figure 3.
Standard Shinden residence designating official Japanese entrance path
(red) and Dutch visitor entrance path (orange).[2]
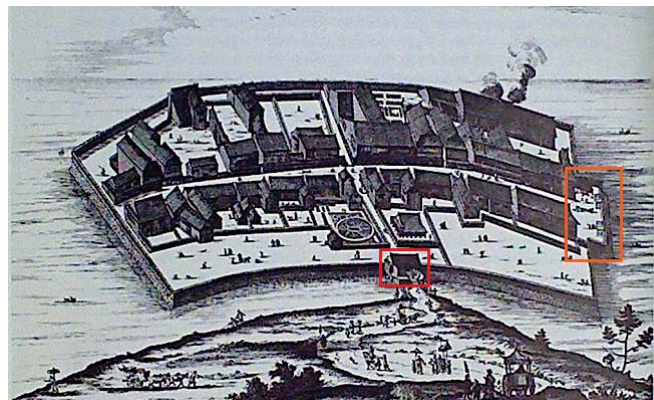
Figure 4.
Dejima as depicted by Arnoldus Montanus in 1670 with Dutch
(orange) and Japanese (red) entrances.[3]

2 Inoue, Mitsuo. *Space in Japanese Architecture.* 1st ed. Translated by Hiroshi
   Watanabe. Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985
3 Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japonnensis. Being Remarkable Addressed by way of
   the Embassy from the East–India Company of the United Provinces to the Emporer
   of Japan. Containing a Description of their several Territories, Cities, Temples, and
   Fortresses; Their Religions and Customs; Their Prodigious Wealth and Gorgeous
   Habits; The Nature of Their Soil, Plants, beasts, Hills, Rivers and Fountains.
   With the Character of the ancient and Modern Japanners,* trans. John Ogliby
   (London, 1670)

1) Guardhouses
2) Hospital
3) Warehouse
4) Interpreter's office and home
5) Accountant/bookkeeper's home
6) Opperhofdt's home
7) Home of the next Opperhofdt
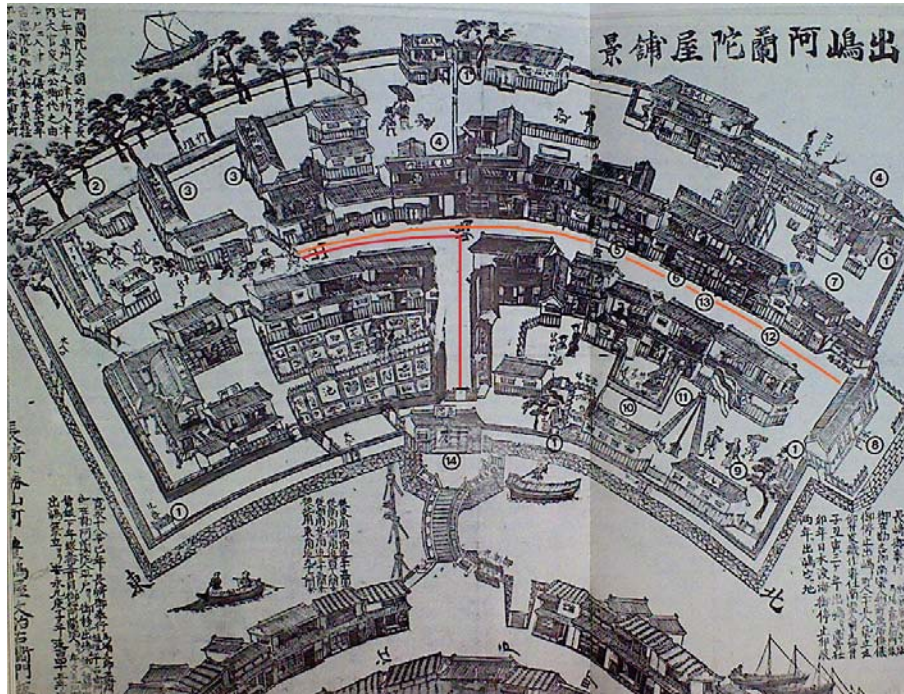
8) Seagate, inspection office, and guardhouses
9) "Leslie" warehouse
10) "Doorn" warehouse
11) Dutch flagpole
12) Home of the warehouse manager
13) Home of the chief medical officer
14) Main gate

Figure 5
Bird's-eye view of Dejima, as depicted by a Japanese artist in 1780. Dutch paths (in orange) and Japanese paths (in red) from their entrances to the warehouse are indicated. Notice the advantage of the Japanese merchants in terms of distance. [4]

4 "Gezicht op Desjima in 1780" Woodblock, color print. Nagasaki, Toshiyama, 1780 in Huibert Paul, *Nederlanders in Japan 1600–1854: De VOC op Desjima* (Weesp: Fibula–Van Dishoek, 1984), 106–107.
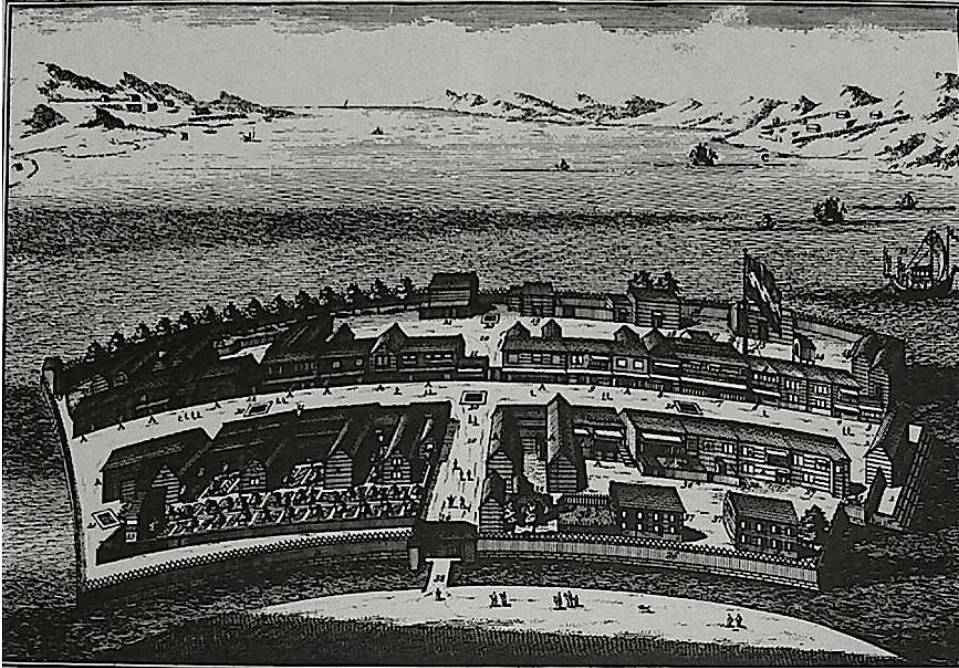
Figure 6
The engraving above was in the possession of Gerrit Voogt der Werff, who was
posted on Dejima as a junior merchant from 1704–1721.[5]

5 "The Island of Deshima, Place of Residence of the Duthc in Japan—based on the
    drawing in the possession of Mr. Voogt." In Blussé, Leonard, Isabel van Daalen,
    Willem Remmelink, and Cynthia Viallé, *The Deshima Diaries Marginalia 1740–1800*.
    Tokyo: The Japan–Netherlands Institute, 2004, v.

MINDIE BERNARD

Gendering Violence in the Bosnian War

Mindie Bernard, class of 2016, graduated, summa cum laude, with a degreee in International Studies and a minor in European Studies.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

Inspiration for this paper was by no means scarce, though much of the credit must go to trailblazing feminist scholars who created space for a theory of international war that considers the experiences and roles of women. This paper argues that tolerance of domestic violence and hyper-nationalist political movements in the Former Yugoslavia encouraged inflexible delineations between masculinity and femininity linked to ethnic identity, resulting in the systematic use of horrific sexual violence as a tool of terror, genocide, and war. When our knowledge of war is limited to the experiences of men as the sole agitators, soldiers, policy- and peacemakers, women are often reduced to passive victims of violence whose significance can be summarized in statistics of those dead and displaced. Through examining the politics of masculinity and femininity in international conflict, I hope this paper creates an opening for discussion around the political and social significance of violence against women and the active roles that women play in nationalist wars.

    —Mindie Bernard

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

What can turn ordinary, non-violent men into brutal rapists and murderers? Mindie Bernard's thoughtful and well-researched paper addresses this question in the context of ethnic war in Bosnia–Herzegovina, one of the former Yugoslav republics. Having derived the conceptual framework of the paper from contemporary feminist theory, Mindie points to the ubiquitous presence of the traditional gender stereotypes in the Serbian society prior to the war as well as the widespread domestic abuse and violence against women that went unacknowledged and unpunished by the Serbian state. The situation was exacerbated by the propagandist mass media, especially TV news programs, which constructed the narrative of aggressive masculinity as the only socially sanctioned answer to the supposed threats to Serbian ethnic identity and cohesion. Having lived through the initial stages of the Yugoslav break-up, I can confirm the validity of Mindie's main thesis; moreover, I think that its main significance goes beyond the Bosnian conflict and can be universally applied to other past, present, and future ethnic conflicts in the world.

    —Filip Kovacevic, Department of Politics

Abstract

This paper, an unflinching analysis of the 1992 Bosnian War using international feminist theory, renders apparent that Serbian sexual violence against Bosnian Muslim women—while in no way discounting sexual violence against Serbian women—was intended as a direct attack on the entire Bosnian Muslim ethnic identity. Economic disaster, social stratification, and rising nationalist movements across Yugoslavia created an opportunity for young, working class men to react aggressively to perceived threats to their identity, and reassert their dominance through violence against women. This paper argues that tolerant attitudes towards domestic violence and hyper-nationalist political rhetoric encouraged inflexible delineations between masculinity and femininity, resulting in the systematic use of horrific sexual violence as a tool of terror, genocide, and war from 1992 to 1995. A combination of feminist theory, economic data, and political history allows for analysis that takes into account the gender dynamics of nationalist wars, and creates a framework for understanding the ways in which domestic gender politics influence international conflict.

Keywords: Bosnian War, Former Yugoslavia, ethnic nationalism, violence against women, rape, feminist theories of war, masculinity

Gendering Violence in the Bosnian War

Much has been written about the horrific ethnic violence and acts of genocide that characterized the Bosnian War in the mid-1990s. The accounts of each national participant have since competed with opposing states' narratives for the sole right to victim status in the aftermath. Despite conflicting official accounts, the gendered and sexualized nature of the wartime violence that occurred is inarguable in the face of eyewitness accounts of specialized "rape camps" established to further an ethnic cleansing mission against Bosnian Muslims.

To understand the widespread use and acceptance of sexual violence as a tool of genocide and terrorism in the Bosnian War, this paper will investigate normalization of domestic violence against women in Serbia. It will also take into account the complex gender relations throughout the violent break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Drawing on international feminist theory regarding the relationship between gender and war, this paper will address the role of militarized hyper-masculinity in the aggressive ethnic nationalism that erupted into civil war between 1992 and 1995 in Bosnia. This backward-looking analysis will prove extremely relevant in interpreting how and why neighbors, schoolmates, and colleagues were pitted against one another in years of ethnic violence.

Considering that no war, genocide, or conflict occurs in a vacuum, it is crucial to detail the circumstances that led to the dissolution of the SFRY as they relate to the Bosnian War. Following President Josip Broz Tito's fateful divergence from Stalinist communism in 1948, an extended period of decentralization in Yugoslavia granted significant regional powers to each of six constituent republics and two autonomous provinces (Ramet, 2002, p. 6). The six republics were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia, while Kosovo and Vojvodina made up autonomous provinces within Serbian territory. The golden age of Tito's decentralized Yugoslavia was between 1969 and 1974, during which time government reforms granted constituent republics extensive faculties. Among the most significant of these was the authority to form regional militias under the control of the local government (Ramet, 2002, p. 6). A new federal constitution further established

the right of these same regional constituencies to veto federal legislation, and institute ethnic quotas in government employment. These new-found powers allowed majority ethnic groups to essentially govern and disenfranchise minority groups within any given region (Ramet, 2002, p. 6). It was along these legal institutional fissures that the SFRY would eventually break as decentralizing reforms eroded federal control.

Tito's death in 1980 irrevocably gutted Yugoslavia's national political body. At the same time that regional governments became increasingly autonomous, disillusioned citizens resorted to drawing empowerment from nationalist political movements (LeBor, 2002). Combined with ten years of grave economic decline that left over 700,000 workers jobless, unemployment in Yugoslavia nearly doubled between 1970 and 1980, rising from 7% to 12% ("National," 1996). Considering that men made up nearly 60% of the workforce in Yugoslavia after 1991, another rapid rise in unemployment between 1990 and 1995 disproportionately affected male laborers. Stripped of their roles as breadwinners and deprived a primary sense of societal importance, unemployed men of the laboring class were among the most avid supporters of nationalist politicians whose platforms associated cultural superiority with renewed economic strength (LeBor, 2002, p. 182).

After three decades of peace, the patchwork nation that had so long relied on its charismatic, quasi-mythical leader as a key unifying force between the disparate ethnic and religious identities began to unravel. Without Tito's commanding presence to balance increased regional military and political powers, Yugoslavia fractured along internal ethnic lines. Disintegration of unified rule began violently as early as April 1981 when anti-Serbian riots broke out in many ethnically Albanian quarters of Kosovo (Ramet, 2002, p. 8). Wars for national independence across Yugoslavia were the inevitable results of the rapid erosion of federal political legitimacy and perceived social tolerance that had previously held the mismatched republics together.

In Serbia, for example, Slobodan Milošević garnered a particularly powerful following in 1987 as he campaigned for the presidency of the Social Republic of Serbia (SR Serbia) on a platform that encouraged nationalist sentiment among ethnic Serbs (LeBor, 2002). Today, Milošević is widely considered to have been an architect of the Bosnian War for his aggressive nationalist politics and military assistance to Bosnian Serb

militias. While Milošević's strategy may have been primarily opportunist, it capitalized on Serbia's patriarchal tendencies by encouraging groups of men most affected by rising unemployment to react to perceived threats on their livelihoods with aggression, violence, and brutal war ("National," 1996; LeBor, 2002).

Ethnic politics during this time were closely tied to gender roles, as an examination of nationalist rhetoric will underscore. Dominant Serbian ideas about masculinity and femininity were encouraged by nationalist political/ethnic movements and wartime attitudes toward domestic violence. These precursors ushered in the use of gendered violence as a tool for genocide and terrorism during the Bosnian War. Nationalist movements that politicized ethnicity and wartime attitudes that tolerated domestic violence encouraged dominant Serbian ideas about masculinity and femininity. This section will draw heavily from the work of Zorica Mršević, a Serbian feminist scholar who has written extensively on domestic violence in relation to war and militarization, as well as from other prominent feminist scholars such as Jan Jindy Pettman and Cynthia Enloe. In a chapter she contributed to *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance* in 2001, Mršević analyzes the patriarchal nature of Serbian society and its lack of institutional sanctions against domestic violence as root causes of its violent international relations during the 1990s.

Reflecting on individual testimonials detailing violence against women in such forms as rape, incest, beatings, murders, and attacks with deadly weapons, Mršević points to the normalization of domestic abuse in SR Serbia. Women's groups in Belgrade were able to collectively identify an increase in domestic abuse in the years during and immediately following the Bosnian War. One example of this violence is what Belgradian feminists refer to as "post-TV news syndrome," an invented term that describes a spike in domestic violence in reaction to state-sponsored war propaganda that was televised throughout the duration of the conflict (Mršević, 1997). Aggressive and graphic state propaganda particularly incensed unemployed Serbian men. Disturbing images of atrocities committed by the "other side" incited reactionary violence from these men against those in the immediate vicinity, namely women, children, and other family members (Mršević, 1997). The national authorities tended to treat these domestic aggressions as private matters between a man and his wife, instead of as legally punishable offenses, normalized men's

violent behavior against women and dependents. On a grand scale, this normalizing both eroded the position of women in society and also created a space for more forms of violence to become acceptable on an international scale (Mršević, 2001, p. 44).

If the Bosnian War was fought primarily for ethnic and political reasons, it was the normalization of domestic violence that also allowed such brutality to quickly surface in men that had once been considered average citizens. Mršević (2001) writes, "tolerated domestic violence contributed significantly to the 'ease' with which young men suddenly changed from apparently decent boys to brutal perpetrators of violent acts" (p. 42). Here, Mršević touches on the jarring phenomenon that these militarized men were formerly considered simply to be boys from the neighborhood. It was these neighborhood boys and men that actively participated in the systematic rape, torture, and murder of their former neighbors, coworkers, and classmates in rape camps across Bosnian Serb-occupied territory, inspired by nationalist rhetoric that encouraged men to display masculinity through violent and aggressively sexual means.

Proof of the perceived importance of using violence to assert masculinity can be found in the individual stories of formerly unpoliticized Serbian men such as Borislav Herak. Herak was a young, apparently average Bosnian Serb man who fell in with a violent Serb militia between 1991 and 1993 (Burns, 1992). Here, it is important to consider which men participated in militarized violence during the war. In an essay on nationalism and militarization in the Bosnian War in the book *The Curious Feminist*, Cynthia Enloe writes, "militarization of ethnic nationalism often depends on persuading individual men that their own manhood will be fully validated only if they perform as soldiers" (2004, p. 108). Despite having no prior records of assaulting women or taking avid interest in Yugoslav or Serbian history, Borislav Herak took part in mass rape, murder, and ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslim women and men. Enloe (2004) examines Herak's radicalization during the war as a result of gendered politics, noting that he was a man encouraged "to think of himself as needing to be masculine" in a way that was conceptually tied to his ethnic identity (p. 101). In this case, it is clear that ethnic identity and nationalist radicalization were also reliant on encouraging previously neutral or non-violent men to assert their masculinity through aggressive means.

During this time, masculinity and femininity, in contrast to each other, were used to justify male dominance over women in general, as well as political determinants belonging to any given ethnicity. To this end, Enloe's further research implies that typical gender roles in the former SR Serbia idealized dominant, aggressive men in positions of authority over supportive, patriotic, and nurturing women (2004, p. 107). Through identifying the roles that women played and were meant to play in nationalist movements, the roles that men fulfilled emerge in contrast. Serb nationalist movements during the early 1990s idolized models of militarized masculinity (such as male soldiers) in a society that was built on images of men as figures of authority (Mršević, 1997). Serbian men raised in an environment that valued displays of strength and aggressive dominance in the male sex could easily distinguish themselves from men of other ethnicities by implying those men had traits that were more feminine or else did not display the same kind of masculinity that made them worthy opponents. Thus, gendered language supported political agendas that sought to define which people were worthy of inclusion, and which were to be considered "others." This proved a crucial method for various nationalist ethnic movements in Serbia, Bosnia, Slovenia, and Croatia in portraying any particular ethnic group as superior to all others, and therefore deserving of independence from those ethnic groups deemed both inferior and threatening.

In 1993, the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights sent a team of medical and psychological experts to investigate reports of systematic rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other areas affected by the war. In carrying out the mandate in a sampling of hospitals in affected cities, the team found evidence suggesting nearly 12,000 incidents of rape, and were able to positively identify 119 cases of pregnancies resulting from rape during 1992 ("Report," 1993, p. 67). The team carefully documented testimonies from survivors of rape camps, including that of one Croatian woman who reported being raped by a group of Serb soldiers as they shouted, "You will have a Serbian child" ("Report," 1993, p. 69). The same woman reported being informed that if she were to become pregnant, she would be "forced to stay there until six months of pregnancy," by which point it would be too late to perform an abortion ("Report," 1993, p.69). In all, the team was able to conclude that rape was indeed being used as an instru-

ment of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and that the majority of the rapes they documented had been "committed by Serb forces against Muslim women from Bosnia and Herzegovina" ("Report," 1993, p.72).

This wartime violence against adult women and young girls is linked to the gendered vision of women as "national mothers." Jan Jindy Pettman makes the argument in her excellent book, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*, that nationalism typically genders the nation female, making women's bodies the targets of violence as symbolic assaults on national honor (1996, p. 51). Generally, this gendering stems from the idea that women are the guardians of any given culture's heritage, morality, and identity as the bearers of past, present, and future generations. This concept is succinctly captured in the national personification of all Serbs in "Mother Serbia," a symbolic female personage commonly recognized in Serbia since the early nineteenth century. It is a gendered and romanticized notion that is inextricable from national identity as it implies that a culture's integrity is personified in women. Men are therefore charged with protecting their women and symbolic mothers against outside threats as symbolic protection of the nation and ethnic self, including one's culture, language, and identity (Pettman, 1996, p. 49). By this rule, any violation of female integrity at the hands of others also implies the inability of men in the subordinated culture to defend their women, symbolizing that culture's humiliation and defeat (Pettman, 1996, p. 100).

This theory is extremely relevant when analyzing the Bosnian wartime rapes as tools of ethnocide, since they symbolize the invasion and subordination of Bosnia by the Serb ethnicity. While certainly a small percentage of rapes in the Bosnian War were crimes of opportunity, the massive scale and systemic nature of the wartime sexualized violence implies an ulterior and more complex motive. Nationalism in the Bosnian War capitalized on rhetorical uses of the female body to personify ethnic identity when male soldiers such as Borislav Herak were encouraged to rape and sexually degrade women belonging to the "others" in order to validate their superior masculinity. Thus, the physical and psychological damage that women suffered at the hands of enemy soldiers was intended to destroy and subjugate the Bosnian Muslim population both symbolically and in reality. In many cases, survivors of the rape camps

testified to the effect that their rapists intended to make these women pariahs in their communities, knowing that they would be shunned for religious and cultural reasons (Hirsch, 2012).

This symbolic undermining of the Bosnian Muslim identity is supported by reports of Serb soldiers intentionally impregnating and imprisoning Bosnian Muslim women until it was unsafe to undergo abortion. By all accounts, this was likely done for the purpose of repopulating Bosnia with ethnic Serbs, as the above testimony by an unnamed Croatian woman illustrates (Pettman, 1996, p. 101; "Report," 1993). It is clear in this case that the purpose of wartime rape was twofold: to symbolically violate the Bosnian nation by targeting the perceived holders of that culture and to physically exterminate the Bosnian Muslim ethnic group through impregnating Bosnian Muslim women with babies who were ethnically Serb.

Considering that rape and sexualized violence are some of the most underreported crimes, it remains unclear just what effect the repopulation campaign has had on the overall makeup of Bosnian society. Reports of the conflict acknowledge that the estimated 60,000 women of Serb, Bosnian Muslim, and Croat ethnicities raped and held captive over the course of the war may be too low due to underreporting (Hirsch, 2012; "The Conflicts," 2016). Now twenty years after some women survivors delivered and rejected children born of rape, there have been several well-publicized news stories and documentaries on the exploits of those now-adult "war babies." Since families from around the world adopted many of these war babies as infants, the children had little knowledge of their parentage or the circumstances under which they were conceived (Anthony, 2015). As they have come of age and uncovered the truth of their parentage—in some cases confronting their mothers' rapists— there are new questions to be asked about as to whether the biological parents (especially the fathers) should be allowed to assume parental privileges, should they desire to (Anthony, 2015).

Immediately after the war, those who survived the camps and ethnic cleansing missions were often left with no choice other than to move back to communities where they were forced to live side-by-side with perpetrators of violence. Others who had been detained and tortured within their own homes returned to live in these sites of deep trauma for

lack of other options (Hirsch, 2012). Women who survived rape often faced further discrimination and rejection in their families and communities for religious or cultural reasons, and many suffered from severe post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other physical and psychological traumas (Hirsch, 2012). In addition, women's groups in Sarajevo, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Srebrenica identified domestic violence was still prevalent after 1995 as husbands, fathers, and sons returned from battle with their own PTSD, anger, and bitterness over events of the war (Mršević, 2001; Mršević, 1997; Ortiz, 2010).

In a few communities, however, there were strong religious movements on the part of Bosnian Muslim women, imams, and male community leaders that encouraged husbands and fathers to "set aside religious sentiments regarding raped women" and instead treat sexual violence as a "community problem" (Hirsch, 2012). In this way, many women survivors have gained status in their communities as leaders, organizers, and founders of trauma centers, women's groups, women's legal aid centers, and feminist political parties (Mršević, 1997; Hirsch, 2012). As such, this paper rejects the view of women as passive victims of violence without the capacity to recognize their agency and the ability to determine their own fates.

The Bosnian War has come to symbolize the most significant failure of European peacekeeping efforts since World War II. The systematic abuse of human rights, war crimes, and acts of genocide that characterized the Bosnian War have left a black mark on the history of modern Europe, and persistent inter-ethnic animosities, domestic violence, and political divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are constant reminders of wartime suffering and hatred. In the ongoing process of national healing, acknowledging the gendered politics of the domestic abuse that colored the outbreak of war will allow the international community to identify the specific and distinct ways in which idealized models of masculinity and femininity only contribute to violent ethnic nationalism and so prevent future atrocities.

Fig. 1. The map above from the United Nations indicates the borders of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as of January 1991.

Fig. 2. The map above (also from the United Nations) indicates the borders of the new nations that were part of the former Yugoslavia as of January 2008.

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LUIS CAMACHO

Can Motivated Cognition Exacerbate a Bias?

Luis Camacho, class of 2016, graduated cum laude with a degree in Psychology.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

This project arose from Professor Saera Khan's Advanced Research Methods course focusing on social influence. Though the study was designed as a class project, each student had the freedom to examine variables of their interest. Within the realm of social cognition theory, I became interested in the concept of "cognitive misers" (i.e., the notion that individuals economize mental resources to minimize time and effort spent on cognitive tasks) and its relation to need for cognition. The fact that people can be categorized as chronic cognitive misers (i.e., low need for cognition) and chronic cognizers (i.e., high need for cognition) is extremely relevant to our current interest finding ways to improve efficacy and efficiency. Frankly, I think it is fascinating that individuals may have an ability to think deeper, but often do not. I wondered, what are the consequences of such wasted potential? I wanted to understand how need for cognition influences impressions of others with accented speech. Unbeknownst to us, these two variables have great influence on how we think. Each time I feel unmotivated to tackle a cognitive task that I am capable of doing, I cannot help but to think of this project—and I hope you do as well.
> —*Luis Camacho*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Luis Camacho's study demonstrates the power of social influences on how we think and judge others. Many of us are raised to control and eliminate our prejudices and stereotypes. Unfortunately, current research suggests that there are many variables unbeknownst to us that impact our thinking and judgment. For example, people's accents play a large role in how we judge their warmth or competence. What makes Luis's study unique is his examination of need for cognition, a variable that measures the extent to which we desire to think analytically or not. He tests whether cognitive style influences our stereotypical impressions of others with accented speech. This paper represents a number of astonishing feats: Luis's challenge was to not only explain these variables, but then to run a study, statistically analyze the data obtained, and then present and discuss his results. In short, Luis aptly demonstrates his powers as an emerging social scientist.
> —*Saera Khan, Department of Psychology*

Abstract

This study examined the relationship between the need for cognition (NFC) and impression formation, particularly with common biases. Upon listening to a speaker with either a heavy Japanese or Los Angeles accent, participants rated the speaker on how well-informed they believed she appeared to be on the subject she spoke about and on intelligence. Despite the need for cognition, speakers with a Los Angeles accent were rated less favorably on intelligence, compared with Japanese accented speakers. However, high need for cognition participants utilized a stereotype in impression formation, as their ratings for both speakers resonated with the speaker's respective stereotype. Contrary to previous findings, this study suggests that high need for cognition individuals are actually not protected from common biases, and these biases affect people of varying levels of need for cognition in different ways.

Keywords: need for cognition (NFC), impression formation, accent stereotypes, social psychology, biases, social cognition

Can Motivated Cognition Exacerbate a Bias?

The Need For Cognition

SOCIAL COGNITION research has shed light onto the notion that individuals differ in their tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful thinking, a construct coined as *need for cognition* (NFC) by Cohen, Stotland, and Wolfe (1955). It is widely believed that this phenomenon serves as the underlying mechanism that dictates people's acquisition and use of information. NFC is believed to be a measurable characteristic, as scales are commonly used for assessment. Individuals classified as "high-NFC" are those who derive enjoyment from cognitively effortful tasks. Consequently, these people not only exert more effort onto these cognitively effortful tasks, but also are more likely to engage in them as well (Petty, DeMarree, Briñol Horcajo, & Strathman, 2008). On the other hand, those classified as "low-NFC" exhibited opposite tendencies.

The Need For Cognition on Impression Formation Theories

As theories of judgment became the focus of social psychology, NFC began to be utilized as a means to assess how people develop judgments based on impressions. In the context of theories of impression formation, a significant amount of research has led to the implication that individuals who are low-NFC are more likely to rely on stereotypes to form impressions on individuals—and groups (Petty, Briñol, Loersch, & McCaslin, 2009). In fact, it has been noted that total scores on the NFC Scale are negatively correlated with those on the Modern Racism Scale (Crawford & Skowronski, 1998). This might be due to low-NFC people's tendencies to not engage in effortful thinking of the individual, which ultimately leads to a failure to individuate the person(s) in light of the lack of detail cognitively acquired. On the contrary, research has also supported that high-NFC people are often "protected" from typical impression formation biases, seeing that they are readily able to retain and utilize more cognitive information, instead of merely relying on common biases for impression formation (Petty et al., 2009). These two notions resonate well with each other, as their logic is consistent with one another.

However, in contrast to much of the research supporting that high-NFC individuals are protected from common biases, another line of research has suggested that their motivated thought can actually exacerbate a bias (Crawford & Skowronski, 1998). Though this seemingly contradicts former research, it actually signifies that common biases (i.e., stereotypes) affect people with different levels of NFC in different ways. Petty et al. (2008) attributed these findings to the following:

1. Constructs are readily activated in high-NFC people, as opposed to low-NFC people.

2. Seeing that high-NFC individuals engage in more thought, there are simply more available thoughts to be biased (i.e., more opportunities are present).

3. High-NFC people tend to be more susceptible to priming effects, compared to their counterparts.

Thus, the purpose of this study was to assess how individuals, of varying levels of need for cognition, would rate a female speaker who spoke with either a heavy Los Angeles or heavy Japanese accent, on both how well-informed she was on the subject she spoke about and intelligence. Due to the abundance of research supporting this notion, I hypothesized that if subjects were to score lower on an NFC test, then they would rate the woman with a heavy Japanese accent as more intelligent and more well-informed, compared with subjects who scored higher on an NFC test. As examined by Maykovich (1971), common stereotypes of Japanese people include the view that they are very intelligent and industrious. Therefore, I hypothesized that low-NFC individuals would fall victim to the utilization of this bias when rating the speaker.

Participants

Participants in this study consisted of 42 University of San Francisco (USF) students in an introductory psychology course. Due to the gender-ratio of psychology students at USF, it is important to note there were only three male participants (Table 1). The majority of the subjects were between

the ages of 18 and 22, with the exception of one who was 30 years of age (Table 2). The participants in this study received partial credit towards the fulfillment of their introductory psychology course requirement. Seeing that this was designed as a 2 (accent: Japanese vs. Los Angeles) x 2 (need for cognition: low vs. high) experiment, subjects were randomly assigned to the accent condition. Upon completing the NFC assessment, subjects were also assigned to their adequate NFC condition based on their scores.

Materials and Procedure

The survey administered to the participants contained many questions regarding different elements about the speaker they had heard. Only elements relevant to my hypothesis were assessed. First, subjects completed a nine-point scale, 18-question need for cognition scale ($\alpha = .83$). The scale administered to subjects was a slightly amended version of the scale Petty and Cacioppo (1982) used in their study. Following the experiment, items on the scale were re-coded so that higher scores on the scale correspond to high NFC and vice versa. Fourteen participants were determined to be high NFC, while 13 were low NFC. These were the result of a median split completed on these scores.

After completion of the NFC scale, participants were purposefully misled to believe they would each be assigned a random audio clip to listen to, which ranged a variety of topics. In reality, there were only two audio clips and one topic discussed: a description of a student's favorite city. The aspect that did vary between the participants was whether the speaker spoke with a heavy Japanese or Los Angeles accent. Even so, the speaker for both audio clips was the same person and the passages recited were identical. Sixteen participants were randomly assigned to the Los Angeles accent condition, while 11 were assigned to the Japanese accent condition.

Following the audio clip, subjects answered a variety of questions regarding the speaker; most importantly, they judged how intelligent the speaker seemed to them, and how well-informed the speaker seemed about the subject she spoke upon. The response scale for both items ranged from zero to nine, with nine reflecting that participants felt either the speaker was very intelligent or very well-informed on the subject spoken about, and zero reflecting the opposite. It is important to note that several manipulation checks were present to ensure that the participants were fully at-

tentive throughout the study. Ratings of the speaker's intelligence and how well-informed she seemed on the subject she spoke about were assessed in a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the two levels of the accent condition (Los Angeles vs. Japanese) and two levels of NFC condition (low-NFC vs. high-NFC)

Results for Ratings of Intelligence

Accent type. A significant main effect was found for ratings of intelligence on type of accent, F (1, 27) = 13.55, p = .001. Regardless of NFC, the speaker with a Los Angeles accent was rated much lower (m = 3.47; se = .48) in contrast to the speaker with a Japanese accent (m = 6.38; se = .63) on intelligence.

Need for cognition. Results demonstrated a non-significant main effect for intelligence ratings on NFC, F (1, 27) = 2.47, p = .13. Excluding accent type, low-NFC subjects rated the speaker on the basis of intelligence similarly to their counterparts (m = 4.30, 5.54; se = .61, .50)

Need for cognition x Accent type. The two-way ANOVA yielded a marginally significant main effect for the intelligence ratings interaction between NFC by accent type, F (1, 27) = 3.64, p = .07. Interestingly, the average rating for the Japanese speaker was significantly higher for high-NFC individuals (m = 7.75; se = .66) compared to low-NFC individuals (m = 5.00; se = 1.07). On the other hand, both low- and high-NFC participants rated the Los Angeles accented speaker similarly (m = 3.60, 3.33; se = .59, .76). Table one, located in the appendix, exhibits these findings.

Results for Ratings of Well-informed

Accent type. A main effect for participants' ratings of how well informed the speaker appeared on accent type yielded an F ratio of F (1, 27) = .648, p = .429, proving to be non-significant.

Need for cognition. As with ratings of intelligence, a non-significant main effect occurred for well-informed ratings on NFC, F (1, 27) = 1.10, p = .31. Omitting type of accent condition, low-NFC subjects did not differ significantly on their ratings (m = 5.80; se = .53)

in comparison to high-NFC subjects (m = 6.52; se = .44).

Need for cognition x Accent type. A significant two-way interaction between NFC by accent type for well-informed ratings was present, F (1, 27) = 9.80, p = .005. Following suit to the previous two-way inter-action, high-NFC individuals evaluated the Japanese accented speaker more favorably on how well-informed she seemed regarding the subject she spoke (m = 7.88; se = .57) as opposed to low-NFC individuals' ratings (m = 5.00; se = .93). Upon assessing the Los Angeles accented speaker on how well-informed she seemed, however, low- and high-NFC subjects rated her analogously (m = 6.60, 5.17; se = .51, .66). Table 2 demonstrates these results.

Discussion

Although the results did not provide support for my initial hypothesis, they were nonetheless sound and consistent with former empirical findings. First, a discrepancy was noted in the speakers' intelligence ratings between accent type conditions, without considering NFC. The Japanese accented speaker was rated significantly higher on intelligence (m = 6.38; se = .63) when compared to the Los Angeles accented speaker (m = 3.47; se = .48). This implies that subjects fell victim to utilizing the common stereotype that Japanese people are very intelligent when judging the speaker. It could also infer that subjects fell victim to the contrary common stereotype that people with a heavy Los Angeles accent are generally unintelligent (Goodine & Johns, 2014).

However, when evaluating the Japanese speaker, high-NFC subjects rated the speaker much more favorably on intelligence (m = 7.75) and how well-informed she appeared to be (m = 7.88) compared to low-NFC subjects' ratings of intelligence (m = 5.00) and well-informed (m = 5.00). The Los Angeles accented speaker's ratings exhibited no major difference by NFC. Though these findings are directly opposite to what I hypothesized, the implications are clear: for both Los Angeles and Japanese accented speakers, high-NFC individuals are relying on the respective stereotype when forming judgments.

The (little) research supporting my findings attributes high-NFC individuals' susceptibility to *and* protection from common biases to priming effects. It is believed that high-NFC individuals have a lower

threshold for the activation of primes due to their tendency to engage in effortful thinking (Petty et al., 2008). Therefore, high-NFC individuals respond more readily to priming effects. Without initially realizing it, the subjects were all subjected to a biasing agent. Subjects in the Los Angeles accent condition were primed to consider the speakers' identity by listening to a heavy Los Angeles accent. This priming induction serves as a biasing agent which predisposes subjects to think about the speaker in relation to her Los Angeles identity, seeing that the accented speech was hyperbolic. Likewise, subjects in the Japanese accent condition encountered a similar biasing agent; however, it related to the Japanese accented speaker's identity instead. It could very well be the case that high-NFC people simply had a greater cognitive capacity and greater tendency to engage in cognition, which enabled them to simply remember the speaker's accent in relation to her identity more so than low-NFC subjects, thus, explaining why high-NFC subjects utilized the respective stereotype more than low-NFC subjects.

Generally, if a biasing agent is blatant, people are likely to correct for it; that is, if people are primed with a biasing agent that is very apparent, they are more likely to realize that the source of their judgment is due to the priming induction rather than their personal reaction (Petty et al., 2008). On the other hand, people have a harder time correcting for biasing agents that are subtle. Given this logic, it would be sound to assume that high-NFC people would be able to correct the biasing agent (i.e., the accent) in the study, especially since it was very hyperbolic and thus blatant. However, they failed to correct the bias. Nonetheless, this does explain why previous research has supported the notion that high-NFC people are protected from common biases.

I believe the failure to correct the bias occurred because the subjects were given a plethora of seemingly random questions to answer about the speaker. The questions varied in nature, making it hard to connect them all to one construct. Ergo, the participants were greatly distracted to the point that I believe they overlooked the blatant priming biases. If they were merely given my two questions to answer on speaker intelligence and how well-informed she seemed, I believe high-NFC individuals would have been more likely to correct for the bias since answering a mere two questions is a lot less distracting.

In line with this, research findings have also suggested correction

effects for biasing agents and primes are most likely to occur when the content is clear and unambiguous (Petty et al., 2008). Though the passage recited by the speaker was descriptive, the information given was nonetheless vague and ambiguous. The speaker could have virtually been describing any major city in the world, because the passage never once mentioned anything to denote a specific city. Thus, I also believe that due to the lack of information given by the speaker, high-NFC subjects were able to more readily use the given biasing agent (i.e., speaker's accent) to form an impression about the speaker. Low-NFC subjects, on the other hand, failed to do this because this connection takes cognitive effort. High-NFC subjects' motivated thought led them to form a biased judgment of the speaker. If the content of the passage recited gave more specific information as to the speaker's identity, I believe high-NFC subjects would not have needed to rely on the bias to judge the speaker.

This study demonstrates that high-NFC individuals are susceptible to biased judgments, much like their counterparts. Different contributing factors, however, determine this effect. One factor noted is the saliency of a priming effect (e.g., biasing agent). Though this correctional effect was not exhibited in this study, blatant priming effects are more likely to be corrected, especially by high-NFC individuals. A further study could perhaps examine saliency of the priming effect as a separate independent variable, and see how directly manipulating its saliency may affect judgment ratings. Another factor noted is the ambiguity of the target. Targets that are unambiguous and clear leave less room for biased cues to be used in impression formation. The reason being that if information is clearer, fewer assumptions have to be made. Another further study could also include ambiguity of the target as an independent variable to assess the extent of this effect. As this study demonstrated, thoughtfully motivated people ironically exhibit a bias in their impression formation just as much (if not more) than their counterparts.

Appendix

Table 1. Participant Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	3	7.1	7.1
Female	39	92.9	100.0
Total	42	100.0	100.0

Table 2. Participant Age

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18	13	31.0	31.0
19	20	47.6	78.6
20	3	7.1	85.7
21	4	9.5	95.2
22	1	2.4	97.6
30	1	2.4	100.0
Total	42	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Between-Subjects Factors

Condition:	N
Los Angeles Accent	16
Japanese Accent	11
Low-NFC	13
High-NFC	14

Table 4. Two-way Interaction Results

Dependent Variable	Accent Type	NFC	Mean	Std. Error
How intelligent does the speaker seem to you?	Los Angeles	Low-NFC	3.60	.587
		High-NFC	3.33	.758
	Japanese	Low-NFC	5.00	1.072
		High-NFC	7.75	.656
How well-informed does the speaker seem on the subject she has spoken about?	Los Angeles	Low-NFC	6.60	.511
		High-NFC	5.167	.660
	Japanese	Low-NFC	5.00	.933
		High-NFC	7.875	.572

NFC=Need for Cognition
Std. Error=Standard Error
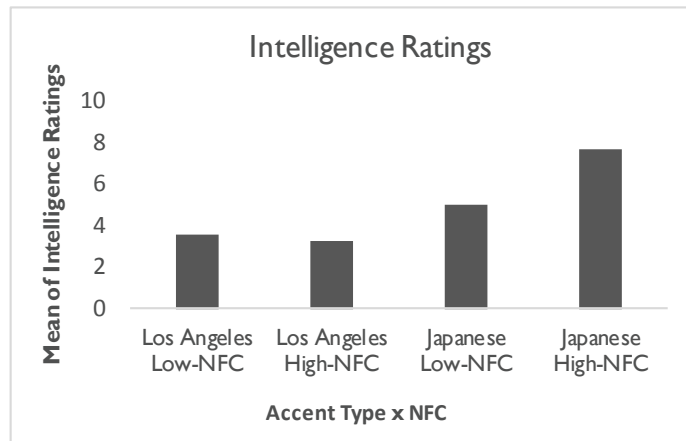
Table 5. Average intelligence ratings by accent type and NFC
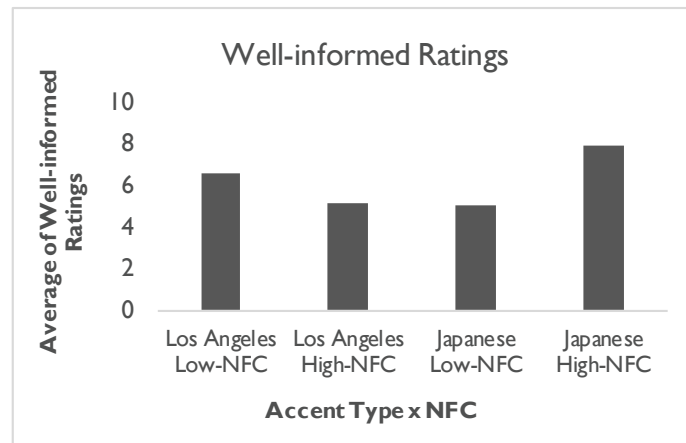
Table 6. Average well-informed ratings by accent type and NFC

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ALEX CASEY

Transgender Migration and the Movement of the Body

Alex Casey, class of 2016, graduated with a degree in English and is currently pursuing an MFA in Creative Writing. Alex's novel, Permanent Jet Lag, *will be published by NineStar Press in 2017.*

WRITER'S COMMENTS

My research began with a story of a woman denied immigration rights because she had not completed gender reassignment surgery. She was denied the right to move because her body did not change fast enough for her host's liking. This binary mentality is still the norm, though legislation is gradually being altered to reflect the diverse narratives of transgender bodies, recognizing that being "born in the wrong body" is not the only story, and that often, transgender individuals refuse to undergo reassignment surgery, finding their bodies and identities in their own unique ways. Thomas Page McBee's *Man Alive* reflects such a nonbinary narrative, presenting gender as existing on a spectrum and identity as simply an act of moving forward. I argue that situating the transgender narrative as a migratory one acknowledges the will to move at one's own pace from body to body, identity to identity, and finally into public discourse.

—*Alex Casey*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

In "Transgender Migration and the Movement of the Body," Alex Casey draws our attention to the power of the transgender body in motion as depicted in Thomas McBee's memoir *Man Alive*. Situating McBee's story as both transgender narrative and migration narrative, Alex opens up a space in which to simultaneously consider the movement of the body across emotional and geographic states, including urban, rural, and natural environments. Alex demonstrates thoughtful attention and insight into McBee's use of language and form to clarify how the narrative strategically cultivates the momentum and feeling of movement, producing a transformative readerly experience. Ultimately, Alex's deft analysis conveys an emphasis on the freedom to move forward into unknown territories, both literal and figurative, where bodies in transition are depicted as full of momentum, aimed not towards a final, culminating point but rather engaged in an ongoing process of becoming.

—*Christina Garcia Lopez, English Department*

Transgender Migration
and the Movement of the Body

"ONCE A BODY IS IN MOTION, it stays in motion," writes transgender author Thomas Page McBee (8). It's a basic law of physics, but in the hands of McBee, this well-known fact of nature becomes the kick-off sentiment and motivation for his gender transition in his 2014 memoir *Man Alive*. When forced to run from a mugger, Thomas realizes the power of his body and the freedom that can be found through travel and movement. Throughout his tale, we see this movement become his motivation and self-founding principle. Much analysis has been given to the physical transformation of the transgender body, but few scholars look to the emotional and geographic migration of the body from one form to the other. Movement—both figuratively and literally—has allowed the transgender individual to "begin again": new body, new place, new life. In literature, this literal act of movement has served as a symbol for gender transition, and when analyzed through a migratory perspective, Thomas' story becomes a compelling tale of the body's movement across gender lines. When read as an immigrant narrative, *Man Alive* becomes a clear story of migration, both geographic and bodily, and finally, the movement into public discourse.

Man Alive is split into five distinct sections: *Freeze*, *Flight*, *Fight*, *Rites*, and the title's namesake, *Man Alive*. Each section follows a distinct part of Thomas' life, from his initial hesitancy and almost closeted identity to his moment of self-realization, and finally to his path of gender actualization. The words are carefully chosen, conveying a sense of motion even from one word to the next and certainly from section to section. *Freeze* is stiff and controlled; it is not a word that rolls easily off the tongue. This then transitions into the word *Flight*, a word made up of the same amount of letters, and yet here the connotation, through introducing the soft 'l' and 'i' sounds, loosens the meaning and begins the journey toward freedom. By the time we reach *Fight*, the letters are more relaxed and there are less of them—five now instead of six. When we arrive at *Rites* and *Man Alive*, we have broken out of the pattern entirely.

It seems little coincidence that the first three sections are named after types of movement (or in the case of *Freeze*, the lack thereof) when

Thomas' life is so movement-oriented. "His foot [is] pressing the proverbial accelerator to the floor," writes critic Mitch Kellaway. "He picks words and metaphors … [that] will evoke the constant, electric flux of our animal bodies" (Kellaway). In this way, *Man Alive* never stands still; instead, it moves us across the street, across the United States, and, of course, across bodies. We, as readers, are in a state of constant migration, forced into a new world with every page—a world where Thomas is ten and living in Pittsburgh, one where he is in his mid-twenties and living in Oakland, and one where he is twenty-nine and travelling across South Carolina. Each location presents a different Thomas, a new world to which he must adjust. The only way the story might move forward is if we, too, migrate alongside him. Truth, this story proves, can be found only when we actively reach out and search for it.

From the very beginning, Thomas explicitly compares his search for self to his acts of internal migration, stating that the questions that led McBee to his father's hometown, where he went when he "could no longer afford to leave the question alone, to let it rear up every few years" (McBee 7). Thomas' word choice is quite intentional: the use of forceful language like "rear up" and "no longer afford" suggests that this act of movement was not voluntary but forced upon Thomas by factors outside of his control. Like the immigrant who is forced out of their mother country due to political, economic, or other strife, Thomas is forced to leave his home and explore the United States, crossing state lines in order to discover his gender identity and save his sense of self. Already, we are met with the assumption that movement will answer our questions, that the journey between states will reveal the deeper identity of Thomas and his family. Thomas asks: what can you learn and who can you become when you encounter a new world?

Leading to this moment, Thomas' near obsession with movement is highlighted through his long city walks, his intense jogs, his compulsion to push himself further, and his girlfriend, who "[hums] with a magic that [vibrates] her long strides … like loving a hurricane" (McBee 11). Here, we see that Thomas is already buzzing with the need to explore, that his broken sense of self is directly correlated with his inability to literally and physically move forward with his life. While Thomas' word choice is not necessarily positive—a hurricane, for example, is a clear sign of destruction—his tone is excited, words like "hum" and "vibrate"

suggesting an eagerness to begin, as both words suggest pent up movement rather than full-on sprints. It seems, then, that some destruction might be necessary. Immigrants often experience terrible hardships in order to fit in with a "safer" host country, and Thomas will have to adjust to surgeries, hormone treatments, and public outings in a very gendered world. It is only later, when Thomas has traveled the country and moved states, when he has declared himself a man and began hormone replacement therapy, that the story's sections change. *Rites* and *Man Alive* symbolize a need met, a movement accomplished, and the beginning of a new, more complete phase of his life.

Transgender individuals' compulsion for movement is easily traced through history, some moves voluntary, but many forced. Whether it be to escape queer concentration camps, the criminalization of transgender identities in some countries, or simply social discrimination, movement has often become a necessity (Delgado). These discriminated groups frequently flee countries and areas they deem dangerous and arrive in what they hope will be new beginnings in safe havens. Thomas' journey is simultaneously filled with literal and figurative migration as he physically moves from Pittsburgh to Oakland after his first gender reassignment surgery and then to New York years later. He feels, like many self-identified queer individuals, that these "liberal cities" are safer. At the same time, Thomas enters into a new world—moving from the world of women and the gender roles that accompany them, and now into the world of men.

This "new world" perspective is extremely common in the immigrant narrative, as for many, entering a new body or country means entering a reality with radically new rules. The language, for example—whether we see this as spoken word or even body language—will be foreign, and the culture can sometimes be shockingly different from what was previously known. In the novel *Stone Butch Blues* by trans activist Leslie Feinberg, we see this perspective highlighted when she equates gender transition with being exiled "from your own sex to borders that will never be home" (Prosser). While the promise of transition may provide hope for many, it is also a movement toward the unknown. Many transgender individuals are left feeling like foreigners, having entered a gendered world that is completely new and unexplored.

Yet, despite this troubling transition, the new body provides an escape from a misgendered self that no longer fits the individual and from a world that could not accept them. Thomas' story begins in Oakland, the city he deems a "land of gay bars" where he would no longer be "defined by trauma," and where he would make normal his "North Star" (McBee 65). As he has moved figuratively, taking the first step to being perceived as male by undergoing chest reconstruction surgery, he also moves literally across the country looking for safer grounds to settle upon. In a way, he is exiled from his childhood home, a place full of trauma where he does not feel he can be accepted, and relocates to a new world. In this new land, there are new borders to explore. On one hand, he must learn to navigate the physical world around him, but he must also come to a new spiritual understanding of self.

McBee calls upon the classic imagery of the explorer, phrases like "the land of" and references to the "North Star" reminiscent of early immigrants who sought out new lands (California, "the land of gold," for example) and who relied on the stars and natural elements to guide them. This interpretation has been common since at least 1995 when trans theorist Jay Prosser, in his analysis on Feinberg's narrative, said that the transgender journey divides its "immigrants" into two distinct sections: "the immigrants who see the new world ... like El Dorado, and the refugees who get bundled in ... without good preparations" (Prosser). Thomas showed early on that he was eager to move, eager to explore new worlds and selves, to seek out his own El Dorado, or perfect place. He used momentum, for example, to escape his own traumatic sexual history. After his father's abuse, Thomas runs "like a deer through the woods," and in doing this, jumps from his father's bedspread "into tomorrow" (McBee 13). Again, the references to deer and woods suggest a natural element to this movement, the true-to-nature crossings that many immigrants rely on when they cannot depend on the people of a country or territory to be so accommodating. Nature, after all, rarely discriminates. By jumping from a "bedspread" into "tomorrow," Thomas moves from a tangible place (his bedroom) into the figurative place of hope (tomorrow), a sentiment shared by many immigrants as they venture into new lands for promised prosperity.

"It's a common narrative," writes queer activist Eric White, "a queer person coming to the city from a rural area or small town, escaping close-minded communities, unaccepting family members, and small-town mentalities." This is exactly what brings Thomas to Oakland, but when he is mugged in the streets and allowed to live only because he is perceived as a woman, we begin to see the glimpse of the "refugee without good preparations." El Dorado fades away. "The antithesis of passing is being read," writes Prosser. For many transgender individuals, passing, or the ability to physically look like the gender you identify with, is the single most important accomplishment (Prosser). McBee writes early on that when he is called "ma'am," the woman greeting him seems to have "tossed the word over her shoulder like a grenade" (17). The use of "grenade" suggests an act of war, a violent example of how words can harm. In a world where the discourse over immigration stems from slurs, misunderstandings, and convoluted language, such as the word "illegals" in border crossing propaganda. This sense of being misunderstood, of being the victim of language, is quite common in the immigrant narrative. While the "ma'am" in McBee's case may have been an accident, purposeful misgendering of individuals has certainly been used as a weapon to invalidate one's identity and to discount the trans narrative. This is seen frequently in the case of Caitlyn Jenner; comments and online dialogue claiming, "he's still a man to me" completely disregard and disrespect Jenner's womanhood and therefore her sense of self.

However, according to Prosser, the influx of recent transgender narratives is revolutionizing transgender dialogue. The "sexed body is no longer [just the] starting point" but the narrative now goes on to "relate the acquisition of culture's gender" (Prosser). Thomas' story does not end when he realizes his true gender identity, nor does it end in Oakland. Thomas' tale spans years and state lines, and cannot be traced from point A to point B. It is expected in many immigrant tales that once the immigrant has landed in their host country, escaped the turmoil of their motherland and begun to learn the culture of the new land, they will be settled and happy. This is rarely the case. In fact, the story of immigration is highly dependent on what happens after the immigrant has settled, as the fight to assimilate, to maintain original culture, and to "fit in" become a lifelong undertaking. Thomas does not settle in his perceived queer utopia but instead, in this new "host land," experiences danger in his urban environment that spurs him to take action. He leaves the comfortable "queer-

safe" bubble he has created for himself and migrates to less accepting areas of the United States in order to map his genetic transformation.

According to Francie Diep in "The Geography of Queer Folks," a recent case study demonstrates that "cities are not all great news for gay men." It has been found, rather, that for many self-identified queer individuals, "big cities [may have] relieved 'place-based minority stress' but also reinforced some men's insecurities [and] low self esteem" (Diep). Thomas has high expectations for his life in Oakland, but the city causes him pain, opening up more questions about his identity than it solves. For Thomas, the city of Oakland is only the first step, a pit stop on his path to true self-understanding. Thomas moves into the city looking for escape but finds himself frozen, as the first section of the memoir indicates. It is not until Thomas is physically threatened that he begins to move, to think about "the running, how good it felt to escape on [his] own legs, to be one with [his] body" (McBee 39). Thomas simultaneously compares being "one with his body" to "escaping his own legs," introducing the delicate reality of the transgender experience: your body may feel familiar and foreign all at once. Like the geographical immigrant who must juggle their mother culture while absorbing new aspects of their host country, the transgender migrant must decide what aspects of their body to keep and which to leave behind. For example, some, but not all, undergo reconstructive surgery for their chests and genitals.

Later, this same sense of movement becomes the catalyst for Thomas' cross-country journey, the road trip that inevitably dictates whether or not he will go through with his gender transition. "Many folks move back and forth between more and less densely populated regions," writes Diep. "[They] derive a lot of their sense of identity from having lived in both" (Diep). Like the immigrant who finds their identity in part from their mother country and their host country, interchanging both worlds and customs, Thomas journeys back to his father's hometown to learn how where he came from might influence where he's going. McBee writes:

> I tried to locate … the moment I had sprung back to life. I kept coming back to … the marvel I'd felt at my body's mechanics … the running an earthquake opening the earth beneath me and yet also a winged possibility, soaring above the shaky ground (43).

In talking of his "body's mechanics," there is a juxtaposition between the "underworld" and the "heavens" and the contrast between the negatively associated "shaky ground" and "earthquake opening" with the hope of "soaring" and "marvel." This, for Thomas, suggests a body in transition. Having yet to transition medically at this point in his tale, Thomas is not yet sure what path his life will take, but he is sure that it involves movement. The more Thomas moves—whether it be running or traveling cross-country—and the more he reaches out to distant relatives and unexplored parts of his life, the more he comes to understand himself and becomes comfortable in his own body.

While Thomas might find enlightenment through his travels, his journey is no easy feat, echoing the story of many immigrants who have gone to new countries or territories looking for freedom and found, instead, harsh criticism and a lack of acceptance. "Heterosexuality and heteronormativity are not 'indigenous to rural areas,'" writes Emily Kazyak, critic of Colin S. Johnson's book, *Just Queer Folks: Gender And Sexuality In Rural America.* "But [they] were constructed there" (Kazyak). There is no doubt that Thomas, at this time still presenting to some as female, felt out of place in the less tolerant South. "I tried not to imagine my Uncle John giving me a long, assessing look," says Thomas, and later, "I tried not to think about … how they'd interpret my androgyny" (McBee 62). Throughout his stay in South Carolina, Thomas is plagued with worries—wondering about everything from how he will be perceived to what pronouns his family might use. Even through this worry, Thomas' self-identity is certain; he never wonders if he is a woman or a man, only how others will "interpret" and "assess" him. The repetition of "I tried not to" conveys Thomas' self-determination. He may not be fully comfortable with himself yet, but he is on his way, resolute and desperately trying not to allow others' hurtful opinions to sway him from the path of self-actualization.

It's a story common to the immigrant experience: when a "foreigner" and perceived "outsider" enters a new territory, they are often treated with hostility and considered "alien" when their differences become too difficult for the dominant society to understand. Similarly, for queer individuals, "the rural United States … operates as America's perennial closet" according to Adam J. Greteman, author of "Country

Queers: Queer Youth and the Politics of Rural America" (65). In the rural United States, surrounded by an abundance of heteronormative perspectives, Thomas' queer identity sticks out like a sore thumb. Yet this southern world still acts as a relief—a safe place to escape the violence Thomas experienced in Oakland. Here, he can finally face his family's past. And Thomas is not the only queer individual to find some sense of safety—even to his own surprise—in the south.

While analyzing the differences between queer urban and rural environments, Kazyak compares the story of a southern man who was treated better in the rural south than he may have been in the city. "The community's reaction to the gender nonconformity [in this case]," writes Kazyak, "was to fire [a cross dresser]. [This is in] stark contrast to the punishments of being jailed or institutionalized faced by men who cross-dressed in urban areas at the time" (Kazyak). Neither option is favorable, but each presents a unique push factor that may influence its residents to leave. Frequently, immigrants leaving a dangerous country find that their new residence is also problematic and dangerous, and yet it remains the safer option. Thomas, similarly, states that, "I had learned growing up that there's no easy place when the world's teeth are showing" (McBee 49). While Thomas confirms that all places are dangerous for transgender individuals, the use of "teeth" is not completely discouraging. While teeth can do damage, they are not all-powerful. Many hard-to-endure realities are considered "biting," suggesting that they will hurt you if they can reach you, but teeth are not sharp, and teeth are easy to avoid if you do not put your hand in the mouth. There may not be a safe space, the world might always be out to get you, but there are ways to maneuver around it, to survive nonetheless.

In this way, the comfort of movement is not derived from the location itself but from the process of this movement. It is a common enough expression: that to persevere, one must keep moving forward, that sometimes the only way out of hell is through. Movement, the conscious choice to live, to put one foot in front of the other, is an act of power. This self-made step allows both the mind and body to expand because each step forward claims new ground: there is comfort to be found in the ability to move, the knowledge that salvation and safety may just mean moving away from the danger.

Heather Hundley, author of "Transactivism and Postmodernity: An Agonistic Analysis of Transliterature" cites the book *Gender Outlaw* in arguing that "the time for discreet and distant observation of transgendered lives seems to be coming to an end. There's more and more evidence that transgendered folks are making a place for themselves in the culture." Transgender individuals have long been silenced, but as Thomas states boldly that he walks "because [he] couldn't afford to be afraid," we begin to see, as Hundley states, an emergence of the transgender self. To move out of the shadows and into the spotlight creates yet another dimension to immigration: claiming space in a world that may be unwelcoming. For Thomas, this movement is necessary. He walks, because to stand still is to be afraid. This sense of shame, of hiding, is more dangerous than the risk of emergence. It is dangerous to the sense of self.

Hundley writes that the "emerging body of transliterature" has, in fact, encouraged community building through "identity construction," a statement with which I believe Thomas would agree (Hundley). The cover of *Man Alive* displays a literally deconstructed man, hands disconnected from arms, feet separate from legs, torso removed from the limbs. Rather than be a disturbing image, however, the picture seems to illustrate the process of coming together, the assembly in action. Just as the body seems to come together and to "build" a man, the story within this memoir explores what it means to *be* a man. This emergence takes the stage. Demanding your true self then becomes an act of power, of moving to the forefront of the discourse. This is vital in all stories of immigration. When the host nation or heteronormative society is left to tell the story, the immigrant or minority is left without a voice, and the narrative is left incomplete. Even when the move to a new country or body has finished, the story is not over. Now, immigrants are demanding one last movement: the move into public spaces and conversations.

"You have this mythology about yourself, and you tell yourself that story again and again, and at some point that story doesn't work," writes Thomas in an interview with Andrew Rose of *Guernica Magazine*. "What is the story now?" (Rose). It's a question that lingers, a question that Thomas explores through every page of his memoir, a question that public politics is concerned with each day. Today, stories remain one-sided—stories from border patrol agents, not the "illegals" that they stop; stories from legislators, not the people affected by the legislation. In real-

izing his true gender identity, Thomas recognizes the story that has been assigned to him and reclaims the narrative. "His meditations on gender reveal how American culture shapes our notions of masculinity, and how we, in turn, are shaped by it," writes Rose. "When McBee turns the lens on himself and shifts from an observer of masculinity to a subject of it, a complex portrait surfaces of a journey through gender identity," Rose says. In this way, the crossing over gender lines is not just one step, but a complete exploration—first through the self, then through the perception of others. "The demand to give an account of oneself [helps] articulate and produce new ways of being, new forms of self," writes Kate Drabinski, author of "Incarnate Possibilities: Female to Male Transgender Narratives and the Making of Self." These perspectives force us to ask: how do our lives change when we are allowed to tell our own stories? For many immigrants, this chance has never been a possibility, but today, more and more people are speaking up and demanding their voice.

"That's another law of physics: nothing created, nothing destroyed," says McBee, drawing us back to his opening note. "We just come back, again and again, and see the deer and hear the creek and taste the ice-cold soda on the back porch" (80). The use of vivid memories—the taste of soda on the back porch—suggests a very human consistency no matter where we journey to. Immigrants, no matter how far away the country is that they have come from, strive to maintain a sense of self that can never be fully wiped out by assimilation. Thomas seems to relate to this idea as he maintains that he—whether he is named Thomas or Page, whether he presents as female or male—is the same person, just one learning new pieces of himself and journeying through new realities. "Self-making," writes Drabinski, "is thus both a making and an unmaking" (308) and for the immigrant story, for the transgender story, this means everything. How do we become our fullest, best selves when we must pick and choose between what to become and what to leave behind? Perhaps, according to Thomas, the true self is a mix-and-match of it all.

In the end, Thomas claims in his normal comparative style that becoming a man feels "brutish and graceful, like boxing, the physical dance of [his] transition" (McBee 161). The contrast of "brutish" with "graceful" conveys the complexity of moving between selves, how one can simultaneously exist between two genders—or in the case of the

geographic immigrant, two countries. In this way, it is not necessary to choose but to take each piece we are given and see if it fits within our overall puzzle of self-identity. Then it truly is a boxing match and a dance: the fight for acceptance is not easy in a world that is always biting, but it must be taken step by careful step. There is first the choice to move (the push factor from the place or being where you once belonged), the destination (the pull factor to the place or being you will become), the arrival (on foreign lands or foreign bodies), and finally, the adjustment. This last step may never truly end, but the day-to-day journey builds character and self-understanding and may in time be made easier as immigrant activists demand their true narrative and acceptance.

There are many types of movement, from an everyday walk across the street, to an adventure to a new country. With transgender stories finally emerging into the spotlight, a new sense of movement has been introduced: the movement from body to body and from gender confusion to self-actualization. When Thomas Page McBee set out across the country to find where he belonged physically, he likely did not consider the simultaneous self-migration underway. *Man Alive* is a story of exploration, a journey from place to place and body to body, suggesting that the avenues in which we explore ourselves and the ways in which we find our true identities are varied, unique, and ultimately shaped by the places we go and the cultures we encounter. In transgender literature, the physical act of movement has served as a metaphor for the transitions of the body, but as seen throughout the course of history, transgender individuals often migrate geographically as well. Now, transgender individuals are making their final migration: the movement into public discourse to reclaim their stories.

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DAI GUERRA

Stigma, Abuse, and Mental Health in the Transgender Population

Dai Guerra, class of 2016, graduated with a degree in Critical Diversity Studies.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

The assignment was to create a capstone project on a topic that interested me. I decided to write a literature review on the stressors that affect different aspects of transgender mental health. My research began by compiling literature to find out what the most prominent stressors were that affected the transgender community and what outcomes had been identified in the previous literature. Using the LGBTQ intersectional ecology model (IEM), I analyzed different stressors as well as protective factors against those stressors and how transgender individuals were being affected by those mental health predictors. The stressors that I focused on were stigma, abuse, and hate crimes. The outcomes that I focused on in my paper were depression, substance abuse, and suicidal ideation. The conclusion includes changes the USF community could make.
  —Dai Guerra

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Dai Guerra belonged to the first graduating cohort of our new USF Critical Diversity Studies program. He selected this timely paper topic based on his strong desire to work with and for the LGBTQ community. In his comprehensive literature review paper, he presents a compelling conceptual model to comprehend key psychosocial stressors affecting transgender mental health. His thoughtful commentary and critical analyses illuminate the myriad preventive interventions that can strengthen well-being and health for this traditionally underserved population. Moreover, he offers his own insights to supporting and affirming our USF transgender students based on the current psychology and gender and sexualities literatures.
  —Kevin Chun, Department of Psychology

Stigma, Abuse, and Mental Health
in the Transgender Population

THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 700,000 TRANSGENDER PEOPLE in the United States (Gates, 2011). According to the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau, 10,279 people have gone through a name change as well as a change in sex coding; of those people 7,106 were male-to-female transgender people and 3,173 of them were female-to-male transgender people (Census, 2010). The demographic breakdown for this population was 89.46% Non-Hispanic, 83.14 % White, 10.54% Hispanic, 6.66% Black, 3.59% two or more races, 3.17% some other race, 1.91% Asian, 1.28% American Indian and Alaskan Native, and 0.26% Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (Census Bureau, 2010). In 2010, there were a total of 2,503 hate crimes reported against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals; 59.5% of those hate crimes included incidents of violence or harassment (Lombardi et. al, 2008; NACVP, 2011). The transgender population faces a rate of discrimination 1.74 times higher than the cisgender community (Miller, 2015; NACVP, 2011). Forty-seven to ninety-one percent of transgender people report facing a form of psychological or physical abuse throughout their lives; of those people 38%–70% reported the physical abuse occurring while they were under 18 years old (Nemoto et. al, 2011; Witten, 2008). Twenty-three to seventy percent of transgender individuals do not report instances of violence or abuse committed against them (Witten, 2008). One reason that victims underreport these crimes is that 17%–40% of police refuse to file reports or do not classify the incident as a violent hate crime (NACVP, 2011). Transgender people who have had experiences with physical violence were 3.7–7 times more likely to experience police violence and 1.4–1.7 times more likely to continue experiencing harassment and threats of physical and sexual violence throughout their lives (NACVP, 2013). This paper aims to present and critique the conceptual model, the intersectional ecology model (IEM) of LGBTQ health, outlining the nature of stressors that transgender people face and their effects on their mental health.

Intersectional Ecology Model of LGBTQ Health

The IEM of LGBTQ health takes elements from the social cognitive theory, the Lazarus model of stress and coping, four conceptual frameworks taken from the Institute of Medicine (IOM) report, and a wellness approach to LGBTQ health in order to come to one main idea. The focus of the IEM is to demonstrate the ways in which a heteronormative society can create and perpetuate a hostile environment for members of the LGBTQ community, negatively impacting their health (Mink, Lindley, & Wienstein, 2014). The IEM refers to LGBTQ groups as distinct sexual orientation and gender identity groups that occur within society. When discussing transgender people the IEM refers to them as people who carry gender-variant identities and expressions (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM is made up of two major components: a social context and the stress cycle.

Social context is the way in which stigma from the dominant culture can affect sexual and other minority groups as well as the ways in which stigma from sexual and other minority groups can affect each other (Mink et al., 2014). The dominant culture demonstrates traits which belong to the hegemonic environment; these traits, in turn, can influence an individual and the minority groups with which an individual identifies. When considering LGBTQ individuals, heteronormativity is considered the dominant culture in society (Mink et al., 2014). When discussing the IEM's relationship with social context, more aspects of an individual's identities are discussed along with the ways in which their identities can impact their health or daily lives.

The relationship of the IEM and social context contains the relationship between stigma and an individual's minority status. Minority status refers to people who are members of a group that has less access to resources due to the distribution of power in society (Mink et al., 2014). Stigma can be summarized as the negative connotations and the lower status associated with the marginalized groups when compared to the majority (Mink et al., 2014). Stigma occurs because of society's fear and judgment of others due to their differences in relation to the privileged groups in society. When experiencing the negative stressors of stigma, in addition to stigma that may result from race or ethnicity, it's important to

recognize where the stressor originates from to further understand how it impacts one's health.

An individual's intersecting identity plays a role in their interactions with others. The ways in which institutions affect the unequal control over society's goods and resources affect the lived experiences of racial and ethnic groups (Mink et al., 2014). Racial and ethnic experiences of LGBTQ individuals are affected by the ways historical and social experiences of their class, gender, race, ethnicity, and geographic location have interacted with each other (Mink et al., 2014). The idea of class structures comes from institutional practices and policies that create ways in which society engages in the unequal treatment of others, which affects the intersectionality of class and LGBTQ identity (Mink et al., 2014). Stigmatized groups and individuals are misrepresented by society, which creates incorrect expectations of those groups that can cause them harm. The IEM focuses on the ways in which the stress cycle is perpetuated and how it affects the LGBTQ community.

The IEM's stress cycle includes concepts taken from the transactional model of stress and coping and adds four contributions to that model. The IEM introduces the circular effect in which outcomes influence future stressors, tailored constructs for greater validity within the LGBTQ population, attribution with the appraisal process, and coping behavior factors that help explain someone's coping methods into the stress cycle (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM focuses on stressors that affect the LGBTQ population at greater rates than other stressors.

The IEM finds that the stressors unique to the LGBTQ community include social stigma, social isolation, risk for discrimination, social avoidance, risk for coercion to change, runaway phenomenon, possible prostitution for economic survival, hypervigilance and self-monitoring, poorly developed dating skills, increased indiscriminate sex, self-hatred, low self-esteem, increased alcohol and drug abuse, increased STD/HIV/ pregnancy risk, family rejection and non-recognition, family harassment and violence, feelings of sinfulness, possible limited police protection, risk for violence and abuse, positive role model deprivation, throwaway phenomenon, impeded same-sex friendships, feelings of inferiority, lack of appropriate social network, increased depression and suicide risk, possible employment loss, and possible eating problems in males (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM finds that traditional stress-related assessment tools

that were used in most previous research did not measure these unique stressors. Valid and reliable instruments need to be created in order to measure stressors that affect the LGBTQ population (Mink et al., 2014). Next, the IEM contributes an appraisal construct to the original model.

In LGBTQ individuals, the appraisal construct is dependent on the connection between a stressful event and a discriminatory cause; the correlation between those two factors determines the degree to which the event can be viewed as a threat and leads to the ways in which others can examine the coping capabilities of the individual (Mink et al., 2014). Coping resources are the mechanisms that an individual uses in order to cope with stressors that they find threatening (Mink et al., 2014). When discussing coping mechanisms that individuals use, the IEM separates them into positive and negative coping mechanisms, as well as explains the reasons as to why each of those mechanisms is used.

Positive coping mechanisms consist of things that deal with stress by getting to a meaningful resolution. In LGBTQ individuals, positive coping mechanisms can include activities that allow the individual to achieve a positive self-identity and adjust in a positive psychological manner (Mink et al., 2014). Negative coping mechanisms that an individual may use include activities that can cause harmful effects or outcomes and do not eliminate stress for that individual (Mink et al., 2014).

The IEM discusses reasons behind an individual's choice of coping methods that would ignore the long-term health outcomes of that method over the usage of a different method. In order to explain why certain methods are favorable over others, the IEM looks at the effectiveness, duration, and cost of different coping methods available to an individual (Mink et al., 2014). Effectiveness is defined by how well the method gives someone an immediate relief of stress without considering the long-term effects of the used coping mechanism (Mink et al., 2014). Duration and costs are defined by the resources required and the amount of effort an individual needs in order to engage in that particular coping strategy (Mink et al., 2014).

In order to study the correlation between health and health status, the IEM focuses on the relationship between the health of LGBTQ individuals and how their health status is affected. The central argument of the IEM is that the negative health outcomes that appear in sexual minority individuals are not due to the characteristics that they possess but rather due to the environment they inhabit (Mink et al., 2014). The next
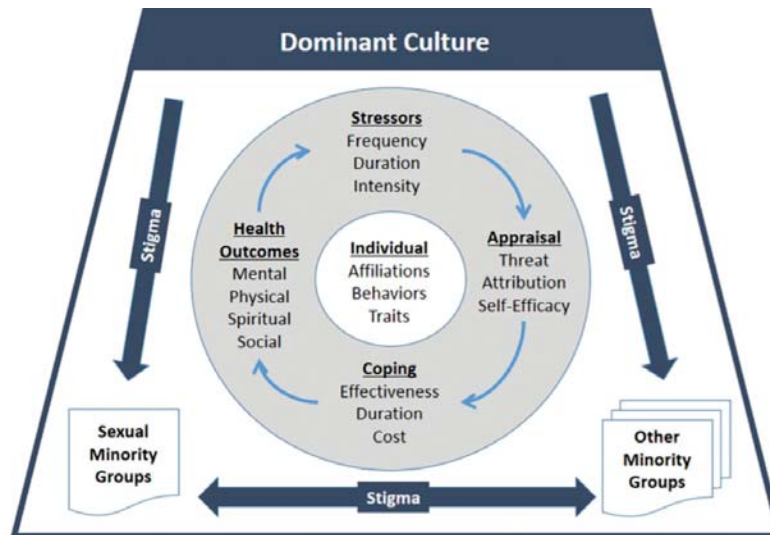
Figure 1. Intersectional ecology model of sexual minority health.
Mink, M. D., Lindley, L. L., & Weinstein, A. A. (2014). Stress, stigma, and sexual minority status: The intersectional ecology model of LGBTQ health. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 26*(4), 502–521.

component of the IEM is the stress cycle which repeats itself throughout the course of an individual's life, demonstrating that negative health outcomes and stressors maintain an ongoing relationship with each other.

Negative health outcomes can contribute as stressors or can create a higher chance of exposure to previous stressors, which perpetuates the circle of stress. Characteristics that an individual holds can shape the ways in which that individual may respond to or cope with stress (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM groups the individual's trait variables into factors they deem unchangeable and others that are modifiable (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM found that there were certain circumstances in which the effects of the stressors on the individual's health would be lessened.

The IEM found that there are some ways the effects of stress can be relieved. They found that the level of comfort that an individual has with their gay identity can have a positive effect on their health status (Mink et al., 2014). The IEM defines gay identity development as the process in which someone who feels attraction towards members of the same sex considers themselves a part of the sexual minority group (Mink et

al., 2014). This form of identity development consists of four stages: sensitization, identity confusion, identity assumption, and identity consolidation (Mink et al., 2014). These two components of the IEM come together to form the main point of the IEM.

The IEM was created to meet the need for a complete LGBTQ health model to demonstrate how the perspectives offered by the IOM could be used together, and to allow for a framework to discuss the ways in which individuals, groups, and environmental factors affect each other (Mink et al., 2014). It shows the ways in which stigma caused by someone's sexual minority identity can accelerate the disease process and perpetuate a stress cycle, and provides a way to conduct future research on the LGBTQ population (Mink et al., 2014).

The IEM has many strengths as a conceptual model, yet it has a few limitations. There are currently no tools to measure stressors in the LGBTQ population as well as no scale of these stressors for the transgender population. There also needs to be more research conducted using the IEM as the framework in order to test the validity of the conceptual model.

Predictors of Mental Health: Risk and Protective Factors

Stigma is one of the predictors for negative mental health outcomes in the transgender population. Stigma is defined as the mechanisms that society uses to maintain their control over groups of people that they deem different from the majority (Hughto, 2015). It is highly linked with the transgender population's adverse health outcomes because it causes increased levels of stress and restricts those individual's access to health resources (Hughto, 2015). Stigma manifests itself in many different forms in society, and one of the forms of stigma that affects the transgender community is structural stigma.

Structural stigma affects the transgender population in different ways depending on the systems that the individual is engaged in. Communities, institutions, and governments use structural stigma to maintain the power and privilege that is inherent to cisgender people, those whose self-identity conforms with the gender that corresponds to their biological sex (Hughto, 2015). Structural stigma has changed not only transgender people, but has also affected the ways in which transgender people

interact with institutions, such as the medical system.

The medicalization of gender nonconformity is one of the ways in which structural stigma has reinforced the idea that transgender people are outside of the norm (Hughto, 2015). This movement led to surgical and hormonal treatments that alters the bodies of transgender patients so that they could better align with the way they identified in terms of their gender (Hughto, 2015). This movement also perpetuates the gender binary, which further stigmatizes those who have not or will not conform to what society expects of them in accordance to their gender identity (Hughto, 2015).

Structural stigma, in addition to affecting their access to employment and housing, also affects transgender individual's health through policies that restrict an individual's access to healthcare (Hughto, 2015). Structural stigma can also affect how transgender individuals are treated within the healthcare system. Witten (2008) provides these examples:

> Billy Tipton comes to mind as [some]one who never accessed healthcare in his lifetime and probably died prematurely because of it ... Also, there is Robert Eades who recently died of medical neglect, after seeking help from at least 20 doctors who refused to treat him for ovarian cancer.

> Tyra Hunter, a Washington, D.C., hit and run victim, who was allowed to bleed to death by an EMT team when they discovered that she was a pre-operative male-to-female transsexual. The EMT team argued that they thought that she was gay and had AIDS. (Witten, 2008)

These two instances in which transgender individuals have been mistreated by the healthcare system leads some individuals in that community to completely avoid the system.

Stigma affects the ways in which individuals interact with the healthcare—and whether to interact with the healthcare system at all. Transgender people often avoid engaging with aspects of the healthcare system because of the stigma that is placed on the system by others and the stigma that the system places on those individuals (Witten, 2008). When discussing healthcare, transgender people have five main reasons as to

why they would rather avoid the healthcare system altogether: lack of confidentiality, lack of experience or qualifications of available healthcare providers, need to educate their providers, lack of a safe environment, and cost associated with the healthcare system (Witten, 2008; McCann, 2015). In terms of confidentiality, transgender people often fear that if they go to a medical practitioner's office, they would be outing themselves and would then be forced to deal with the consequences (Witten, 2008). They feel that it isn't safe to go to the practitioner's office because of the risk of outing themselves; therefore, the healthcare system isn't able to provide these individuals a safe environment. In the words of one individual: "I spent about 10 years lying to doctors and getting inappropriate treatment ... I was convinced that I would be institutionalized if I told the truth" (Witten, 2008). Transgender individuals also avoid the healthcare system due to the fear of discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes and behaviors they feel are carried out by their practitioners (McCann, 2015). Transgender individuals have found that many providers in the healthcare system do not understand the needs of the gender nonconforming community or how those needs can be met. One transgender individual said: "most physicians are clueless...I think the physician who prescribes my testosterone knows less than I do about relevant care issues, blood tests, etc." (Witten, 2008). Another problem was that transgender people found the need to inform their provider about the things that were particular to their experiences as a transgender person and that would only work if that provider was willing to allow the individual to educate them (Hughto, 2015). The final thing that affects transgender individuals, in terms of the healthcare system, is cost; most transgender people will not use their medical insurance in order to avoid being outed. Trans-related items are not usually covered by insurance, and therefore, are considered out-of-pocket expenses for the individual (Hughto, 2015). All of these factors combined not only cause transgender individuals to avoid the healthcare system but also make it difficult to access the system.

Stigma affects much more than just transgender individuals' interactions with the medical system; structural stigma can affect the transgender population in another manner—general policy. Some policies ignore the needs of disenfranchised groups in order to protect the favored group, which suggests that the unprotected group is unworthy of the same protections awarded by the law (Hughto, 2015).

Stigma affects the individual's psychological processes that shape the way that these individuals perceive their orientation in relation to themselves, others, and their environment (Hughto, 2015). Transgender individuals often choose not to disclose their status if others are not able to identify them as transgender. When transgender individuals choose to conceal their identity, it adds stress to their lives, as they wonder when others may discover their stigmatized identity, or if they are responsible for disclosing it to others (Hughto, 2015). Concealing their identity can also limit their ability to use resources allocated to transgender individuals or gain support from others in the community (Hughto, 2015). The different ways that stigma appears in an individual's life has an effect on that individual's mental health and can have an effect interpersonally rather than just structurally.

Transgender individuals may internalize stigma about transgender people and therefore conceal their identity from others. Stigma expressed explicitly can cause identifiable transgender people to deal with more instances of discrimination and thus experience higher rates of negative health outcomes than transgender people who are not recognizable to others (Hughto, 2015). If others can tell that someone's sex, gender identity, and gender expression are not congruent, they may be separated from the rest of society (Miller, 2015).

Transgender individuals often face alarming rates of physical and sexual abuse (Hughto, 2015). In the transgender community, there are higher rates of physical and sexual assault for individuals who are labeled as transgender by cisgender people (Hughto, 2015). Cisgender males have been found to perpetuate physical and sexual assault on transgender victims in order to retain power over them (Hughto, 2015). One individual shared their experience, saying:

> [I was] sexually harassed at the workplace, employer and employees found out that I was a transsexual, and co-workers tried to find out if I was really a man or woman by grabbing at my chest and hair and other body parts. (As cited in Witten, 2008, p.7)

This was just one instance of abuse. However, transgender individuals

often decide not to report these instances of abuse to others.

When transgender people decide not to report they do so for multiple reasons. Transgender individuals decide not to report the hate crimes out of fear that the institutions that are supposed to protect them will only continue discriminate against them (Witten, 2008). One female-to-male (FTM) individual reported:

> Arrested a few yrs ago for possession of cocaine-I was verbally harassed by police ("you mean you have a pussy and not a dick?") and forced to pull my pants down in front of 4-5 cops to prove my gender status. 4 yrs ago at a demonstration cops began beating on me with clubs.

> Police verbal: paraded around police station for amusement - "This guy is really a woman." Police also informed my employer of my transsexualism. I had been stopped and asked for ID - There had been no crime nor suspicion of crime, just a request for I.D. I had a female drivers license, so I was taken into custody for proof of identity. Released without charges. (As cited in Witten, 2008, p. 7)

Because transgender individuals have no one to report these instances to, the stress cycle is perpetuated.

Another stressor that affects the transgender population's mental health is the hate crimes committed against them. Of LGBTQ individuals, transgender people suffer the most victimization. Transgender people are twice as likely as other members of the LGBTQ community to be victims of assault or discrimination and to be seriously injured during those acts of violence, but least likely to receive medical care afterward (Hein, 2012). In 2009, the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act 18 U.S.C. 249 was passed as a federal act (Hein, 2012). This was the first law that provides protection for the LGBTQ population by lengthening the sentences of anyone found guilty of committing a hate crime (Hein, 2012). This act provides protection to the LGBTQ community once a hate crime has been committed against them, but its definition of a hate crime is limited. It defines hate crimes as violent acts attempted or acts resulting in bodily injury with the usage of

fire, firearms, explosive and incendiary devices, or dangerous weapons, but it doesn't include threats of violence or the damage of someone's property (Hein, 2012). Out of the states that do protect against hate crimes, only twelve of those states include gender identity as a basis for a hate crime (Hein, 2012).

When classifying an act of violence as a hate crime there are certain things to consider (Hein, 2012). Hate crimes are unprovoked, and the motive behind a hate crime is generally to harm someone that the perpetrator views as different from themselves (Hein, 2012). Another way hate crimes affect communities is by fostering fear in the individuals, groups, and communities (Hein, 2012). Hate crimes that affect LGBTQ individuals are different from hate crimes that target individuals from other marginalized communities due to the support that they receive.

When it comes to LGBTQ victims of hate crimes, support is often offered to them from individuals who are not necessarily adequately trained in handling these cases. LGBTQ children who are targeted in hate crimes often lack family and community preparation (Hein, 2012). Unlike other hate crime victims, LGBTQ individuals were not warned by their families of the potential hate crime victimization they may face because of their sexual orientation or gender identity (Hein, 2012). Victims of hate crimes who do not receive any support prior to or after the hate crime, cope with more negative mental health outcomes.

Transgender individuals use their community as a method of coping with the discrimination they encounter. While the support that an individual receives from their community does not prevent them from being victimized, it can provide positive health outcomes as they now have a positive coping mechanism to use when they are victimized (Hein, 2012; Pflum, 2015). Peer support can repair the outcomes that stigma and psychological distress have on an individual, validating their resilience (Bockting, 2013).

A support system can help a transgender individual by providing them with others who can validate their experiences with discrimination. In regards to transgender women and their interaction with a support system, it was shown that they were not aware that a community of other transgender individuals was available to them when they first became aware of their transgender status (Pflum, 2015). General social support was found to be linked with lower symptoms of depression and anxi-

ety across the trans female spectrum (TFS) individuals and trans male spectrum (TMS) individuals, yet transgender community connectedness (TCC) was only found to lower symptoms of depression and anxiety in TFS individuals (Pflum, 2015).

The Effects of Stressors on Transgender Mental Health

There are many different effects that a stressor can have on a transgender individual's mental health. According to the IEM, the high rates of negative stressors increases an individual's chances of developing negative mental health outcomes. Whether an individual uses positive or negative coping mechanisms also plays a role in the ways in which the stressors affect their mental health.

One of the mental health problems arising in the transgender population as a result of the stressors they encounter is depression. Nemoto et al. (2011) found that high scores on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (*CES-D*) were linked to the participants lacking social support, experiencing higher rates of transphobic experiences, suicidal ideation, or being from low-income backgrounds. That study also concluded that Latina and White transgender women were more likely to experience higher rates of depression in comparison to other transgender women (Nemoto et al., 2011). The intersection of these women's identities can play a part in the ways that they experience discrimination and stigma; therefore, it can explain the reasons behind the way these stressors are affecting other transgender individuals.

The stressors that cause depression in transgender individuals can affect these individuals differently depending on their ages. According to Nuttbrock et al., 2010, a longitudinal study of 571 male-to-female (MTF) transgender persons reported in young participants' high rates of depression during their adolescence which markedly decreases as they aged. The alarming rates of depression ultimately connect to the alarming rates of suicidal ideation within the transgender population.

Transgender individuals have to deal with a multitude of stressors that affect their mental health. These mental health problems contribute as stressors to these individuals' lives, perpetuating the stress cycle introduced by the intersectionality ecology model of LGBTQ health (IEM). Another mental health problem that occurs for transgender individu-

als perpetuated by the stressors is suicidal ideation. Many stressors that transgender individuals face can cause suicidal ideation, and they all affect members of the community differently. Transgender individuals are overall at a greater risk of suicide attempts and ideation when compared to other LGBTQ groups, with lesbians being the only group scoring higher (Mathy, 2002; Herbst, 2007). Mathy (2002) also found that there was a significant relationship between a transgender individual's past psychiatric history and the rates of suicide attempts.

One of the stressors that contributes to suicidal ideation or suicide attempts is physical or sexual violence. Transgender women and men who have experienced physical violence reported higher rates of suicidal ideation, as well as a history of suicide attempts among transgender women (Bongar, 2012). In a study conducted by Bongar (2012), rates for suicidal ideation were higher among transgender women and men who experienced sexual assault, sexual violence, and rape.

Another factor contributing to individuals' rates of suicidal ideation was age. When looking at two different age groups, both groups responded differently to abuse as a stressor and suicidal ideation as the outcome. Suicide and abuse rates declined as younger respondents went into postadolescence, and declined for older participants as they went into early young adulthood (Nuttbrock et al., 2010). As the older adults reached early and later middle age, the rates of suicide and abuse were significantly correlated (Nuttbrock et al., 2010).

Transgender individuals also reacted differently to stressors based on whether or not others could identify them as transgender. Miller (2015) found that transgender people who identify as transgender were more likely to attempt suicide. The higher rates of suicide attempts in this population were likely due to the fact that these individuals faced instances of discrimination on a regular basis (Miller, 2015). The IEM demonstrates that stigma can affect an individual's mental health and lead them to contemplate suicide.

Another effect that these stressors have on a transgender individual's mental health is a higher chance of substance abuse and engagement risky behaviors. Transgender individuals who had attempted suicide also reported high rates of alcohol and drug usage (Mathy, 2002). Transgender individuals who were identified as transgender by others were more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol when compared to the transgender

individuals who were able to pass along the gender binary (Miller, 2012). Transgender individuals all have different stressors that might lead them to engage in these behaviors as their coping mechanisms.

Bongar (2012) found that transgender men who had experiences with sexual violence were more likely to abuse alcohol than transgender women. In terms of drug abuse, the rates were more prevalent in transgender women than men (Bongar, 2012). Transgender women reported higher numbers of sexual partners, engagement in unprotected sex, participation in sex work, or combining sex with alcohol or drugs. They were also found engaging in higher rates of unprotected sex with sex work clients (Herbst, 2007). The reasons that transgender individuals resort to these coping mechanisms vary.

Transgender individuals engage in these behaviors due to the stressors that they face, yet they all gave different reasons for choosing these methods. Transgender individuals often enter into prostitution or experience drug usage at young ages due to financial hardships (McCann, 2015). Herbst (2007) hypothesizes that transgender women use risky sexual behavior to affirm their identities as women. Herbst (2007) found that transgender men did not engage in similar sexual behaviors as transgender women. Transgender individuals responded differently when faced with hate crimes.

Transgender individuals who had faced hate crimes had different mental health outcomes than those who had faced other stressors. Hate crimes have three main consequences on an individual: it destroys an idea of personal invulnerability, results in a decrease sense of self-worth, and ruins their concept of the world as logical and reasonable (Hein, 2012). Besides these, there are many other effects that a hate crime has on a transgender individual. A hate crime can cause psychological distress, anger, diminished self-efficacy, sleep disturbances, self-blame, victim blaming done by others, internalized homophobia, loss of trust in others, and suicidal ideation (Hein, 2012).

Corrective rape, rape committed by a heterosexual person against a LGBTQ individual in hopes of changing their behavior (Hein, 2012), is the form of rape that has been shown to have the most harmful consequences for the victim (Hein, 2012). Hein (2012) found that among the survivors of corrective rape, there was an elevated number of individuals diagnosed with PTSD. The stress caused by this hate crime leads to

numerous mental health concerns for the individual—which can, in turn, perpetuate the stress cycle. When these individuals are not seeking treatment for the mental health concerns that are being elevated due to their stressors, it causes them to seek other methods of coping which leads to an increase in their stressors.

Conclusion

Transgender individuals face different types of stressors throughout their lives that have negative health outcomes but traits such as optimism, autonomic reactivity and resilience can relieve these negative effects. (Mink et al., 2014). Optimism, defined as the tendency to expect positive or good outcomes when faced with difficulties, helps individuals because they are more likely to participate in action-oriented problem-focused coping mechanisms that emphasize positive appraisals in those stressful situations (Mink et al., 2014). Individuals who have quiet autonomic nervous systems may also be less affected by stress (although more research is needed to show how reactivity affects the experience of stress for those individuals) (Mink et al., 2014). Resiliency is defined as the ability to recover from psychological trauma as well as having a successful adaptation to challenges or changes (Mink et al., 2014). These traits, as well as a support system, can change the ways in which these stressors affect the individual due to the use of positive coping strategies rather than resorting to negative strategies.

At the University of San Francisco (USF), there are concerns about the services offered to transgender students, which are similar to the concerns by the transgender community shown by Witten (2008). When it comes to using services offered to transgender students, the main concerns are lack of outreach, access, and culturally sensitive staff. Transgender students at USF are not currently aware of the services that are offered to them by the student body. Often these individuals resort to using each other as a support system, finding each other through Queer Alliance (QA) or social media. Transgender students often become aware of services due to others in their community informing them about those services, such as Queer Alliance, Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS), or gender-inclusive housing. The school, however, doesn't have a central location in which these services are advertised to transgender

students; therefore, more methods should be created to share this information. One method that the school could use in their outreach would be to put the messages on social media platforms that transgender individuals use with each other. Additionally, while creating messages on these platforms, it is important to make sure that those messages are culturally appropriate, achievable through the use of culturally appropriate messages, like posters that explain pronoun usage, brochures that list all the available resources to students with contact information for those offices, or marketing off-campus events relevant to transgender individuals.

While USF offers a Gender and Sexuality Center, that location doesn't house all of the resources that are offered to the transgender community. It would be helpful to centralize these resources to one location or to have information available about the resources offered at multiple places on campus. One way in which the information could be shared is through the Queer Alliance (QA) weekly newsletter. Another way in which the information about these resources could be distributed is through New Student Orientation with a pamphlet that lists the resources that USF provides to transgender students with a map of where the gender-inclusive bathrooms are located.

Some of these resources are more accessible to some of these students rather than others, sometimes it just comes down to the times that some of these services are offered. CAPS offers gender and sexual minority group support, but often at a time that is not convenient for all students.

Within the transgender community, students discuss the negative aspects of some of the resources offered to them and that also deters others from using those resources. The problems that transgender individuals share with each other center around the staff in charge of these resources. Many of the staff that interacts with transgender students do not understand the transgender students' experiences and do not respond properly or with the appropriate care that is needed. One example in which the staff doesn't interact with transgender students in a culturally appropriate manner is in regards to the conduct review process at USF. Often when students have reported sexual assault cases, the person that they meet with continues to use incorrect names while misgendering the student even after being corrected numerous times. This makes it so that the student would rather not report any sexual assault cases due to the

environment they are placed in when having to discuss the situation with officers or others involved with their case. USF needs to put people in these offices who are understanding of transgender students' needs and work with those students to understand what it is that would further support them. The staff needs further training and more resources in order for them to keep up-to-date with culturally appropriate care for transgender students. For example, they need to be informed on the language and the terms, such as cisgender, meaning a person whose self-identity conforms with the gender that corresponds to their biological sex, that is used within the community that these students use to describe others or themselves (Hughto et al., 2015). When training the staff in culturally appropriate care, it is important for these terms to be introduced as well as updated because the language is constantly changing and knowing the terms tells transgender students that the staff is informed on their issues. Another thing that could be done is when these staff members introduce themselves, they do so by including their preferred pronouns and making pronoun use a constant practice among all student and staff populations.

Gender-inclusive housing is one example in which USF attempted to be more inclusive towards the transgender community but the situation had a undesired impact on that community. The gender-inclusive housing community didn't solve any of the housing problems that were previously occurring in the resident halls for transgender students because there was no screening process made for the individuals placed into the community. The way gender-inclusive housing was organized for the 2015-2016 academic year, allowed for a hostile environment to be created in which heteronormative standards were still perpetuated and affecting the transgender students in that community. Something that needs to be changed in regards to the gender-inclusive community is the way that we introduce it to the student population as well as which students it is made available for. When looking into the changes that USF implements in order to be inclusive of the transgender population, it is important to recognize the needs of these students and understand that their needs are different because the stressors they face are different from cisgender students.

A lot more research needs to be done on the transgender population and the stressors that affect their mental health. More efficient measures must be created in order to continue the research on how these stressors

affect the transgender population. The measures should assess the types of stressors in relation to their effects on transgender individuals' health. In regards to the measures that would be created, there needs to be clear definitions as to what the stressors are and the ways in which they contribute to the negative health outcomes in the transgender population. For example, a metric needs to be created that measures the different types of stigma that affect transgender individuals such as structural and individual stigma. A method used in Chile to study stigma and discrimination in gay men and transgender women was a mixture of three scales: Subjective Scale of Stigma and Discrimination (SISD), Scale of Discrimination Events, and the Scale of Victimization Events (Barrientos et al. 2014). These measures can be translated and used in conjunction with the IEM to conduct future research on the ways in which these individuals are directly affected by stigma. Since tools used to measure stressors in the transgender population are limited or not used in the United States, there is no accurate research on the extent to which these stressors affect the transgender population's mental health.

In terms of intersectionality, a lot of research still needs to be done in regards to how those identities add to the stressors that these individuals already face. The IEM lends itself well to the discussion on the intersectionality of gender, class, and education by promoting an awareness in the ways in which one would start to affect the other and continue to contribute to negative health outcomes for these individuals. One of the aspects of intersectionality that needs more research is the way in which class intersects with gender identity and how socioeconomic class can exacerbate stressors in transgender individuals. Socioeconomic class has an effect on whether the individual is able to get procedures done to help them not be identified as transgender by society. As shown previously, people who are identified as transgender face these stressors at higher rates and the stressors have a higher chance of affecting them negatively. It is important to see how this plays as a stressor for individuals who have no choice in how others read them or the coping methods that they engage in due to their socioeconomic status. Another way in which SES affects a transgender individual is in the methods that they resort to due to their income status. Many of these individuals are drawn to prostitution, creating more health risks for themselves. These individuals often do not have a stable home environment or a nurturing school

environment; therefore, they resort to sex work to gain some money as well as a community for themselves. The marginalization of their identity as transgender women makes it so that they often have few educational opportunities, which can also prevent them from gaining higher paying jobs, which would keep them from resorting to sex work. The place where interventions need to be held in order to keep these individuals from resorting to sex work to gain a sense of belonging starts with the family structure. When looking at changes that could be made, it's important to create family interventions that would alleviate some of the parent–child conflict that occurs when an individual comes out to their parents as transgender. In this alleviation of that conflict, there should be training on how to communicate with an individual as they are forming their transgender identity. More research needs to be conducted using the IEM as a foundation.

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AKANA JAYEWARDENE

Twenty-first Century Placemaking: Finding a Sense of Home in a Supermodernized, Hyperglobalized World

Akana Jayewardene, class of 2016, earned a degree in Architecture and minored in Philosophy.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

This paper focuses on what makes a person feel "at home" in a particular environment, and the physical form this home takes. Humankind, having no-madic roots, still wanders the globe for numerous reasons from better op-portunities to safer neighborhoods. Urban centers are faced with an ever increasing influx immigrants and refugees. Of the many people zig-zagging across the world, only some are fortunate enough to have chosen to do so. Many are displaced due to conflicts and environmental disasters. But with displacement comes placemaking, and this paper delves into architectural theories of placemaking, as well as practices seen through the study of im-migrant neighborhoods. The link between immigration and architecture is one that I closely examine through field research conducted in Little Saigon. Here I begin to explore the means by which immigrants establish a home in a foreign city. As migrants flood to the urban centers of the world, they change the fabric of the city, and the city in turn influences the architecture of their establishments. This paper explores the relationship between im-migration, placemaking, and the subsequent effects on the city.
　　　　—*Akana Jayewardene*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

I had the honor of working with Akana Jayewardene in 2015–2016. In this project Akana explores the idea of placemaking. Akana rightfully points out that a central feature of modern experience for most, if not all people, is the loss of an inter-generational connection and belonging to a particular place, an ancestral home that provided a sense of meaning and belonging that reaches back millennia. Modern humans, as Akana argued, have become neo-nomads: drifters, border-crossers, and world travelers. Has the idea of home become anachronistic or impossible? According to Akana, and explained through her analysis of neighborhoods in San Francisco, the answer is, no. We carry home with us in our cosmopolitan sojourns, and place is made in our new homes thousands of miles away from ancestral homes. And we make home wherever in the world we land. Thus, this dynamic has influenced the practice of architecture. Architects are migrants, since they too have experienced migration or been formed by the cultural, social, and political reverberations of migration; and migrants and their communities have influenced and engaged in architecture. Akana's concluding question not only presses fellow architects and theorists of place to engage in serious critical reflection about the future of architecture, but it also hangs over every one of our heads as we contemplate how we dwell in the world.
　　　　—*Ronald R. Sundstrom, Department of Philosophy*

Twenty-first Century Placemaking:
Finding a Sense of Home in a Supermodernized, Hyperglobalized World

Global Migration Flows: San Francisco

Raised on the island of Sri Lanka for the first 18 years of my life, I was privileged to call the teardrop-shaped landmass in the Indian Ocean my home. I did not question my notion of home. I was steadfast in my belief that my island would always be my home and my place in the world. When my immediate family relocated to Europe and I moved to San Francisco to pursue my education, my notion of home that had previously seemed so stable was thrown into a state of flux. Was my "home" where my family was, or where I had grown up? Was it with the people I shared so many memories, or in the places I had made those memories? Neither my parents' new house nor Sri Lanka felt like my home anymore. And San Francisco—still a foreign city to me—wasn't home either. I felt displaced.

Not knowing my place in the world transformed into a nagging question over my four years of being away from Sri Lanka: How does the globalized subject find the notion of home? In the world today, it is more and more common to migrate, whether it be from a rural village to a burgeoning metropolis, or across oceans, and from East to West. How does one find a sense of place in an era where places are swapped out like musical chairs? With the ever-increasing flow of people through the thriving metropolises of the world, homes are often made with ease and given up with the same ease. Places are adopted only to be abandoned with a combination of grief and nonchalance. How do these homes manifest themselves in the urban fabric of the globalized cities of the 21st century?

Migration is not a new phenomenon for the human species. Our ancestors, after all, ventured to the far reaches of the globe from the African continent some 60,000 years ago. The world is populated as it is today because of migration. People today drift from place to place for a plethora of reasons; some migrate to escape wars and conflict, others in search of better economic conditions, and others simply in search of something new.

Brian Treanor, Professor of Philosophy at Loyola Marymount University, stated during his 2015 Davies Forum lecture titled "Hermeneutics, Place and the American West," that society as a whole idolizes the drifter. We perceive someone with the fluidity to move and travel as having freedom deserving of envy. Treanor elaborates that individuals—specifically those of the American West—are trapped in a social model between the open road and the pangs of nostalgia. Migration in the modern world happens between places, but at the same time, without places. In Treanor's words, the wanderlust experienced by much of the world has created "existential tourists." He makes the distinction between "locust migration" and "traditional, seasonal and social migration," stating that the former occurs from space to space, whereas the latter from place to place. How does the migrant, perhaps caught between the exhilaration of a new place and the longing for home, retrieve a sense of place in today's metropolises?

Take for instance the city of San Francisco: It is increasingly rare to find someone born and raised here. Most inhabitants of the city are immigrants. According to a University of Southern California study on immigration to San Francisco, in 1860 half of the city's population was immigrant. According to data collected from 2008-2010, 283,000 migrants live in San Francisco—53% of the total population. Of these migrants 28% are from China, 9% from the Philippines, 9% from Mexico, and 7% from Vietnam. It is important to note that this data overlooks migration into San Francisco from within the United States itself. San Francisco's urban fabric has taken form in response to the flow of immigrants bringing different cultures into the city. In much the same way, immigrants moving into the city have adapted their homes and streetscapes in different ways in order to orient themselves and retrieve a sense of place in a foreign landscape.

As economies boom and collapse across the globe, the flow of people into and out of cities surges. People today no longer stay rooted to the soil on which they were born, but instead move fluidly across the globe in search of favorable economic conditions. Society has reverted to a form of nomadism, roaming from city to city and home to home. Many modern individuals have become detached from the ties to place that are so ubiquitous in native cultures even today.

How does the globalized subject find the notion of home in a su-

permodernized world? What does this home look like? Has society's neo-nomadic life style changed the appearance of architecture to better facilitate such a society? With the influx of culturally diverse migrants, the urban fabric of the city evolves.

Placemaking: Theories and Practice

The idea of "placemaking" is one that has been deeply considered by architectural theoreticians, philosophers, and anthropologists alike. Different cultures across the world at varied points in history have undertaken the act of placemaking in unique ways. While some approaches are dependent on deep spiritual ties with the land itself, other approaches focus on the character exuded by a certain place. Only by exploring the distinct facets of placemaking does it become possible to better understand how a sense of place can be retrieved in a world where displacement is rampant.

Placemaking, as undertaken by the Koyukon Tribe of the Athapaskan region in Northern Alaska stands in stark contrast to placemaking in most Western societies. In his book *Make Prayers to the Raven*, Richard K. Nelson, American cultural anthropologist and writer, observes that the lives of the Koyukon are patterned according to the landscape, the rotating cycle of light and darkness, and the relentless turning of the seasons (33). It is evident through Nelson's book that the Koyukon have been more prominently shaped by their landscape than vice versa. The terrain is said to look uninhabited, despite having been lived on by tribes such as the Koyukon for hundreds of years. Nelson writes that the inability for a Westerner to see such a pristine landscape and be able to fathom that it is, in fact, being utilized shows that Western society cannot perceive of living on the land without fundamentally changing its original form. This, I believe, constitutes one of the most significant discrepancies between Western ideals of placemaking and that of the Koyukon.

The Koyukon harbor a deep tie to the land—in both its physical and spiritual reality. They inherit a complex system of supernatural beliefs that explain and govern the environment. In their worldview, the natural and supernatural realms are inextricable. Placemaking for the Koyukon is not simply a physical process, but a spiritual one. Nelson writes that "the traditional Koyukon people live in a world that watches, in a forest of

eyes. A person moving through nature—however wild, remote, even desolate the place may be—is never truly alone. The surroundings are aware, sensate, personified. They feel. They can be offended. And they must, at every moment, be treated with proper respect" (14). Placemaking in such a world is undertaken with caution. The Koyukon act in accordance with nature. They understand that they live in a world ultimately governed by the natural and supernatural powers of the environment, and thus, they dwell on the land with the utmost respect and care.

Unlike most Euro-American societies that are able to outsource their needs for food and water, the Koyukon are entirely dependent on the land for their survival. They know they are at the mercy of the terrain and the seasons. Nelson remarks: "[T]hey perceive the environment as a conscious, sensate, personified entity, suffused with spiritual powers, whose blessings are given only to the reverent" (226). Even so, the Koyukon are mindful that their actions do have consequences on their environment. As observed by Nelson, the Koyukon have made an important leap, moving away from the impulse of the immediate to an ethic of the future. They know only to harvest from the land what can be replenished and to waste nothing. Only then will the land be able to sustain their existence upon it. The form of placemaking carried out by the Koyukon allows their terrain to function in much the same way it would without their presence.

The Phenomenology of Place

Placemaking through the phenomenological lens of Norwegian architect Christian Norberg–Schulz takes into consideration the notion of "dwelling." In *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, he first establishes the importance of place—"it is meaningless to imagine any happening without reference to a locality. Place is evidently an integral part of existence!" (6). Here "place" means something more than a mere location. Norberg–Schulz goes on to describe places as enclosures. He refers to them as "insides" that gather what is known. He cites Robert Venturi describing architecture—man-made places—as the wall between the inside and the outside. The existential purpose of architecture is to make a space become a place—to uncover the meaning present in the given site and environment. Thus it can be argued that according to this

view, "places" arise through the creation of architecture.

Norberg–Schulz then considers what it means for man to "dwell" in a place. He refers to German philosopher Heidegger's definition of dwelling: "the way in which you are and I am, the way in which we humans are on the earth, is dwelling" (10). He elaborates that visualization, complementation, and symbolization are aspects of settling. Therefore, dwelling, in an existential sense, is dependent on these actions. Norberg–Schulz explains that when man dwells, he is at the same time located in space and exposed to a particular environment. He asserts that in order for man to dwell in a place, he must be able to orient himself with the place and identify himself with the place: "to gain an existential foothold man has to be able to orientate himself; he has to know where he is. But he also has to identify himself with the environment, that is, he has to know how he is a certain place" (Norberg–Schulz 19). Orientation and identification, according to Norberg–Schulz, are essential components of placemaking.

A successful dwelling is said to provide the dweller with a sense of emotional security. This security, according to Norberg–Schulz, is what distinguishes dwelling. He quotes Heidegger, who asserts that "dwelling means to be at peace in a protected place" (22). Thus, he infers that to be lost is the opposite of the feeling of security which characterizes the dwelling. Displacement can be argued to induce this sense of feeling lost. How does a displaced subject regain a sense of place and regain a secure dwelling place? Norberg–Schulz theorizes that "without reducing the importance of orientation, we have to stress that dwelling above all presupposes identification with the environment" (20). He writes of places—foreign cities, for example—that embody different characters which the individual is drawn to. This character, whether it be from the climate of the place or the other people dwelling in the place, allows the subject to identify with it. He comments on how people sometimes construct their identity based on place by stating, "I am a New Yorker" or "I am a Roman." Even today where people are often far away from their location of origin, the question "Where are you from?" is ubiquitous. There is a strong sense of pride associated with one's place of origin.

Norberg–Schulz, however, counters his own argument stating that it is possible to orient oneself without true identification. He elaborates that people do get along without feeling completely "at home" in their

environment. In contrast to societies like the Koyukon Tribe, where even the most minute environmental details are meaningful, Norberg–Schulz remarks that in modern society "attention has almost exclusively been centered on the 'practical' function of orientation, whereas identification has been left to chance" (21). Perhaps this lack of identification with the land has caused modern society to be reckless with its environment. Placemaking is inhabited without substantial ties to the land, or with temporary—and often expendable—connections. The globalized subject sinks roots only so deep into the land, in anticipation of a future uprooting. Norberg–Schulz concludes his piece stating that when God ordered Adam to be a fugitive and wander the Earth, he faced man with his most basic problem: that of regaining his lost place.

While Norberg–Schulz writes about placemaking in an existential sense at the larger scale of the city, French philosopher Gaston Bachelard theorizes about placemaking at the more intimate scale of the home. In *The Poetics of Space* Bachelard explores the intersection of memory and imagination catalyzed by space. He elaborates "we are never real historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost" (6). Bachelard writes that the memories formed within the home have a tonality that will never be had by memories formed in the outside world and thus, by recalling memories of home, we add to our store of dreams. Our home, he writes, is our corner of the world—our first universe.

The home is experienced in both reality and virtuality, by thoughts and dreams alike. Thus, Bachelard notes, an entire past comes to dwell in a new house. The first home, as romanticized by Bachelard, is always carried with the individual as memories fixed in space. He argues that the more securely memories are fixed in a space—in this case the space of the home—the more accurate they are. But he goes on to argue that "imagination augments the values of reality" (3). Memories from the old home, augmented by imagination, conjure feelings of nostalgia, as referenced by Brian Treanor. Bachelard argues that through these dreams rooted in reality, augmented by imagination, our various dwelling places intersect and retain the treasures of the past.

The globalized nomad of the twenty-first century carries with him romanticized notions of his first home. The new home—be it a city or a dwelling—is impregnated with memories of the former home. In this

way, the nomad or the migrant orients and identifies themselves with the new environment. How does the romanticization of the home manifest itself in modern society? As cities sprawl across the landscape, individuals latch onto small spaces that they have some control over. The home and the neighborhood are the building blocks of how we identify with and orient ourselves to vast metropolises. Cities, in some cases, have grown too large to completely identify with. For example, within San Francisco, residents identify as being from the Mission District or from North Beach.

The neo-nomad, migrant of the twenty-first century, is forced to identify with the small spaces—the romanticized nooks and crannies written about by Bachelard. The traditional nomads also carry their "homes" with them. Caravan, family mementos, the traveler's backpack are all ways in which placemaking is done on the move. It is ironic that the notion of home is so passionately romanticized by the nomad, someone not usually associated with having a home in the conventional sense.

By bringing the familiar to the foreign, a secure dwelling place can be created. Bachelard writes that "in its countless alveoli space contains compressed time. That is what space is for" (11). This begs the question of the temporal aspect of placemaking. Given sufficient time, does any place become a home? Is familiarity the fundamental aspect of placemaking, or do external factors that allow one to orient to and identify with the landscape predicate whether a space can become a place? Using San Francisco as a case study, I will delve into the act of placemaking as seen in the distinct neighborhoods of Chinatown, the Mission District, and Little Saigon (part of the Tenderloin).

Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy

Stephen Cairns, director of the Future Cities Laboratory in Singapore, delves into this topic in his book *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*. He references Norberg–Schulz, who writes that man is a wanderer. Man is always on the way, implying a possibility of choice. Man is said to have the luxury of choosing his place. Cairns quotes Norberg–Schulz stating that "this dialectic of departure and return, of path and goal, is the essence of that existential 'spatially' which is set into work by architecture" (Norberg–Schulz; Cairns 13). Architecture, then, plays an important role

in humankind's placemaking endeavors. In his book, Cairn's addresses the various pairings of architecture and migrancy. He writes of architecture-by-migrants, architecture-for-migrants, architects-as-migrants, the migrancy of architecture itself, and the physicality of these pairings.

Architecture-*by*-Migrants

Architecture-by-migrants, as Cairns describes it, manifests itself on the urban fabric in three distinct forms—the ethnopolis, the expat-town, and various colonial hybrids. The adaptations carried out by migrants on the architecture of their destinations are evident in many contemporary cities: "Mexican and Salvadorian makeovers or suburban bungalows in Los Angeles; Cuban Catholic shrines in Miami's Little Havana; Vietnamese market-gardens in inner-city Melbourne; Bangladeshi mosques within the Georgian urban fabric of London's East End; and hyper-real Hindu temples in the outskirts of Toronto" (Cairns 18). So, as the city shapes migrant architecture, migrant taste cultures, in turn, shape the architecture of the city.

The ethnopolis, for instance, takes shape as immigrants from relatively homogenous ethnic backgrounds concentrate and process choices and constraints. An example of such an ethnopolis is San Francisco's Chinatown, "now [exemplifiying] the stock elements of any multiculturally inclined urban planning strategy and municipal tourist promotion campaign seeking to capitalize on local marks of distinction," as Cairns describes it (18). He elaborates that the identification of such ethnic enclaves as "Little Italy" and "Little Saigon," articulates homeland nostalgias. It is imperative to note, however, these enclaves—as in the case of San Francisco's Chinatown—came about as the result of segregation.

The expat-town, unlike the ethnopolis, encapsulates notions of the international, universal, and modern, while the latter embodies the ethnic, exotic, and differentiating facets within the larger urban aesthetic. Cairns further elaborates about the expat-town that "unlike the urban enclave which articulates difference, these architectures of migrancy often self-consciously embody a unified taste culture that is explicitly 'international' in character" (19). In addition to this "international style" the architecture/migrancy pairing has also brought about stylistic amalgamations such as Khmer postmodernism, Javanese moderne, and, in India,

where this phenomenon has been particularly well thematized, Punjabi Baroque, Tamil Tiffany and Chandni Chowk Chippendale" (19). Cairns writes that migrancy contributes to architecture unorthodox, stylistic expressions, bricoleur aesthetics, and an everyday semiotics of the exotic.

Cairns brings to light the distinction between the architecture-*by*-migrants and architecture-*for*-migrants. The term "migrant" itself is said to carry connotations of traumatic displacement. Cairns writes that in the construction of architecture-for-migrants (disaster relief shelters, refugee camps, prisons) "the architect's agency—asserted on the basis of a diminished migrant's agency—remains in place" (28). This differs from placemaking undertaken in the architecture-by-migrants pairing, where migrant agency is pre-eminent. Architecture-for-migrants brings about the dilemma of constructing a sense of place for immigrants with different cultural backgrounds. Cairns cites architect Rem Koolhaas who asserts that "bums are the ideal clients of modern architecture: in perpetual need of shelter and hygiene, real lovers of the sun and the great outdoors, indifferent to architectural doctrine and to formal layout" (qtd. in Cairns 249). Should this indifference to architectural doctrines be capitalized on and in the formulation of an international style? Has it already been?

Architects-*as*-Migrants

This notion is dissected by Cairns under the pairing "architects-as-migrants." He writes that the derivation of the international style from a mainstreamed modernism cannot be understood without an awareness of the migratory dynamic. Cairns goes on to attribute this international style to the migration of architects from Germany to the United States and various other locations across the globe.

He writes that "globally significant architectural themes come to be narrated through highly personal circumstances that carry all the poignancy, trauma and difficulty of migrant experiences" (29). Cairns cites architecture historian Sibyl Moholy–Nagy who calls this "the drama and farce of diaspora architecture" (29).

The relationship between architecture and migrancy, as explained by Cairns, is a formulation that, at the same time, draws from and unsettles modern notions of subjectivity and place. Migrancy—at least in

the voluntary sense—as described by Macolm Bull, referenced by Cairns, "presupposes a capacity to see yourself somewhere else, and the capacity to see yourself depends on the surface in which you are looking" (Cairns 40). The migrant must be able to conjure an image of herself into being in that other place.

The spatial predicament of the migrant as elaborated by Norberg–Schulz is that he is trapped between his place of birth and place of desire; between the nostalgias of home and the adventures of the open road. Cairns writes that the architecture that results is imbricated with the effects of a certain kind of movement that, in his words, carries ongoing, multiple, intermittent, and intensified investments in place.

Culture Turned Commodity: Chinatown, San Francisco

The evolution of San Francisco's Chinatown—home to the largest Chinese population outside of Asia—illustrates how the city's urban fabric morphed to accept an influx of culturally distinct migrants. Furthermore, the phenomenon of Chinatown depicts how migrants in a foreign land constructed a sense of place in the form of a neighborhood confined to eight blocks along what was then Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue).

Chinatown's inception can be attributed to segregation carried out by the city of San Francisco. In the essay *Another View of Chinatown: Yun Gee and the Chinese Revolutionary Artists Club*, author Anthony W. Lee writes of the German photographer, Arnold Genthe, famous for photographing Chinatown before and after the 1906 earthquake. Lee writes that when the photographer visited the rebuilt quarter after the quake, he was not fooled by its "new, tourist-friendly glitter" (166).

The photographer is reported to have specifically listed this new Chinatown's faults—from its fabricated architecture to its carefully offered commodities and consumer driven etiquette (166). Based on these accounts, it can be concluded that Chinatown had metamorphosed into the tourist attraction we see today post-earthquake. The Chinese migrants, in a sense, commodified their own neighborhood.

Anthony W. Lee provides a photo taken by Genthe of confiscated opium being burned in the streets of the rebuilt Chinatown. The picture depicts a crowd gathered on the street watching the illicit substance being destroyed. Lee writes that "what was being burned was not the body of

a particular sinner but the recalcitrant body of underground Chinatown itself" (168). This instance illustrates that Chinatown, although new and glittery, was still a highly regulated neighborhood. Placemaking by the migrants had to take place under strict parameters. The boundaries of Chinatown's streets were only permeable in one direction.

Chinatown, as we experience it today, is still a dual simulation. Lee writes that while on the one hand it is a fabulous fabrication designed to cater to the desires of its visitors, on the other hand it is a careful ethnic dissimulation. Lee continuous, "the insistence on things to buy, strategically displaces concerns over the quarters' social, economic, and sometimes moral abjection" (168). The glitzy façade of Chinatown, which the Chinese themselves ought to be held accountable for, according to Lee, functions as a distraction from the social injustices that have taken place. Lee explains that through the "self-conscious fabrication of a consumerized ethnic subculture" (171), Chinese immigrants in San Francisco were able to strike a nationalist political stance.

The Chinese were able to express a nationalist identity by painting, categorizing, and displaying various kitsch products of their culture. Lee elaborates that "in the early development of touristic Chinatown, the collected objects and colorful environment inspired a collective wish-image for a nation-state" (171). Through the exoticization of their culture, Chinese migrants were able to create a politicized yet touristic living environment. Placemaking by the Chinese took place in a politicized and commodified fashion, under the laws of segregation.

Architecture-*by*-Migrants: Mission District, San Francisco

The Mission District of San Francisco is where migrants from Latin America constructed a sense of place in an unfamiliar land. In *Street Subversion: The Political Geography of Murals and Graffiti,* Timothy W. Drescher writes of how painting murals in The Mission fostered not only a sense of place but also a sense of community. He elaborates how, through murals, residents of The Mission brought to the forefront hardships and injustices suffered by Latinos, while at the same time, the mere act of painting the streetscape reclaimed it as their own.

Drescher remarks that "the physical reality of people getting together to make their own decisions for their own reasons about what would

appear on their own community walls was a genuinely democratic experience. Group consensus was the goal. After all, these muralists were beginning to build a coherent community" (234). Furthermore, Drescher writes that in the 1960s the assertion of a marginal culture and marginal voices posed a challenge to the dominant, white, United States culture. Migrants painting murals in the Mission were, in effect, claiming their neighborhood in a local sense, but also claiming the rights of their culture in the broader sense of North America. In 1984, for example, the purpose of murals on Balmy Alley, was to both celebrate indigenous Central American cultures and to protest against United States intervention in Central America. Drescher elaborates that "mural makers sought to achieve in the process of creation what the murals' messages called for—the unity of diverse people, liberation from racial, gender, and, occasionally class oppression" (236). In doing so, Latin American migrants to San Francisco were able to reclaim a sense of place through politically driven, communal action.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the act of placemaking is not always one of righteous triumph. The Missionaries migrating to San Francisco in the eighteenth century caused the mass displacement and genocide of the Ohlone people who inhabited much of the Bay Area at the time. The irony of placemaking is that in order for one to make a home, others are often displaced—especially in the overpopulated metropolises of the world. This cycle of placemaking and displacement is inescapable in San Francisco today. The reality of gentrification has been accepted by many as inevitable, even natural. In his poem "Change Happens," Fernando Martí, co-founder of the Council of Community Housing Organizations deliberates about the nonchalance of the *Chronicle*.

Martí writes:

> "This neighborhood was Irish, then Latino, now
> it's changing again."
> She says it like she's talking about
> the turning of the seasons,
> from spring green to autumn brown to snow white winter,
> inevitable, like
> a natural disaster

Should gentrification and displacement be looked upon with such an attitude of passive resignation? Is displacement a natural phenomenon or a manmade injustice? Martí writes about the fate of the Ohlone when the first Missions were established in San Francisco. He writes that change did not simply happen to them, but was thrust upon them, sudden and terrible. He stresses in his poem that the victors' newspapers want us to believe that "change happens," inevitable, like gravity and entropy. But Martí claims that those, like him, who live the change, know the truth: it is they who are inevitable.

Architecture-*by*-Migrants: Little Saigon

The Vietnamese arrived in San Francisco in the late 1970s and 80s and established themselves in the heart of the Tenderloin. But it was only in 2008 that the neighborhood was recognized by the city as Little Saigon and two marble pillars topped with lion statues were erected as the gateway of Little Saigon. Today, the official boundaries of the neighborhood stretch from O'Farrell and Polk streets to Eddy and Hyde streets, with the two-block stretch on Larkin street as the primary walkway. But the Vietnamese influence permeates deeper into the Tenderloin, beyond the city-demarcated limits of the neighborhood. Venturing into the Tenderloin in search of Little Saigon, its impossible not to notice the plethora of Vietnamese eateries, offering everything from *banh mi* sandwiches to *pho* and Vietnamese coffee. Although the architecture of the Tenderloin remains, it doesn't change drastically; as one neighborhood turns into another, the atmosphere and character distinction is palpable.

The Tenderloin has a reputation for being an unsavory neighborhood in the heart of San Francisco. Many residents avoid its rancid, poverty-stricken streets and deter visitors from exploring the neighborhood. It is curious, then, that Vietnamese immigrants chose this neighborhood to settle into. The single resident occupancy hotels situated in the Tenderloin provided shelter to many Southeast Asian refugees arriving in the city after the Vietnam War. These SROs, viewed negatively by many developers, provide a refuge for Vietnamese immigrants. Little Saigon, located in the midst of the tenderloin (a neighborhood within a neighborhood) illustrates an interplay between cultures in San Francisco.

The Tenderloin is home to more diversity than commonly believed.

In the hope of understanding placemaking undertaken by the Vietnamese within the larger neighborhood, I ambled through the streets of Little Saigon. Larkin Street, and the streets surrounding it, are lined with Vietnamese restaurants, cafes, and markets. Although the streetscape itself was similar to what I experienced in the Tenderloin, the demographic of the neighborhood became more diverse. The atmosphere became livelier and people congregated around the markets. Unlike Chinatown, Little Saigon is a modest neighborhood. There was no music playing in the streets, no shops offering ethnic trinkets to tourists, and no Southeast Asian ornamentation.

Having missed the lion gateway into the neighborhood my first visit there, my only clue that I had found Little Saigon were relatively inconspicuous banners on street lamps, welcoming visitors. Brynn Kennedy, writer for BeyondChron writes in his article, titled "Tenderloin Residents Celebrate Unveiling of Little Saigon": "The Little Saigon Gateway is the latest effort by the city of San Francisco and the local community to change the identity of the Tenderloin to reflect a more positive and prosperous image. The Gateway not only represents the history and culture of the surrounding Vietnamese community but also serves to proclaim that the Tenderloin is home to many different communities, and is not simply an area of vice." Little Saigon attempts to not only personify Vietnamese presence in the city, but also to better the neighborhood surrounding it.

Settlers in a New City: Immigrants from Vietnam

I was able to interview Doan-Trang Hang Truong, a Vietnamese immigrant who arrived in San Francisco in 1991 at the age of 31. Having lived in San Francisco for the last two decades and having raised her family here, I was curious about her experience making a home in the city. She explained that she moved to the city after a brief stay in Virginia, after getting married to her husband, who was working in San Francisco at the time. She moved into a house located in the Richmond District, where she lived until 2012. She informed me that the Vietnamese community at the time was very small and disorganized. Many were concentrated in the Tenderloin, and their neighborhood did not have a name then.

When I asked if she spent a lot of time in what is now Little Saigon, she told me no, but she would go there periodically for Vietnamese food

and groceries. This is still her practice. She related that upon arrival in the United States and San Francisco, she missed her home tremendously and cried almost every night. She was afraid to answer the phone because she could not speak English then. After a few months, she became accustomed to her new environment, and when I asked what made her feel most at home about her new world, she answered: her family and community. She recounted feeling lost in her first months here, with no one to share her experience of home and being an immigrant, but she found a refuge with friends who shared similar experiences and life stories. These friends understood.

Little Saigon has changed dramatically since Truong moved to San Francisco in the 90s. The neighborhood is recognized by the city and has been given an official name. When I asked Truong about her feelings about Little Saigon, she replied that it is "not a little town in our country," Little Saigon's are everywhere, all over the world. She feels proud when she sees the signs for Little Saigon, and she is proud "to not be forgotten." Although she does not visit the neighborhood often, she enjoys its presence in the city, and recognized its importance as a means for Vietnamese immigrants to orient themselves and identify with a foreign city such as San Francisco.

In his article titled "An Overview of The San Francisco's Little Saigon Cultural and Commercial District," executive director of the Southeast Asian Community Center, Philip Truong writes that the proximity of Little Saigon to Chinatown comforted many Vietnamese immigrants who moved into the neighborhood. The similar cultural roots shared by the two groups is said to have facilitated this comfort. In my interview with Truong, I inquired about her relationship to Chinatown. She informed me that when unable to find particular Vietnamese groceries, she would venture into Chinatown and find them there. However, she claimed that the language barrier was often a problem. Many Chinese vendors do not speak English and she does not speak Mandarin or Cantonese. I deduced from her that language plays a huge role in feeling at home in a new environment.

Truong is the mother of two girls, one of whom is a classmate of mine, and, being curious about the experience of being a first-generation Vietnamese-American, I also interviewed Tracy Hang. I had previously known Tracy as someone born and raised in San Francisco, and never

previously inquired in depth about her Vietnamese roots. Tracy told me that she is proud of her Vietnamese culture. She grew up in the Richmond with her parents, sister, and extended family. The house was home to nine people and she and her immediate family shared a single room for the first 13 years of her life. She related to me that during her parent's life in Vietnam, homes had an open door policy. Family and friends would stream in and out and constantly be together; community bonds were strong. Living together in a single house was a way to recreate the family lifestyle experienced in Vietnam, Tracy related. She said she was never bored growing up, her family was always around her and they shared meals every day and lived as a unit.

When her extended family moved out of their home in the Richmond to the Sunset District, she admitted it was very difficult for her. She was suddenly alone. Family became busy, caught up in day-to-day life, and she felt disconnected from them. Today, her family gets together every Saturday, and it is something she always looks forward to. When I inquired about the language she speaks with her family, she cheekily told me that around her grandparents, everyone speaks Vietnamese, but in the company of her immediate family, she speaks English. She confessed that she, too, does not spend a lot of time in Little Saigon, but will go there sometimes to her family's favorite restaurants—further reinforcing that cuisine plays a part in making a new environment home.

From Placemaker to Displacee: The Tenderloin, San Francisco

Co-founder of the San Francisco Community Land Trust, James Tracy, provides insights into the reality of displacement in his book, *Dispatches Against Displacement: Field Notes from San Francisco's Housing Wars.* A Bay Area native and veteran housing activist, Tracy unearths the saga of the battle for urban space in San Francisco. Tracy warns that "we are all too well adjusted to an economic system that evicts, downsizes, pollutes, and imprisons" (107). This system, he goes on, assumes that gentrification is as natural as granola.

Tracy writes that the reality for many he works with is that displacement is just a part of a long history of racism and to some minds, a genocidal master plan. According to Tracy, politicians and pundits frame displacement as "either an unfortunate side effect of urban progress

or—in unguarded moments—a welcome cleansing" (7). The cost of placemaking by the more economically fortunate has resulted in a loss of place for the less privileged. To this effect, Tracy provides the example of Yerba Buena Gardens. Where residential hotels once thrived on Howard Street, there is now a monument to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Moscone Center, a Target store, and condominiums for millionaires. As the residents of San Francisco, we enjoy these amenities, we bask in the sun at Yerba Buena Park, oblivious—selectively perhaps—to the displacement that transpired in order for this place to be made.

Displacement is in no way unique to San Francisco. Tracy refers to capitalism's role in the out-of-control development (seen for instance in San Francisco) and the hand it plays in displacement. Similarly, Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek addresses capitalism as a primary cause of the European refugee crisis. In his article "We Can't Address the EU Refugee Crisis without Confronting Global Capitalism," he refers to refugees as the price of the global economy.

The ultimate cause of refugees—and by proxy, displacement—according to Žižek, is global capitalism itself and its geopolitical games. In his piece, he confronts Euro-America's intervention in "failed states" as the catalyst for the mass migration seen today out of the Middle East and Africa. Žižek asserts that "human kind should get ready to live in a more plastic and nomadic way: rapid and global changes in the environment may require unheard-of social transformations." Thus the question arises: what will the architecture of such a world look like? How will—or how has—architecture evolved to accommodate this nomadic lifestyle? How does this architecture facilitate placemaking?

Theory in Practice

The act of placemaking is a primal need of humankind. In order for one to dwell, in the Heideggerian sense of the word, one must feel secure and be at peace in a protected space. One must be able to orient to and identify with the environment in order to establish a sense of place. Architecture facilitates this fabrication of place from space. Architecture uncovers potential meaning in the environment, and this placemaking through architecture takes many forms.

While Chinese immigrants in San Francisco's Chinatown self-exot-

icized in order to create a home in a hostile city, Latin American immigrants in the Mission District politicized their streetscape through murals as a way of reclaiming their rights and at the same time, taking control of the appearance of their neighborhood. For the globalized subject of the twenty-first century, placemaking is a complex endeavor. In order to facilitate placemaking in an environment constantly subject to change, an architecture that accounts for perpetual change must evolve.

Gaston Bachelard describes placemaking as the intersection of imagination and experience grounded in reality and space. Norberg–Schulz argues that placemaking and dwelling is the result of orientation to and identification with one's environment. Chinese immigrants in San Francisco utilized homeland nostalgias to create a collective wish-image for a nation state, but more importantly, to capitalize upon tourist fantasies. Chinatown exemplifies how migrants navigated an abrasive foreign land, capitalism, and their own identities by producing kitschy, exotified, consumables.

The Chinatown that was rebuilt after the 1906 earthquake did not reflect the homeland, but rather a tourist-friendly fabrication of China. Chinese migrants achieved a sense of place by pandering to the demands of the city.

To this effect, Norberg–Schulz adds that the emotional security required for placemaking has been forfeited to practicality. In our fast-flowing modern world, establishing emotional connections to place is a luxury many do not have. Placemaking is a luxury many are stripped of. As brought to light by Martí, Tracy, and Žižek, global capitalism has exacerbated displacement in the modern world. Does the looming threat of displacement prevent one from truly "dwelling"? Should architecture account for a dwelling-less placemaking, or should it strive to restore a sense of place and decelerate displacement?

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PAULA MIRANDO

Shared Experiences of Multiethnic Children in *Stealing Buddha's Dinner*

Paula Mirando, class of 2018, is pursuing a degree in English. Her novel, Perceptions, *was published in 2014.*

WRITER'S COMMENTS

Growing up as a mixed race Filipino–American child, I often felt that my ethnic identity was in conflict; I felt excluded from the Filipino community predominant in my hometown under the premise that I was not "Filipino enough." In Professor Garcia Lopez's class, we read Bich Minh Nguyen's memoir, *Stealing Buddha's Dinner*. Though the narrator never identifies as a child of mixed race, the experiences described resonated as similar to my own; she, like myself, felt excluded from communities that were supposedly hers. This connection inspired me to explore further parallels between the experiences illustrated in the memoir with those documented in research on multiracial and multiethnic children. Ultimately, I discovered that while the narrator may not have been "biologically" mixed race, her upbringing in a multiracial family contributed to her conflicted experiences of racial and ethnic identity and community, very similar to those experienced by multiracial and multiethnic children.

> —*Paula Mirando*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Paula Mirando's essay, "Shared Experiences of Multiethnic Children in *Stealing Buddha's Dinner*," reads Bich Nguyen's memoir of refugee experience in the United States as uniquely expressive of a process of multiethnic identity formation. In Nguyen's story of growing up Vietnamese in America with a Mexican–American stepmother, Mirando finds a protagonist who, though not "biologically" mixed, must learn to cultivate a multiethnic identity nonetheless. The loneliness, alienation and failure depicted in Nguyen's childhood experience are addressed in this essay as representative of the struggle towards a valid cultural synthesis of seemingly divergent identities. Specifically, Mirando reads the protagonist's hunger for American foods and commodities, seemingly capable of transforming the self into an authentic American subject, as indicative of a search for community and belonging only truly achieved through self-acceptance and cultural negotiation. Ultimately, the essay smartly frames Nguyen's memoir of hunger and desire as culminating in fulfillment through cultural balance.

> —*Christina Garcia Lopez, Department of English*

Shared Experiences
of Multiethnic Children in
Stealing Buddha's Dinner

AS A NATION that upheld strict anti-miscegenation laws until as recent as 1967, we have since experienced a welcome shift in the public attitude toward interracial marriages. We now boast the label of "melting pot" to allude an intermingling of different cultures and we see more multiethnic families as a result. With the increase in the number of ethnically mixed families, it is important to consider how multicultural identity manifests itself in the children of these families. In her memoir, published in 2007, *Stealing Buddha's Dinner*, Bich Minh Nguyen evokes sentiments common amongst the children of ethnically mixed families despite not being "biologically" multiethnic herself. The author recounts the ways in which her status as a Vietnamese refugee, her attempts to blend in within American society, and her father's marriage to a woman of Mexican descent have contributed to her formation of a unique multiethnic identity. One recurring theme in the memoir is the loneliness the main character feels as a result of her inability to perform these ethnic identities simultaneously, thus leading her to feel like an outsider in communities that would otherwise be her own. As these are issues that continue to concern mixed race youth seeking a sense of belonging, this paper seeks to explore the extent to which *Stealing Buddha's Dinner* represents mixed identity and what conclusions it offers for multiethnic youth in search of community. This paper draws on evidence from the memoir itself, as well as various sociological sources, to argue that this memoir advocates for a space unique to the children of multiethnic families that allows for them to embrace aspects of each of their home cultures rather than denying one in favor of another.

One manner in which *Stealing Buddha's Dinner* represents mixed identity is in the way the narrator conveys the internal conflicts faced by children of multiethnic families, despite not being "biologically" multiethnic herself. The author, Bich Minh Nguyen, is the daughter of two "full-blooded" Vietnamese parents, making her "biologically" monoracial. Here, terms such as "biologically" and "full-blooded" are stylized in quotations because, despite long-standing misconceptions, race and

ethnicity have no biological reality and are mere social constructs. Dr. Alan Goodman asserts that "race is not a valid way of conceptualizing human biodiversity, but he also rejects the notion that 'race' is a mere cultural construct that has no real impact on people's lives. He calls race 'a lived experience' that can have devastating effects" (Brown 74). While Goodman confirms that race has no biological basis, he acknowledges that, despite being mere constructs, both race and ethnicity still have weight in society through their effects on interpersonal interactions. It is for this reason that it is necessary to determine whether the main character in this memoir may claim a multiethnic identity before moving forward.

The narrator of this memoir describes a series of difficult experiences in which she is unable to synthesize multiple cultures, leading to a form of isolation that is common among children of multiethnic families. In one chapter, the narrator recalls one holiday spent with her Mexican–American stepmother's family. Nguyen reflects on the reason for which she abstains from engaging with her unfamiliar Mexican–American family members:

> It was too much for me to synthesize white American culture, Mexican–American culture, and my own Vietnamese culture all at the same time. I couldn't explain, either to Rosa or myself, that in wanting to belong everywhere I ended up belonging nowhere at all. (176)

The narrator expresses her frustration in attempting to embrace each aspect of her ethnic identity and her failure to synthesize these ethnic identities, leading her to feel isolated within her multiethnic family. In a 2013 study from the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, regarding microaggressions experienced within larger family structures, mixed race participants expressed insecurities "about how they felt like they 'didn't fit in' with their extended family—particularly their monoracial family members" (Nadal et al. 195). Nguyen's experience of isolation amongst Rosa's monoracial extended family reflects the shared experiences of many multiracial individuals. This scene in the memoir also reflects another microaggression reported in the study, which documents monoracial family members' failures to validate the experiences and feelings of

the multiracial individual, thus rendering the multiracial individual to feel isolated and alone (Nadal et al. 197). Rosa, being monoracial herself, does not recognize the difficulties that her stepdaughter may encounter when trying to assimilate as a child of a multiethnic family. Rosa's reprimand of the narrator's hesitation to engage the Mexican–American side of her extended family can thus be read as such a microaggression within the family that further isolates her stepdaughter as the multiethnic outsider in a monoracial family.

Furthermore, the narrator's frustration with her inability to synthesize these three home cultures reflects the third level of Poston's model for minority identity development. This is characterized by "[g]uilt at not being able to identify with all aspects of his or her heritage [which] may lead to anger, shame, or self-hatred" (Renn 14). The narrator of this memoir, especially in the aforementioned scene, is overwhelmed by the complexities of synthesizing three different cultures in the formation of her identity. As a result, she crumbles under her stepmother's pressure to synthesize this new aspect of her cultural identity almost instantaneously, and thus feels guilt for her perceived failure.

Another feeling that the narrator shares with the children of multiethnic families is a perpetual loneliness. The narrator recounts several instances in her childhood in which she is targeted for her failure to conform to the dominant Christian culture of her community. As a result, her character experiences isolation from the general population of her peers, which consists mostly of practicing Christians, in direct response to her perceived difference. However, the narrator feels separated from the Buddhist tradition as well. Afraid to enter the prayer room at the temple, Nguyen recalls: "I felt so out of place—too American, not truly Buddhist" (186). This passage reveals the narrator's fear of being unable to perform as "truly Buddhist" as a result of her perceived American-ness. However, this quote presents an apparent contradiction as well: if she is exiled by the white American Christian community for being too foreign, and too American to maintain the invisibility she desires in the Buddhist temple, where does she belong? Seeming to tackle this question, Nguyen writes, "Was this heaven, hell, nirvana? It all boiled down to the same thing: complete aloneness" (184). Here, the narrator invokes the images of heaven and hell as the two possible ends professed by organized Christianity, but also conjures the notion of nirvana, which

originates from her own Buddhist spirituality. When she claims that each of these three ideas boils down to "complete aloneness," she acknowledges her failure to conform to the perceived expectations set forth by both Christianity and Buddhism, isolating her further from both religious communities.

Furthermore, the narrator's inability to adopt the religious affiliations expected of her further isolates her by transforming her into a target for her peers to identify as inauthentic. According to a 2007 study by Natasha Kumar Warikoo, professor of United States Studies at University of London, youth who "didn't adhere to expected tastes, religious practices, and behaviors were sanctioned for attempting to cross ethnic and racial boundaries, or inauthenticity" (405–406). Because Nguyen does not adhere to the Christian practices expected by dominant white American culture nor the Buddhist rituals normalized within her Vietnamese culture, she is marked, both by her peers and by herself, as inauthentic to both cultures, not belonging to either. The narrator's inability to fall on either side of the religious divide reflects the sense of inner conflict felt by the children of mixed families, who may have parents raised in two different religious traditions. These children, again, may feel pressure to choose one side or another, creating another source of internal division. In the case of the narrator, her inability to choose a side, or alternatively, her inability to embrace aspects of both religions, leads her to feeling isolated from both religious communities.

Finally, this memoir also explores the ways in which the narrator feels excluded from communities that should supposedly be her own, another experience common amongst the children of multiethnic families. This is most explicitly stated in the final chapter of the memoir, which describes the narrator's first visit to Vietnam since her family fled the country as refugees. Upon returning to her supposed homeland, Nguyen experiences feelings of alienation amongst her fellow countrymen: "I could not have prepared myself for the feeling of being a tourist in the country where I was supposed to have grown up, of being a foreigner among people who were supposed to be mine … I felt like an outsider, and I knew I would always be just that" (245). Despite having been born in Vietnam, it is clear from this passage that the narrator lacks any meaningful connection to her birthplace or her extended family. Since she did not experience childhood in Vietnam and thus has no memory of what

her family left behind, she does not experience nostalgia in the way her grandmother and uncle do. As a result of being raised in the United States, she acquires a sense of American identity that, in this situation, makes her feel like an outsider in Vietnam despite having been born there. Her statement that she would always be an outsider refers to her feelings of otherness not only here in Vietnam as a result of her American identity, but to her feelings of otherness in the United States due to her Vietnamese identity. This phenomenon of a multicultural individual being excluded from both groups to which they supposedly belong is documented in a study by Tuan, described by Warikoo as demonstrating that Asian–Americans "are not accepted as authentically American by dominant US society, due to being racial minorities; nor are they fully accepted by Asian immigrants in the U.S. as authentically Asian" (390). Despite not being "biologically" multiracial, the narrator of the memoir shares this experience of exclusion from these cultural communities with other children of multiracial and multiethnic children. Since she does not belong in either space, by default she becomes the outsider in both spaces, as do other children of multiethnic families.

Another instance in which the narrator feels excluded from a community that is presumably hers is when the narrator reflects on the first time she and her sister attend a Vietnamese party again after several years. At this event, they come across a group of other Vietnamese immigrant children who, unlike Nguyen and her sister, "had been united all that time [the sisters] had stayed at home … They sat in a group, laughing and speaking a flurry of mixed Vietnamese and English … I realized that Anh and I missed out on an entire system, a structure, what Rosa called *community*" (114). What the narrator observes here is that these children have formed and nurtured bonds between one another as a result of growing up together, leading them to benefit from a sense of shared Vietnamese–American community. The narrator seems to suggest that she and her sister are hindered from accessing this cultural community due to their differences as the children of a multiethnic family. This suggestion is reflected in a 2009 study conducted by Gina Miranda Samuels of the University of Chicago, which found that mixed race and transracially adopted individuals "often lacked access to a racial community of similar others to help assemble important pieces of this puzzle [of their racial experience]" and felt "racially alienated in lacking access to a com-

munity of others who possessed insight into their experience of race" (Samuels 86). This, again, demonstrates that the narrator of the memoir and her sister share yet another experience with multiracial and multiethnic youth. As children, Nguyen and her sister perceive themselves as barred from entry into community fostered at the Vietnamese parties due to their multiethnic identities.

However, the fact that the other children at the parties speak in both Vietnamese and English not only signifies the successful synthesis of their Vietnamese and American identities but also suggests that the narrator, too, could have accessed this community. It appears that the other children never face the difficulty of choosing between their Vietnamese identity and their American identity, a dilemma that the narrator raises multiple times throughout the memoir. However, this appears to be a false dilemma; instead of choosing between these two seemingly mutually exclusive options, these children choose a third option: to embrace both of their cultural identities. This ability to negotiate between both cultural identities is first alluded to toward the beginning of the novel as Nguyen remembers the Vietnamese immigrant children she encountered: "They created two lives for themselves: the American one and the Vietnamese one … Out in the world they were Tiffany and David; at home they were Truoc and Doan" (48). While the narrator perceives these children as leading double lives, their ability to move seamlessly between being Vietnamese and being American is a testament to the fluidity of their ethnic and national identities. The narrator, at this point in the memoir, fails to recognize the choice she has in embracing both of her cultural identities that would allow her to synthesize her multiethnic identity, granting her access to the shared multicultural community at the Vietnamese parties. It is not until later in the memoir that the narrator comes to understand her mixed cultural identity as that which allows her entry into such a multicultural community. This, then, suggests the importance the narrator, in retrospect, places on synthesizing multiple identities simultaneously.

In her emphasis of the importance of balancing multiple identities, the narrator implicitly warns against the pressure imposed on the children of multiethnic families to choose one home culture over the others. In her 1996 study on biracial siblings, Maria P. P. Root lists the first of fifty common experiences shared by racially mixed people as

"[being] told, 'You have to choose; you can't be both' " (1). Despite not being "biologically" multiracial herself, the narrator feels this same pressure imposed upon her through her socialization in the United States and perhaps even imposes this pressure upon herself. Throughout the majority of the memoir, the narrator desires for that which she thinks will help her achieve an authentic American identity, pursuing typical American commodities that she believes will grant her access to the white American identity she strives toward and is willing to abandon her Vietnamese heritage for. The narrator, in her childlike perspective, seems to believe that authentic American identity is attainable through the commodities of the American fast foods she craves. Meanwhile, she consistently rejects the foods that mark her as the Vietnamese other and instead hungers for the American meals she believes will transform her into the white American insider. This rejection of her Vietnamese heritage, in favor of an authentic American identity through the food she consumes, permeates into other arenas of her life as well. Nguyen writes:

> Nonetheless, drawn to what I could not have, I kept seeking out landscapes in which I could not have existed. Deep down, I thought I could prove that I could be a more thorough and competent white girl than any of the white girls I knew … I made myself over into the whitest girl possible. No doubt this contributed to the quick erosion of my Vietnamese. (163)

This passage reveals much of the internalized racism the narrator experiences in her childhood. Due to her perception of her Vietnamese culture as that which isolates her, she rejects this part of herself in favor of the white American culture that she idealizes. She performs an exaggerated version of this white American identity in order to surpass one of the blocks to authenticity. It is also crucial to note that this white American identity that the narrator desires, as described in the passage, is unattainable. As much as she strives for authenticity as a white American girl, she cannot abandon her Vietnamese heritage altogether due to her physical characteristics. Unable to be fit into the image of the white Americans she identifies as "real people" (Nguyen 56), she

remains suspended between what she perceives as these two mutually exclusive worlds. In her effort to chase this notion of realness as American identity, she neglects her Vietnamese identity. This leads her to lose her ability to speak Vietnamese and, by extension, isolates her from her Vietnamese culture as well. As a result of the deterioration of her Vietnamese, she can no longer have extended conversations with her beloved grandmother nor can she keep up with other Vietnamese immigrant children at parties. In a 1992 study, Robin Miller of Michigan State University asserts, "biracial individuals directly highlight the structure of racial dichotomization because they do not belong to either of two mutually exclusive social groups, yet lack a socially legitimated group that describes their biracial origins" (Miller). Here Miller explains the internal conflict experienced by many multiracial and multiethnic youth as a result of being excluded from social groups that their monoracial counterparts belong to. This is yet another example of an experience the narrator of the memoir shares with other children of multiracial and multiethnic families, as exemplified by her inability to enter the social groups of neither her Vietnamese heritage nor American popular culture. Ultimately, this exclusion from these groups leaves the narrator feeling isolated from both cultures once again.

The narrator, in opposition to the social pressure to choose one home culture over another, seems to allude to the importance of embracing aspects of each of her home cultures in order to affirm her multiethnic identity. While the memoir is characterized by episodes of hunger and desire, scenes in which the narrator is content involve a sense of balance between each of her home cultures. In the latter portion of the memoir, the narrator reflects on the dinner routine that appeased the appetites of the entire family: "Yen Ching, Chi–Chi's, fast food. At home, Noi did most of the cooking and Rosa chipped in with *sopa* and tacos. *We can be a nice family*, I wrote in my diary, an uncertain declaration" (Nguyen 199). This arrangement allows the narrator to access each of her home cultures through the consumption of foods from each culture; Yen Ching offers her entry into a broader Asian culture, Chi–Chi's allows her to enjoy the Mexican cuisine of her stepmother's heritage, and fast food grants her access to the commodities of white American popular culture. The narrator, who spends most of the novel concerned with fulfilling her desires for certain foods, is able to experi-

ence each of her home cultures in a positive way through her enjoyment of these different cuisines. She no longer sees the need to negotiate between these cultures and instead feels delight in her synthesis of them, having struck a balance between her grandmother's Vietnamese dishes and the Mexican food that her stepmother prepares. The synthesis of these home cultures gives rise to a unique space within the household in which these three cultures—Vietnamese, Mexican, and American— each have something to offer and are given equal importance. This space is the product of multiethnic households' ability to synthesize different cultural backgrounds in a way such that no one home culture is in conflict with another. This process in which the narrator engages each element of her cultural identity is a reflection of the fourth level of Poston's minority identity development model, in which individuals "broaden their racial reference group through learning about all aspects of their backgrounds" (Renn 14). By accessing all aspects of her background, the narrator is able to develop her unique identity as a child of a multiethnic family in a way that includes elements from each of her home cultures without compromising any aspect of her multicultural identity. Timothy K. August writes that Nguyen's experiences "resist a singular identity and resolution" (110). Here, August refers to the inherent problem in the practice of reducing the wide and varied experiences of an entire ethnic group to a single narrative. While August discusses how Nguyen's refusal to offer her memoir as a representative of "the Vietnamese American experience" speaks to the multiplicity of experiences within the Vietnamese–American community, we can also read Nguyen's decision to have her narrative stand separate as an affirmation of her unique multiethnic identity as a child of a multiethnic family. Nguyen's successful synthesis of her various home cultures into her multiethnic identity diminishes the social pressure placed upon the narrator as well as the children of similar multiethnic households to conform to a singular culture by offering them a space that is uniquely their own and offers them an opportunity to embrace a mixed culture which is uniquely theirs.

From here, it is clear that this memoir advocates for a space unique to the children of multiethnic families that allows for these children to embrace aspects of each of their home cultures rather than denying one in favor of another. Nguyen best illustrates the value of such a space in

the final chapter of the memoir:

> In truth, everything that was real lay right in front of me: oranges after dinner; pomegranates in winter; mangoes cubed off their skin. Birthday cakes decorated in my own hand while my stepmother taught me the words to "*Cumpleaños feliz.*" We had *sopa* and rice, sloppy Joes and fast food, curries and stew, soups and stir-fries, noodles and ramen, steak and french fries. Even on the nights Rosa made dinner, Noi cooked for my uncles and the ancestors. She had the rice cooker going before we came home from school, so we could eat something right away if we were hungry. And when I scorned her food, she did not scold my wayward desires. She knew I would return, night after night, asking permission to go to sleep. I returned to her in meditation, trying to keep my back straight, trying to stop the erosion of language I myself had started. I returned to her when I woke early in the morning to the sound of her wooden mallet grinding shrimp and pork for *cha gio*. (247)

The narrator realizes not only that reality is not limited to white American culture, as she once believed, but that her reality encompasses that which is real and important to her. From this realization, she learns to embrace the ritual of eating fruit prepared by her grandmother that she had once felt ashamed of; for she was led to believe that that which marked her difference as a Vietnamese immigrant was inherently wrong. Likewise, she embraces the Mexican traditions, such as singing "*Cumpleaños feliz,*" that her stepmother passes on to her despite her previous anxieties about her peers identifying Rosa as not being her "real" mother and the ways this apparent anomaly further marked her as different (66). The narrator then goes on to list the foods she enjoys with her family, naming items from each of her home cultures one after the other to create a sense of accumulation. By presenting these meals in this way, the narrator builds upon the metaphor for desire crafted throughout the memoir through the imagery of food, culminating in a sense of fulfillment or fullness. This sense of satisfaction for her desires is further demonstrated in the following sentences, in which she remembers how her grandmother

never let her be hungry. Further, the narrator also seems to find comfort in the peaceful coexistence of her two home cultures, represented in this quote by her stepmother and grandmother both preparing food in the same evening, neither forcing their ways onto the other. The narrator also reflects on her grandmother's patience while she struggled in her choice of one home culture of another. Her grandmother demonstrates patience when the narrator chooses to embrace white American popular culture through the commodities of fast food, which she craves over the Vietnamese culture represented here by her grandmother's dishes. The narrator's desire to return to her grandmother's traditions and, by extension, her Vietnamese culture, is emblematized by her pursuing the *cha gio* that her grandmother prepares as something for which she longs and misses. The narrator's ultimate return to and acceptance of the part of her cultural identity that she spends much of the narrative working to suppress symbolizes the successful synthesis of her mixed cultural identity, allowing her to embrace aspects of each of her home cultures without compromising any part of herself. It is this realization that her multiethnic cultural identity is as "real" and valid as any other that allows her to affirm her sense of self as a child of a multiethnic family.

Throughout the memoir, it becomes evident that, while the narrator is not "biologically" multiethnic herself, she still shares many of the experiences of isolation and social pressures to "choose a side" that other children of multiethnic families do, and thus her narrative represents mixed identity to this extent. The author, through her narrative, encourages multiethnic youth to adopt a multiethnic identity that reflects each of their home cultures, a successful synthesis of which allows them to enter into each individual cultural community at will while simultaneously belonging to a multiethnic community that is uniquely their own. This, the author seems to argue, allows for the affirmation of the multiethnic self as being just as "real" as other identities and invites the children of multiethnic families to embrace all aspects of each of their home cultures, and thus all parts of themselves, rather than suppressing these parts of their identities in shame.

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NATALIE OCHSNER

Robert Louis Stevenson's
Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde:
A Window into the World
of Victorian Era Science

Natalie Ochsner, class of 2017, will graduate with a major in English Literature and a minor in German Studies.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

While brainstorming ideas for this paper, I asked myself, how I can make this different than anything anyone has ever written about Jekyll and Hyde before, something I would want to read. So I decided to take it in a direction that combined two things that interest me—science, which I always enjoyed in high school, and Victorian England, which I had learned about the previous semester and found to be awesome, albeit weird and quirky. Post-Industrial Revolution England made huge innovations—scientific and otherwise—and I wanted to choose the perfect sources that would help me show all the ways in which *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* reflects these changes. This is a topic I am very passionate about and I hope I was able to do it justice. I would like to thank Professor Rojas for her help and for supporting me in doing something different.

　　　　—*Natalie Ochsner*

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Natalie Ochsner has written a thoughtful and original analysis of the literary figure of the scientist through the lens of Victorian history. In her exploration of *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, she challenges the standard assumption that Hyde is the product of a scientific experiment gone awry, and instead argues that he is "a collective embodiment of the scientific progress of the Victorian era." When Natalie showed me an early draft of her work, I was immediately intrigued by her assertion that the story can be read as "a product of post-Great Exhibition era science museums" that proliferated during the Victorian period. This argument was not one that we had touched upon in class, but instead the result of Natalie's own research. Natalie demonstrates an impressive ability, not only to analyze the novella, but also to do so in conversation with a broader historicist discourse.

　　　　—*Ana Rojas, Department of English*

Robert Louis Stevenson's
Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde:
A Window Into the World
of Victorian Era Science

THE REALITY PORTRAYED in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* does more than just tell us a story; rather, it gives us an incredibly broad glimpse into Victorian era science. When we contextualize this novella, we can see the ways in which Hyde, a literal science experiment, is the product of a period of highly esteemed researchers who made monumental scientific advances. If we take Stevenson's text as a hackneyed dichotomy of good versus evil, we may be led to believe that Hyde is destructive, a failure, an experiment gone wrong, but when we perceive him as a collective embodiment of the scientific progress of the Victorian era, we can see all the ways in which Hyde is actually a science experiment gone right.

In creating Hyde, Jekyll seeks to do through experimentation what Charles Darwin sought to do through research. Both wish to bridge the gap between civilized human and uncivilized other and to prove that it is possible to exhibit the qualities of both, although not simultaneously, in the case of Jekyll's experiment. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* proposes that "species had not been independently created, but had descended … from other species" (264). In other words, man does not exist independently; he was derived from the species that came before him. *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* can be read as a speculation of what transpires when we let the impulses of these predecessors consume us, even if only for a little while. Stevenson shows us that even the upstanding Jekyll is not immune to the temptation of these pleasures. Prior to the creation of Hyde, Jekyll admits,

> I had not yet conquered my aversion to the dryness of a life of study. I would still be merrily disposed at times and as my pleasures were (to say the least) undignified, and I was not only well known but highly considered, but growing towards the elderly man, this incoherency of my life was daily growing more unwelcome. (Stevenson 52)

When Jekyll creates Hyde, it seems as if he has the best of both worlds—he is able to act on these "undignified" impulses while being unrecognized and maintain his reputation as an esteemed doctor and scientist. However, Jekyll's unwillingness to find a middle ground between his temptations and his life of study might be the problem that Stevenson uses Darwin's theory to present us with: if we evolved from previous species, then should it not be acceptable to occasionally act on our evolutionary impulses?

If viewed through the appropriate lens, we can perceive the conflict in *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* as a product of the post-Great Exhibition era science museums that trended in Victorian England during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Bernard Lightman, a professor of humanities and science at York University, "the belief was that scientific education would result in the moral improvement of these members of the working class and that it would lead to their acceptance of the new industrial society" (1). Although these museums began with the altruistic intention of educating the public, it quickly became clear that they were, in fact, primarily catering to a very elite audience. This audience, mostly consisting of the aristocracy and upper middle class, seems appropriate, considering that historians consider the fascination with science during this time, often referred to as the "cult of science," to be the product of the labors of highly esteemed scientists and scientific institutions. If we look at Hyde, the product of scientific experimentation, as the object of our fascination within Stevenson's novella, we can perceive Jekyll as his elitist creator—a man with the economic means to pursue such an endeavor and the seemingly inbred desire to help others fueling his efforts. According to Enfield, a character in the book, Jekyll fits this description perfectly and is "the very pink of proprieties, celebrated too … one of your fellows who do what they call good" (Stevenson 10). We know that Dr. Jekyll conducts experiments with the intention of doing "what they call good"; however, his efforts soon begin to take a turn in the opposite direction as Hyde gains more and more control, which is exactly what happened in the Victorian science exhibits. One of the most notable of these was the Royal Polytechnic Institution, originally started by scientist John Henry Pepper, whose optical illusions, accompanied by scientific lectures, drew in thousands of viewers. These lectures, Pepper believed, were not only "completely

in line with the scientific aims of his institution" (Lightman 91) and informative to the public, they also earned the institution tremendous fame and success. However, under pressure to maintain popularity, Pepper later sold out in favor of a more exciting show and sought to "exploit the relationship between the Polytechnic and the London entertainment scene by bringing in more music and spectacle" (Lightman 90). Once a project that sought to blend education and entertainment, the Polytechnic program had now become so infused with music and spectacle that it distracted from the original desire for rational, scientific recreation that sought first to inform, then to entertain, rather than the other way around. Entertainment was the "monster" that threatened science in the same way that Hyde's worldly desires threatened Jekyll's benevolent intentions. The true danger of desire is that it is self-perpetuating: the more Hyde has his desires fulfilled, the stronger and more destructive they become.

In his essay, "Darwin Wept: Science and the Sentimental Subject," Paul White questions whether there is any place for sentimentality in the scientific world, initially arguing that "the history of Victorian science would seem to be one in which the emotions, especially the powerful feelings of sentimentality, have no place, except as potential obstructions to or corruptions of objectivity" (White 195). However, he counters this observation by drawing our attention to a few of the Victorian era's most revolutionary scientists—Charles Darwin, Charles Bell, and Thomas Huxley—and the role of sentimentality in their work. After the death of his eldest daughter, Darwin grieved; however, "He did not mourn publicly at her burial, but returned instead to his wife so that they might 'weep bitterly together'" (White 197). The point White appears to be arguing here is that although Darwin experienced mourning just as anyone else would, he was selective with whom he shared these possible "corruptions of objectivity." He points out that the death of Darwin's daughter was "the final blow against the great theorist's Christian faith" (White 196). Considering our knowledge of *On The Origin of Species* and taking into consideration that the book was published only eight years after his daughter's death, we can speculate that Darwin's mourning catalyzed the publication of his most well-known work and solidified the conviction needed to pursue it.

If Darwin's vulnerability is emotion, one might argue that Jekyll's vul-

nerability is some unnamed, uninhibited "pleasure." White points out the prevailing belief that "excessive grief [indicates] an imbalance of constitution, any passion if over-indulged leading to a weakness of will, a loss of reason" (White 5). This seems to be the conflict for both Darwin and Jekyll—their vices threaten to obstruct their work, and the only way to keep these vices at bay is to keep them a secret. In his full confession of the case, Jekyll states, "Hence it came about that I concealed my pleasures; and that when I reached years of reflection and began to look round me and take stock of my progress and position in the world, I stood already committed to a profound duplicity of life" (Stevenson 48). Although Jekyll's scientific experimentation is a success—Hyde functions in exactly the way he is expected to—it is the highly personal and emotional nature of Jekyll's experiment, the conflict of his own vice, that ultimately leads to his own destruction and the destruction of those around him.

Scientists were important assets to the British Empire, as well as significant contributors to the sentiment of Western superiority that was characteristic of this time. Therefore, it is only fitting that they would be recurring motifs central to Victorian literature. As Joshua A. Wade points out in his essay, "The Professor Rises: Science, Victorian Viagra and Masculine Libido in 'The Creeping Man,'" the scientist was often presented as symbolic of power, innovation, and, although perhaps less often considered, masculinity. He argues,

> The scientist as a narrative trope is important in an age where science represented the superiority of not just man over nature but of Western superiority in general. The role of the scientist was elevated, and the medical and industrial discoveries that were made only helped to create an aura of power, and at times, fear of such professional technological advances in everything from the armaments to the factories that had rocketed England to a world power. (Wade 84)

Although scientists made great strides during the Victorian era, religion and science were still very much at odds. Religion has a way of providing definitive explanations of the external world that science did not. In this sense, science was seen as a brave pursuit and the men who pursued it were heroic. However, with these advances came a sense of fear, as any new and revolutionary change might instill in a society, and the

character of Mr. Hyde perfectly emblematizes this anxiety. As the scientific experiment of Jekyll, Hyde is both unknown and feared by the other characters. Mr. Utterson describes the unidentifiable but frightening appearance of Hyde as "pale and dwarfish, [giving] an impression of deformity without any nameable malformation … all these were points against him, but not all of these could explain the hitherto unknown disgust, loathing and fear with which Mr. Utterson regarded him" (Stevenson 17). This is where Hyde's "aura of power" comes into play—the unknown, newly concocted drug he takes gives him the authority to do things that are inconceivable to someone as morally upright as Mr. Utterson or Dr. Lanyon. Central to Wade's argument is the male desire not only for social superiority, but for sexual superiority, which the Victorian man of reason achieves through the use of aphrodisiacs. Wade argues that "Victorian men established the power structure in social consciousness by both public forms of power but also very much through private forms of performance" (85). He believes that "incitement of a performance-enhancing chemical might reflect an attitude of hesitancy on the part of Victorian men to accept the possibility of a changing social paradigm that regulated the role that men played in society" (86). Within the cultural context of Stevenson's novella, Hyde's drug might be comparable to the Victorian aphrodisiac in the scientist narrative, and the heinous pleasures he indulges in could be influenced by the "private acts of performance" described by Wade.

In his essay, "Competing Allies: Professionalisation and the Hierarchy of Science in Victorian Britain," Peter C. Kjergaard explains that in order to reach the elevated position in society that they believed they deserved, the Victorian scientists attempted to maintain scientific unity through the formation of a homogenous group. Although their attempts helped further their success and notoriety, the result was the specialization rather than the unification of science, and as Kjergaard points out, this is when science started breaking up into "disciplines." Kjergaard says,

> [R]esearch became highly sophisticated ventures which in turn required more specialized training. This led to an increasing demand of disciplinary recognition and an ongoing challenge to the overall authority of physical sciences. (251)

In this sense, Jekyll's desire to maintain an aura of secrecy about his work can be read as a sign of scientific progress, as his work surpassed that of the other scientists with which he would have associated. However, some might argue that Jekyll's seclusion does not make him a better scientist; rather, it places him in the category of "mad scientist" that is not uncommon in Victorian literature. Chris Baldick's book, *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing,* offers one such view. In his analysis of the mad scientist cliché, he argues that both the seclusion in which Jekyll works, and the product of his experiment, Hyde, lead Jekyll astray from his goal of helping others and portray him as conforming to this stereotype. He says:

> It is this impulse—evidently based on the Calvinism of Stevenson's own background—which, as Jekyll explains, drives open the widening gulf within himself between his public good works and his concealed pleasures, and which inspires his project of jettisoning his shameful side by completing the division. (Baldick 6)

By living in seclusion and driving himself away from society, Baldick points out that Jekyll does the opposite of what he sets out to do, and we can argue that this earns him the label "mad scientist." In his own statement, Jekyll acknowledges that creating Hyde caused him to get carried away, regretfully admitting,

> Had I approached my discovery in a more noble spirit, had I risked the experiment while under the empire of generous or pious aspirations, all must have been otherwise, and from these agonies of death and birth, I had come forth an angel instead of a fiend. (Stevenson 51)

To further validate his argument, Baldick draws a parallel between *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein,* a novel many might call the quintessential "mad scientist" work. He reasons

> The creature who emerges from Jekyll's study is a monster in the classical sense, demonstrating visibly the ugliness of the

> hidden: just as the hideousness of Frankenstein's monster is
> a metaphor for the unhealthy secretive conditions of his cre-
> ation, so Hyde is the emblem of the need to hide. (Baldick 6)

By looking at these literary stereotypes of the mad scientist, we can spec-
ulate about why it may have been difficult for scientists of the Victorian
era to unify, and conclude that perhaps it is the nature of science to draw
people further and further in as their endeavors become more prolific,
either for better or for worse. Once it reaches this point, a scientist might
be more likely to abandon his original motives in favor of the direction
in which his research is taking him, branching out into a different, per-
haps even a new discipline of science.

As readers, we are so wrapped up in the conflict that transpires as
a result of Hyde's creation that we might be, in a sense, undervaluing
him. He is undoubtedly recognized as a threat to the society he was
brought into; however, this society clearly wasn't ready for such a cre-
ation. Therefore, as Stevenson shows us through Dr. Lanyon, we are
unable to appreciate the value in this experiment gone right. During the
scene in which Lanyon is about to witness Hyde's transformation back
into Jekyll, Hyde taunts:

> Will you be wise? will you be guided? will you suffer me to
> take this glass in my hand and to go forth from your house
> without further parley? or has the greed of curiosity too
> much command of you? Think before you answer, for it
> shall be done as you decide. As you decide, you shall be left
> as you were before, and neither richer nor wiser, unless the
> sense of service rendered to a man in mortal distress may
> be counted as a province of knowledge and new avenues to
> fame and power shall be laid open to you here, in this room,
> upon the instant; and your sight shall be blasted by a prodigy
> to stagger the unbelief of Satan. (Stevenson 46)

Hyde warns Lanyon that if he witnesses the transformation he will put
himself at risk, but if he survives he will be able to pass on knowledge
so remarkable that it will take him to "new avenues to fame and power"
unlike anything he could have ever imagined. Here, Stevenson presents

to us an interesting question—should we continue to live in the safety of what is already known or should we dare to venture into the potentially dangerous unknown? The answer is unclear, but we do know that witnessing the transformation proves to be too much for Lanyon and ultimately leads to his death. He says,

> I saw what I saw, I heard what I heard, and my soul sickened at it … My life is shaken to its roots; sleep has left me; the deadliest terror sits by me at all hours of the day and night; I feel that my days are numbered, and that I must die; and yet I shall die incredulous. (Stevenson 47)

The conflict that Lanyon finds himself in can be perceived as analogous with the science-religion shift of the Victorian era. Christian apologist William Paley, Darwin's oft-cited opponent and author of *Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity,* proposed that the structures found in nature are so intricate and functional that they seem manmade and therefore must be the work of some divine Creator. In his scientific endeavors, Jekyll attempts to play the role of creator himself, substituting chemicals and test tubes for sexual reproduction, and is ultimately successful in creating Hyde. Stevenson may in truth be challenging Paley's Creationist views, while (based on Lanyon's death after witnessing the transformation) simultaneously endorsing them as a convenient scapegoat for all our unanswered questions regarding the complexity of humanity.

Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* is often associated with the duality of human nature and read as a sort of moral allegory of good versus evil; however, if we delve deeper into the cultural context in which the novella was written we can perceive it as a historical glimpse into the scientific world of the Victorian era. Rather than viewing Hyde as a dangerous and destructive force, we can view him as a science experiment that was incredibly successful; the society he was brought into simply was not prepared for a creation so groundbreaking.

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ANNETTE TAYLOR

Constructing Contemplation: The Sculptural Allegories Hidden Within the "Third Nature" of the Garden of Bomarzo

Annette Taylor, class of 2016, graduated with a defgree in Art History and Art Management.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

Growing up in the Rocky Mountains of Idaho, I found myself captivated and drawn towards the unpredictable spirit of the environment, continuously testing myself amidst its intimidating, yet alluring energies. Nature was a mystery that could not be solved in my eyes, which was why I was so intrigued when Professor Lusheck directed me towards an Italian Renaissance garden that has mystified and disoriented visitors for centuries, the Garden of Bomarzo (1552–1582). Atypical to the Renaissance notion of a garden as an ideal "third nature," representing the natural world as a disciplined entity of heaven, the Garden of Bomarzo fused art and the environment to illustrate the innate unruliness that is found within nature. As I dove deeper into the literary, mythological, and autobiographical influences of the garden, I was challenged to answer unforeseen questions that enhanced my understanding of what I hold dearest in life: the essence of humanity, virtue, and nature itself.

 —Annette Taylor

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Annette Taylor graduated from the University of San Francisco with an Art History/Arts Management major in spring 2016. She wrote this award-winning paper for her Renaissance Art seminar in fall 2015. Her exquisitely written essay explores Renaissance theories of imitation, nature, and artifice as they pertain to the memorably grotesque 16th-century sculptures of the Sacro Bosco (or 'Sacred Gardens') of Bomarzo, Italy. Known for its monumental sculptural monsters and "deformed" works of art executed for an elite, humanist patron, Vicino Orsini (1523–1583), the Sacro Bosco epitomizes the late Renaissance Mannerist victory of artifice and the imagination over idealization, and even Nature herself. For an essay that tackles the complicated idea of, and taste for, the so-called "third nature" in late 16th-century Renaissance humanist circles, Annette won the Department of Art + Architecture award for Best Art History Research Paper in 2016.

 —Kate Lusheck, Department of Art + Architecture

Constructing Contemplation: The Sculptural Allegories Hidden Within the "Third Nature" of the Garden of Bomarzo

TU CH'ENTRI QUA PON MENTE PARTE A PARTE
E DIMMI POI SE TANTE MERAVIGILE
SIEN FATTE PER INGANNO O PUR PER ARTE

You who enter here put your mind to it part by part
and tell me then if so many wonders
were made as trickery or as art

Nestled within a small valley at the foot of Mount Cimino in Italy lays the distinctive and surreal Garden of Bomarzo, the Park of Monsters (1552-1582).[1] The garden, or *Sacro Bosco* (Sacred Grove) as patron Pier Francesco "Vicino" Orsini (1523-1585) titled it, has mystified and perplexed visitors since it was erected; excluding the few centuries it fell into obscurity after Vicino's death in 1585.[2] The atypical atmosphere, combined with the bizarre and theoretically threatening sculptures and inscriptions that comprise the Bomarzo grounds, leave visitors with a sense of wonder and a desire to unravel the riddles hidden within the garden's walls.

The Garden of Bomarzo provides a peculiar glimpse into what is characteristic of mid- to late-sixteenth-century garden design. Claudia Lazzaro observes that Bomarzo reflects a Renaissance agricultural metaphor: "nature produces better fruit if planted and cultivated."[3] Typical sixteenth-century gardens illustrated this metaphor by fusing art and the environment to expose the underlying cosmic order that was believed to

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1 Margarette J Darnall and Mark S. Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo: Its 16th-Century Literary and Antiquarian Context," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984): 1.

2 Ibid.

3 Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-century Central Italy* (Yale University Press, 1990), 8.

be hidden within nature. This bond has been defined as a "third nature."[4] Within the *Sacro Bosco,* Vicino and his architect Pirro Ligorio (1514–1583) studiously avoided the conventional appearances of a proper "third nature" designing a planned chaos of sporadic paths and restricted symmetries in the Bomarzo realm (Figure 1). They played with the natural outcrops of rock and wild forestry to form and arrange the twelve grotesque sculptures that decorate the 250 by 125 meters of the Sacred Grove.[5] These predominantly beastly sculptures range from 5.5 to 7.7 meters tall, and are carved into the natural rock of the landscape, appearing to grow out of the tangled woodlands of the valley.[6] They ornament seemingly unorganized and chaotic pathways that form a labyrinthine journey throughout the *bosco,* requesting that visitors make their own decisions as they roam the unsettling grove. The garden contains deep symbolism from mind-tingling inscriptions that are dispersed amongst the sculptures from the work of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and other respected literary masters of the time.[7] The imagery of the sculptures and their positions within the garden often contradict each other, seeming to resist interpretation.[8] Almost every centimeter of the Garden of Bomarzo opposes the Renaissance architectural-naturalistic views of a divine "third nature," yet it captures the truth of nature more competently than most of the gardens of its time. It is as if Vicino and Ligorio created an intellectual scheme within the garden, to have the *Sacro Bosco* puzzle all who entered and to trigger an altered intellect and thought on an ideal "third nature" and nature itself.

The intellectual scheme within the Park of Monsters guided the minds of Vicino's visitors into a meditation on curiosity, amusement, and eventually, introspection. The most documented visitors to the Garden of Bomarzo were within Vicino's *literati* circle, which consisted of high intellectuals, humanists, and aristocrats whom would be well-versed and informed on many of the allegorical references tied within the grotesque

4   Ibid., 9.
5   John P. Oleson, "A Reproduction of an Etruscan Tomb in the Parco dei Monstri at Bomarzo," *Art Bulletin,* 57 no. 3 (1975): 410.
6   Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 4.
7   Ibid., 6.
8   Luke Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden: The Grotesque and the Gigantic in Renaissance Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 46.

sculptures of the grove.[9] These members included cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Cristoforo Madruzzo, who were patrician landowners near the garden.[10] Iconographer Annibal Caro, who acted as a patron advisor for Alessandro Farnese was also in the entourage, and had counseled Vicino previously on the design for a loggia in the Castello Orsini at Bomarzo.[11] Annibal Caro's *Lettere familiari*—dated June 6, 1563—is the first mention of Bomarzo that can be found in contemporary documents.[12] In the letter, Caro complains about the conventionality of Vicino's brother-in-law, Torquato Conti's garden, and suggests that more extravagant details be added to compete with the "bizzarrie del boschetto del Signor Vicino."[13] (oddities of Mr. Vicino's grove). More praise for Bomarzo came from editor Francesco Sansovino, who, also within Vicino's circle, dedicated the book *Arcadia* of Jacopo Sannazaro (1578) to Vicino. Sansovino addressed Vicino as "the most illustrious Lord" and continued on to state, "when I think of your most beautiful estate of Bomarzo I am unable to refrain from sighing … all these things, made at great expense and with marvelous judgment, cause me the highest degree of longing: longing, I mean, to see those sights again whenever that may be…"[14] Caro's letter and Sansovino's dedication are minor examples that prove how captivating the Garden of Bomarzo was for men of letters in the sixteenth century. They confirm that the beginning design processes, as well as the finished product of gardens and villas, were of equal importance in the Renaissance world.[15] This Renaissance world of symbols and allegories gave subjects like gardens different layers of meanings that could be continuously unraveled, and held an enormous point of fascination with elite scholars. The men who are known to have belonged to Vicino's retinue heatedly discussed the motifs within Bomarzo, which successfully displayed his "sophistication, erudition, and wit."[16]

9   Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 1.

10   Ibid.

11   Clare Robertson, "Annibal Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 164.

12   Josephine Von Hennenberg, "Bomarzo: The Extravagant Garden of Pier Francesco Orsini," *Italian Quarterly* 42 (1967): 6.

13   Ibid.

14   J. B. Bury, "The Reputation of Bomarzo," *Journal of Garden History* 3 (1983): 108.

15   Hennenberg, "Bomarzo," 6.

16   Ibid., 7.

Renaissance gardens were more than a place for rest and relaxation; they were paradisiacal spaces meant to evoke contemplation and be conducive to intellectual activity.[17] The *Sacro Bosco* successfully embodies this and much, much more.

Located deep into the labyrinth of the garden rests a horrendously grotesque face composed of flared nostrils, wide empty eyes, and a gaping mouth that expands from within the rock, releasing a nervous and terrifying energy. A table rests within the cavernous mouth in place of the tongue, inviting visitors to sit and dine within. This is one of the most iconic sculptures in the Garden of Bomarzo, the Hell Mouth (Figures 2,3). The contrast between the unsettling exterior and composed interior of the beast is terrifying, yet also witty. Any sound, laughter, or discussion, would reverberate and erupt from inside the mouth, resulting in the appearance of the monster roaring from the outside.[18] Vicino and Ligorio toyed with the idea of classical *al fresco* banquets as occasions for relaxed and learned discussions by "oscillating the visitor between discomfort and amusement" within the grotto.[19] The inscription along the upper lip (that has been noted to be a deliberately inaccurate quotation from Dante's *Divine Comedy*) reads, "leave all reason/thought, you who enter here"[20] This inscription establishes the Hell Mouth as the incarnation of unreason. Because the visitor feels destabilized and fluctuates between uneasiness and delight, the Hell Mouth is not an ideal place for reflection. Yet, the dining table within the calm interior appeals to the opposite. The hellish exterior triggers insecure thoughts, while the internal tranquility incites contemplation. Luke Morgan argues that the monster represents "nature's copiousness and variety."[21] The "paradoxical inversion" of the Hell Mouth as what seems an infernal pit and the unfamiliar, yet pleasant dining chamber inside of it, refers to the "inventiveness of nature itself."[22] The anxious, yet also enchanting feelings derived out of

17 Ibid., 6.
18 Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, "Not before either known or dreamt of:' the Hypnero-tomachia Poliphili and the craft of wonder," *Word and Image* 31 (2012): 113.
19 Ibid.
20 Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 47.
21 Luke Morgan, "The monster in the garden: the grotesque, the gigantic, and the monstrous in Renaissance landscape design," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 31 (2011): 174.
22 Ibid.

the sculpture reflect the same feelings encountered in the wilderness, and a "third nature" is created within this contrast of fear and delight that surrounds the Hell Mouth.[23] The Hell Mouth in Bomarzo depicts nature as an unreasoning, yet inwardly pleasant place and contrasts greatly from the notion of nature as a divine and distinctively perfect paradise.

The archetypal sixteenth-century Renaissance notion of the natural world revolved around the view of nature as an ordered reflection of the divinely created cosmos. This sprouted a desire within Renaissance culture to reflect the similarities between nature and humanity's virtues, qualities, and beliefs. Nature, however, was regarded as beneath humanity on a hierarchical scale, with God at the pinnacle, and this created a conflicting dialogue between society and the environment.[24] This dialogue was exhibited through artwork, and resulted in a similar conflicting discourse between art and nature. Renaissance artistic theory asked for art to imitate nature's outward appearance and inward fundamental order. Gardens were particularly appropriate for this, as nature itself provided the finest raw materials that could be selected, shaped, designed, and controlled through the use of art.[25] This perfection was fulfilled with mathematical ratios and perspectives that formed proportional relationships, symmetry, and geometric forms in the design of the garden. For example, refer to the garden of the Villa d'Este (1560-1575) outside of Rome (Figure 4), which was also designed by Pirro Ligorio.[26] In Renaissance gardens, nature was treated as an ordered and perfected "cut stone or gem, neither all nature nor all art, but both parts, both helping each other."[27]

As art imitated nature in the Renaissance garden, nature also imitated art, which resulted in an intrinsic dance between the designer of the garden and the environment itself. This dance eventually concludes in a seamless, complementary balance between art and nature. In his book on life in the country, titled *La Villa* (1559), which has been recognized as one of Orsini's most influential written works, Bartolomeo Taegio characterized this perfect symmetry between art and the environment as "a

23 Ibid.
24 Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, 7.
25 Ibid., 8.
26 Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 71.
27 Ibid., 8.

third nature," by stating, "nature incorporated with art is made the creator and connatural of art, and from both is made a third nature..."[28] This concept evolved from the pre-established idea of a second nature from antiquity.[29] Cicero described the "second nature" as the act of human modification on the environment. In Cicero's words: "We sow corn and plant trees. We fertilize the soil by irrigation. We dam the rivers to guide them where we will. One may say that we seek with our human hands to create a second nature in the natural world."[30] The "third nature" united human artistic creation and modification with the heavenly ordered nature, which resulted in an embodiment of the period's conception of splendor and magnificence. The ability to design a "third nature" in the Renaissance demonstrated a true and complete understanding of the natural world to the church and public, or full knowledge of the microcosm that reflected the divinely created macrocosm.[31] An accurate "third nature" revealed the creator's virtue and enhanced their divine reputation in society, and ultimately in heaven.[32] It also created a paradisiacal space meant to form the ideal grounds for intellectual and religious contemplation.[33] In his *Ten Books on Architecture,* Leon Battista Alberti noted that gardens should be a place of pleasure, stating, "there should be gardens full of delightful plants" and "there should also be truly festive space."[34] This idealized concept suggests the classical literary ideal of a *locus amoenus,* or pleasant place, which was a consistent influence in sixteenth-century gardens and literature.[35] A *locus amoenus* is an idyllic, remote landscape that pulls the mind into a place of silent refuge, away from the burdens of society. As an embodiment of the *locus amoenus* and the "third nature," a Renaissance garden acted as a metaphysical sanctuary for intellectuals to reflect upon

28   Bartolomeo Taegio, *La Villa,* cited in Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden,* 9.
29   Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden,* 9.
30   Quintus Tullius Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II: 152; cited in Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden,* 9.
31   Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden,* 10.
32   Ibid.
33   Ibid.
34   Leon Battista Alberti, "With what Paintings, Plants and Statues, it is proper to adorn the Pavements, Porticoes, Apartments and Gardens of a private House," in *Ten Books on Architecture,* ed. by Joseph Rykwert, trans. Cosimo Bartoli and James Leoni, (Transatlantic Arts, 1966), 192–194.
35   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 2.

the world they inhabited.[36]

   Luke Morgan argues in *The Monsters in the Garden* that the concept of the garden as a *locus amoenus* is not always accurate. Some Renaissance gardens exhibit symbolism of violence or torment within their imagery and composition.[37] These violent themes contradict the typical pleasant and peaceful refuge brought about by the *locus amoenus* and "third nature" in gardens. For example, pleasant places provided the setting for acts of horror in one of the principal sources of Renaissance garden iconography, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.[38] The story of the sexual assault of Hermaphroditus, for instance, takes place in a rustic and serene landscape, similar to that of a *locus amoenus*. Yet Salamacis horrifically attacks within this setting, "like the serpent when it is being carried off into the air by the king of birds … like the ivy encircling tall tree trunks, or the squid which holds fast the prey it has caught in the depths of the sea, by wrapping its tentacles round on every side."[39] These serpent-like shapes are imitated within Renaissance gardens and appear in the forms of snakes or dragons (Figure 5). Ovid scholar Charles Paul Segal argues that the violent themes within *Metamorphosis* create "a disturbing conflict between art and nature, between the suspended, delicate beauty of the sheltered woods and their virginal inhabitants on the one hand, and violent desire on the other."[40] This raises the possibility that the relationship between the violent themes of Renaissance garden design and the assumed "compassionate sympathy" between culture and the environment in the *locus amoenus* and "third nature" results in a struggle between art and nature, and nature and society.[41] These ideas run up against all previously conceived notions of the relationship between art and nature in gardens. It suggests that perhaps nature is not as ordered as was previously believed, and that an accurate "third nature" in a garden would depict the truly wild and unknowable essence in nature, art, and society.

   The reactions that were stimulated from the impression of a "third nature," or *locus amoenus,* in gardens were greatly enhanced by the impor-

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36   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 2.
37   Ibid., 3.
38   Ibid.
39   Ibid., 5–6.
40   Ibid., 6.
41   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 7.

tance of literary influences on Renaissance garden iconography. Classical and respected contemporary works served as principal sources of the imagery and symbolism present within many Renaissance gardens' sculptures, fountains and architecture.[42] Renaissance scholar Eugenio Battisti described the garden and "its ability to play with the human senses" as "an intellectual construct that encompasses all the arts, literary as well as visual."[43] Battisti goes on to say, "The garden is a place of pleasure, the *locus amoenus,* filled with joy, but it resounds in love laments of poets; it is a place of feasts, entertainments of friends, a setting for philosophical discussions, and a restorative for both the body and the soul … finally it is a perpetual source of moral instruction."[44] Affluent humanist *literati* similar to Orsini and his circle would have been able to recognize and truly grasp this poetic composition within garden design and sought to understand and "control the macrocosm of the universe through the categorization of earthly experience."[45] The inscriptions from literary masters—as well as the allegories that mingle with the startling sculptures in the Garden of Bomarzo—enriched the viewer's consciousness, and aided in producing the distressed and wondrous thoughts that differentiate the garden from others of its time.

　　Two colossal sphinxes greet visitors at the entrance to the garden with inscriptions that act as an introduction, or forewarning, to the thought-provoking experiences waiting inside the grounds (Figure 6). The inscription on the first sphinx reads:

<div align="center">

CHI CON CILIA INARCATE
ET LABBRA STRETTE
NON VA PER QUESTO LOCO
MANCO AMMIRA
LE FAMOSE DEL MONDO
MOLI SETTE

</div>

42　Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 6–10.

43　Ibid., 6.

44　Eugenio Battisti, "L'antirinascimento," 1962, cited in *ibid.*

45　Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 6.

Whoever without raised eyebrows
and pursed lips
goes through this place
will fail to admire
the famous
seven wonders of the world

And on the second sphinx:

TU CH'ENTRI QUA PON MENTE PARTE A PARTE
E DIMMI POI SE TANTE MERAVIGILE
SIEN FATTE PER INGANNO O PUR PER ARTE

You who enter here put your mind to it part by part
and tell me then if so many wonders
were made as trickery or as art

Vicino's intellectual circle would have been familiar with the ancient Greek myth of the sphinx that was associated with the riddle: What animal goes on four legs in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening? The sphinx consumed those who could not solve this riddle, and many suffered this fate before Oedipus declared that it was man, who crawls as an infant, walks as an adult, and uses a cane as a senior. Egyptian sphinxes were also placed outside of holy places to ensure that the secrets of the gods were not revealed.[46] The mixture of the colossal sphinxes with these wondrous quotations obliquely cautions viewers that the woodlands they stand before will guide the mind into an unfamiliar, dreamlike state where moral dilemmas are contemplated. It also advises the viewer to rely on intellect to decipher the meaning of what they will see, and have reflection upon common, everyday life.[47] The final words, "if so many wonders were made as trickery or as art" asks contemporaries if Renaissance art truly is a mimesis of the actual natural world, or rather an imitation of society's misconceived natural world.

Into the garden and past the sphinxes, two wrestling colossal giants

46   Jessie Sheeler, *The Garden at Bomarzo: A Renaissance Riddle* (Frances Lincoln, 2007), 41–42.

47   Sheeler, *The Garden of Bomarzo,* 41–42.

stand at 7.7 meters tall, signaling an answer to this question (Figures 7,8).[48] A nude colossus rises out of the ground, grasping the legs of a withering foe, preparing to tear him in half. Their armor lays nearby, bearing the Orsini arms. Based on the scene and an inscription nearby, scholars have identified these figures as the ancient character of Orlando, tearing apart a woodsman in the Italian Renaissance epic poem, *Orlando Furioso.* Orlando, who has been given superhuman strength, fails to gain the love of a princess, Angelica, and thus goes mad losing all sense of reason. After shedding his armor and clothing, he roams and kills aimlessly, devouring raw flesh.[49] It has been noted that Vicino chose this scene for personal reasons, as it parallels with the time that his mistress, Laura, fell in love with another man and eloped. Laura left behind her daughter, Orontea, who Vicino named after a character from *Orlando Furioso.*[50] Another parallel refers to the horrors Vicino experienced fighting in the Battle of Hesdin (1553), in which he was taken prisoner,[51] and later in a war undertaken by Pope Paul IV (r. 1555-1559) against Imperial soldiers in Rome.[52] Vicino ended his military career in the latter war, following the appalling events that occurred in the town of Montefortino. After the town had signed an agreement with the Pope, Vicino sent troops that were then ambushed by the townspeople. In response, the Pope ordered the decimation of the town. The men were slaughtered and the churches into which the women and children had fled were burned down.[53] Due to his heartbreak, imprisonment, and the deceptive and horrific events of Montefortino, Vicino understandably developed a harsh view of nature and culture. The *Wrestling Colossi* possibly depicts Vicino's beliefs on the wild and unruly side of nature, man, and society, rather than the godlike perfection of nature itself.

The enormous size of the sculptures at Bomarzo cause a degree of mental and physical vertigo by demanding visitors to abruptly adapt their minds "from the plausible to the impossible, or from the limpid serene

48 Darnall and Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo," 13–15.

49 Ibid.

50 Lynette M. F. Bosch, "Bomarzo: A Study in Personal Imagery," *Garden History 97* (1982): 104–105.

51 Bosch, "Bomarzo," 100.

52 Hennenberg, "Bomarzo," 4.

53 Sheeler, *The Garden of Bomarzo,* 17.

to the strangely horrid."[54] Nature also causes this loss of dimension by giving the sense of being quite large compared to a flower petal, or very miniscule compared to a towering mountain or an expanding ocean. The giants in the *bosco* give a similar psychological impression as the environment itself, and thus embody nature.[55] Because the live rock in Bomarzo is transformed into personified sculptures with symbols and allegories, it occupies the space of a "third nature" between nature and art.[56] The live rock also develops the concept of Earth as a living body.[57] A body is constantly in the act of becoming. It is never completed and always imperfect and metamorphic, similar to that of nature. Just as a human cannot control a majority of the changes in *their* life, nature is uncontrollable, and this is reflected in the disordered layout and plan of the *Sacro Bosco.*[58] Traveling through the *Sacro Bosco* is comparable to that of wandering throughout nature and life, as there is no clear itinerary and many unforeseen developments take the visitor, or persons, by surprise. The dark themes found in much of the grove also reflect the malevolence that often resides within nature, society, and man. With all of this, Vicino's "third nature" exemplifies his beliefs on the truth of nature and society to be more wild and disorderly than what was commonly believed by Renaissance society. Bomarzo's "third nature" does not display the artistic creation and modification of the ordered and divine natural world; it presents the artistic conception of nature and humanity in its genuine wild and undisciplined form.

Luke Morgan refers to the Garden of Bomarzo as heterotopic, "in the sense that it continually calls into question its own utterances, which results in a form of lexical and syntactic instability. Its notorious resistance to interpretation … become[s] a consequence of its internal denial and critique of its own propositions."[59] Vicino's intellectual game within the Garden of Bomarzo has baffled and enthralled visitors since its creation. There have been many different reactions and interpretations on the *Sacro Bosco*, and it seems that there will never be one true

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54   Hennenberg, "Bomarzo," 7.

55   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 46.

56   Ibid.

57   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 148.

58   Ibid.

59   Ibid., 46.

meaning to what occurs within the garden's unique sculptures, fountains, and architecture. This may have been what Vicino was hoping for all along. Bomarzo confronts visitors with much more than an ambivalence of meaning. The "third nature" it constructs requires visitors to reflect and contemplate the norms of life and society, acting as a "critical mirror, bringing together disparate and even opposed concepts, figures, and formations, and revealing the limitations, omissions, and repressions of normative thinking in the process."[60] By demanding an analysis of everyday life, the Garden of Bomarzo opened the minds of visitors and played with many different forms of intellect. For this reason, the purest beauty that can be found within the "third nature" of the *Sacro Bosco* is the awakened intellect and wonder that guides the viewer's way.
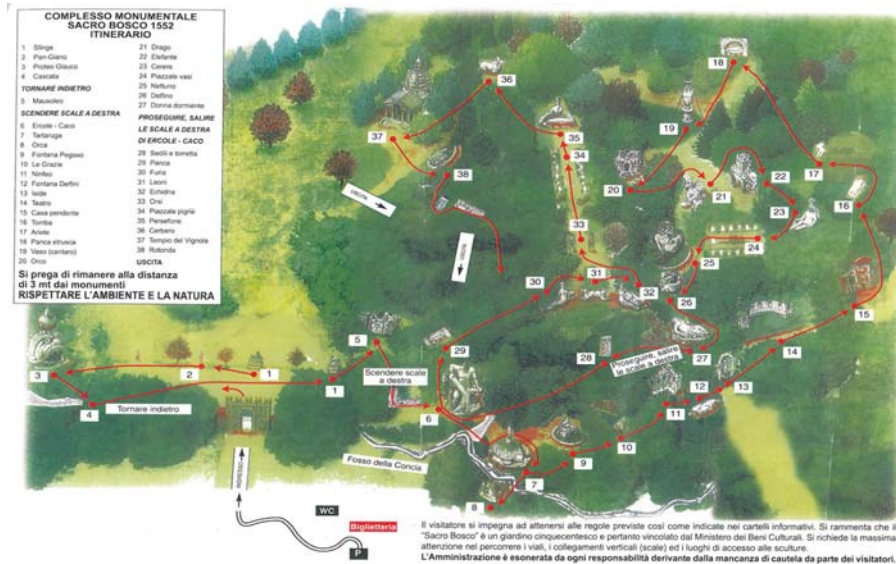
60   Morgan, *The Monsters in the Garden,* (2015): 46.

Figure 1. Bomarzo, Garden Map. Image courtesy of Nan Quick's Diaries for Armchair Travelers, www.nanquick.com

Figure 2. Hell Mouth, Garden of Bomarzo. Image courtesy of Robbin Merrit.

Figure 3. Close-up of Hell Mouth, Garden of Bomarzo. Image courtesy of Jeff Goldberg.
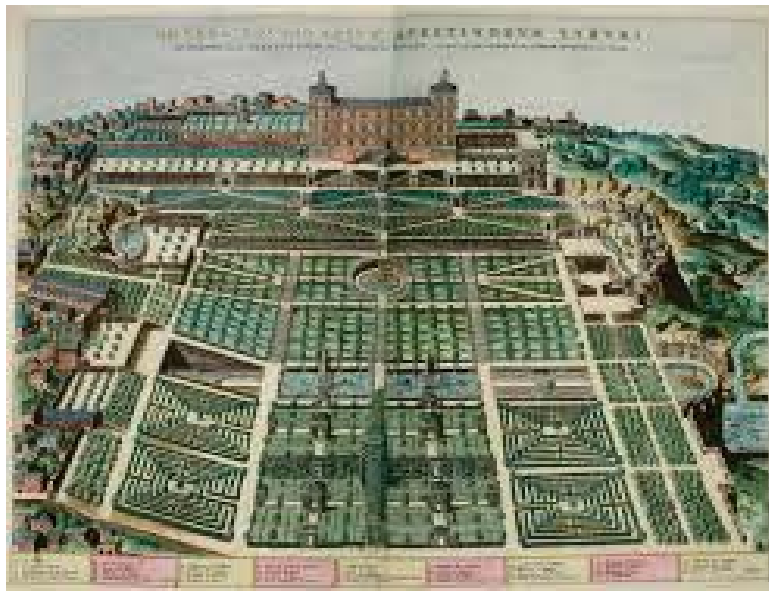

Figure 4. Located outside of Rome, the Garden of the Villa d'Este (depicted above) was also designed by Pirro Ligorio. Image courtesy of Etienne Duperac.

Figure 5. Dragon Fighting Lion, Garden of Bomarzo. Image courtesy of Joachim Weidig.

Figure 6. Sphinx, Garden of Bomarzo. Images courtesy of Jeff Goldberg.

Figure 7. Wrestling Colossi, Garden of Bomarzo. Image courtesy of M. Dion Formisano.

Figure 8. Detail of face of Withering Foe, Garden of Bomarzo. Image courtesy of
        M. Dion Formisano.

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MAISY WILDERMUTH

Too Much Bad News: The Mental Repercussions of Distressing Media

Maisy Wildermuth, class of 2019, is pursuing a degree in English.

WRITER'S COMMENTS

I chose to focus this essay around bad news because I personally have felt the deep-reaching grip of negative news-induced worry and wanted to shed light on why humans are often drawn to bad news over good. The essay assignment was to examine a chosen media bias from Brooke Gladstone's "The Great Refusal," although right away I knew I would have to dig deeper than just discussing the obvious effects of consuming bad news. It wasn't until days later when I was watching Dan Gilroy's 2014 film *Nightcrawler*, which follows the escapades of a man who stumbles into a job filming raw footage of accidents and crimes to sell to news stations, that I considered the mental states of those behind the stories we see every day, specifically those on the scene or in the editing room, and this became a key part of "Too Much Bad News."
   —Maisy Wildermuth

INSTRUCTOR'S COMMENTS

Maisy Wildermuth begins her essay by vividly describing how her childhood was marred by the unrelenting bad news she was exposed to by American media. She then quickly establishes that her own negative experience illustrates a much larger phenomenon. Drawing on a range of credible contemporary research—and integrating additional personal reflection along the way—Maisy lays out the damaging consequences of what Brooke Gladstone calls the "bad news bias." These consequences include distorted thinking, apathy, fear, and even hopelessness. For journalists, the costs can be even more severe. Having revealed the ways in which we are barraged and harmed by constant negative news, I find it appropriate that Maisy refuses to push a particular solution onto her audience; rather, she empowers her readers by encouraging us to think through for ourselves what it means to be informed—and how we want to approach creating a healthier relationship with contemporary news sources.
   —Devon Christina Holmes, Department of Rhetoric and Language

Too Much Bad News:
The Mental Repercussions of Distressing Media

THE YEAR IS 2003. I am eight years old and just beginning second grade. My mother sits me down at her desk, places a pen and a faded notepad in front of me. She tells me to write down all the things I am afraid of. This is the only way to get rid of my worries—to just write them all down. I try to focus on just one topic from the hundreds that terrify me every day. I put pen to paper and begin writing: *1. I am worried that I will get kidnapped.* My mom nods, encouraging me to continue. She knows that this fear stems from a recent news story about a child who was kidnapped in Los Angeles. *2. I am worried that a tree will fall on our house*—a fear stemming from another news story about a house in our neighborhood that took a nasty blow during a windstorm last week. *3. I am worried that someone will crash our airplane when we fly to Hawaii this summer.* It's two years after 9/11, and Americans are still being constantly inundated with horror stories from the tragic event. My family has stopped watching the news at home, but when I go to friends' houses for play dates, I can often count on the familiar background noise of the five o'clock news. "It could happen to anyone," the reporters insist. "Nobody is safe." My young ears hear this and the blood drains from my face. If the news has a lasting effect on anyone, it's me.

There are a number of common biases that wrack today's media, causing stories to bend and change in various directions, telling different versions of the truth. It seems almost impossible to keep a news story free from at least one sort of bias due to the fact that an opinionated human being has written it. Brooke Gladstone, host of National Public Radio's On the Media broadcast and author of *The Influencing Machine*, describes the "bad news bias," which refers to the media's tendency to blow up small issues until they look like massive problems no one can or should ignore. This phenomenon draws more people to watch the news or read articles on a regular basis because they are terrified of whatever "crisis" the world is currently caught up in. In her article "The Great Refusal," Gladstone explains that this method of telling the news "makes the world seem more dangerous than it actually is" (331). Some examples Gladstone provides for these dramatizations include terrorism, Swine

Flu, sexting, and socialism—issues meant to terrify the masses. Are these problems really as big a deal as they are made out to seem?

News sources work tirelessly to provide around-the-clock news. As Steven Pinker and Andrew Mack, writers for *Slate* magazine explain, in order to have enough "exciting" content, journalists often take the tiniest morsel of bad news and blow it completely out of proportion, making it seem like the world is quite literally falling apart. According to their research, which compares global and historical data for homicide, mass killings, and war, violence rates "have been in steady decline in most of the world" (Pinker and Mack). However, most of the general public does not know this, because according to the news, the planet remains steeped in tragedy. There are terrible consequences to this common mindset. While news companies make bad news the norm in order to acquire more viewers and thus make more money, the shock waves of their actions reverberate much farther than anticipated. Recent studies, to be discussed shortly, have shown the negative effects of too much bad news on the human brain. It has become alarmingly clear that the disproportionate inclusion of the bad news bias in current media is highly detrimental.

People are constantly bombarded with negative news stories, so much so that they begin to gravitate toward them, eventually just outright ignoring the positive stories that come up on online news feeds or televisions. As Gladstone laments, "We are wired to care about anything that even remotely threatens us" (331). People are inclined to search out negative stories, whether purposefully or subconsciously, due to an intrinsic self-protection complex. However, as British psychologist Graham Davey, author of *Clinical Psychology* and editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Experimental Psychopathology*, states, "Viewing negative news means that you're likely to see your own personal worries as more threatening and severe, and when you do start worrying about them, you're more likely to find your worry difficult to control and more distressing than it would normally be" (qtd. in Gregoire). So much exposure to negative news can heighten a person's own worrying habits, magnifying every little thing one finds distressing until it becomes almost unbearable, just like I spent most of my childhood doing. Of course, this is exactly what the news sources want from their consumers; they want individuals to be so worried that they keep checking back, tuning in, reading more articles in an

attempt to find some sort of closure. But such closure does not exist, because stories will continue to make new small issues seem huge, and the cycle will just keep building on itself.

In a piece for *New York Magazine*, senior editor Jesse Singal also addresses the effects of the bad news bias on consumers, but his approach varies from Davey's in identifying the biggest psychological issues stemming from it. He mentions Mary McNaughton–Cassill, who researches the direct links between stress and media consumption and claims that people are more likely to feel helpless after being overwhelmed with negative news stories. McNaughton–Cassil, regarding the impact of bad news, states, "If you ask them how they feel about the world, what they end up with is this malaise: 'Everything's kinda bad' and 'Why should I vote? It's not gonna help' and 'I could donate money, but there's just gonna be another kid who's starving next week'" (qtd. in Singal). This phenomenon is in and of itself quite distressing. In a country where democracy is a key part of society, the backlash of a loss of voters is problematic. Negative news stories are creating a country of citizens who believe their voice and their efforts do not matter. This is very dangerous because if no one ever takes action, the fragile construct of society could come crumbling down. Singal takes his argument further, stating that, for those who do vote, "people who believe in the concept of unmitigated evil appear more likely to support torture and other violent policies." That is, since negative news makes people see the world as a darker place than it actually is, full of terrible evils, they might support policies that verge on barbaric, policies they would not normally support, but do because they think these destructive practices are the only way to do away with the evils lurking just outside their door. The worst part of this whole issue is that these evils reside not on their doorstep, but in their minds; these monsters cannot escape television sets unless individuals grant them permission by acknowledging them. And, more often than not, they do.

Separate from the tightening grip of the bad news bias on consumers, these gruesome ideas, scenes, and images have an arguably worse impact on the journalists and reporters themselves. These are the people who must find bad news and either film, photograph, or write about it. A recent study led by members of the Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre in Toronto, found that journalists who were frequently exposed

to unedited graphic content "consistently predicted multiple indices of psychopathology, be they related to anxiety, depression, [post-traumatic stress disorder] or alcohol consumption" (Feinstein et al. 3). When violent scenes or images are shown on the news for viewers to watch, they have been edited, the most gruesome pieces blurred over or cut out completely. However, there are journalists who see these clips or photos, or experience them on the scene, unedited, and this really takes a toll on many of them. The study mentioned above found that it was not the duration of images that caused the most problems, but the alarming frequency with which journalists must view them. The worst part? As Stephen J. A. Ward, founding director of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Journalism Ethics states, "Journalism is far behind other professions, such as … fire and police departments, in recognizing trauma as a serious issue that must be addressed. The myth still exists that journalists shouldn't need trauma programs because journalists are supposed to be 'tough as nails.'" Thus, discussing the mental affects of these traumas makes journalists seem weak or unfit to succeed on such a career path. As a result, few people even talk about it.

Further, journalists who specialize in topics concerning warfare face still greater consequences. In comparison to other journalists, those who report on war are more likely to suffer from depression and PTSD, and "interviews undertaken with war journalists indicated lifetime prevalence rates of these disorders approaching those seen in combat veterans" (Feinstein, et al. 4). Journalists who report specifically on war news experience psychological issues nearly as intense as the war veterans themselves, the men and women on the warfront and behind the guns. These are regular civilians who have not been drafted to fight and kill, but rather are simply attempting to solidify a career in journalism, reporting, or writing. Some might argue that the journalists must know, to some extent, what they are getting into when they choose to report on war stories. However, a study titled "A Hazardous Profession: War, Journalists, and Psychopathology" from the *American Journal of Psychiatry* found that these journalists have to act from a point of career ambition. Reporters rationalize the decision to enter dangerous war situations by explaining, "war reporting gives you a higher media profile; it is difficult to refuse assignments; there is pressure to stay in the field to justify the expense and trouble of getting you there; to prevent other reporters from 'taking'

your assignment" (Feinstein et al. 1574). These journalists need to make a living, and reporting on war stories is one of the best ways to get one's name out there. That is, if they are able to make it out unscathed, because the dangers do not just end with those affecting the mind. Journalists reporting on foreign soil, as is often the case with war journalism, either work alone or with very little support, and they risk their lives in doing so. In an article entitled "Trauma and Journalism," Ward states:

> More than 1,200 journalists were killed in the past 10 years of foreign reporting. More than 80 journalists were killed in Iraq since the 2003 war began. Journalists may be targets of terrorists, or military units. Growth of media means more journalists are in the line of danger.

Thus, it has become increasingly clear that the mental *and* physical dangers, specifically for journalists, of reporting on bad news are high. And this goes not only for those covering war stories, but also for everyday journalists who report on car crashes, suicides, shootings, and every other piece of tragic news they can find. It is their job to blow these stories out of proportion, to make a couple of car crashes seem like a hit-and-run spree or to wonder aloud if a suicide could have actually been a murder, asking the terrifying question, "Where will the killer strike next?" The idea that news companies employ when utilizing the bad news bias is that no one is safe from these dangers. And, in some ways, these journalists and reporters are right—because they are not safe either.

As the horrible effects of the bad news bias begin to surface in today's media-soaked society, the hopelessness of this vicious cycle of reporting can seem almost as inescapable as the negative news itself. Citizens are left to ponder if there might be any way out of this dark, twisted view that journalism has locked the masses into. Such a hope seems impossible, for as long as there is journalism, there is bound to be a highlight on bad news. And with that highlight comes a willing audience of terrified viewers who sit in front of glowing television sets, computers, or phone screens in the comfort of their homes, gritting their teeth at the latest updates on terrorism or deathly foreign viruses, and jumping ten feet off the couch at the slightest scratch from a gnarled tree branch on their windowpane. Is this how the human race wants to live, in con-

stant fear of the world around them? Why allow these terrifying stories to control our brains?

I am going to return once more to my own childhood, to a specific experience from my days as a worry-wrought student. My second grade teacher read our class a story about Helen Keller (not a negative story at all, but an uplifting one about her triumphs and achievements). However, as Davey shared, hearing so much bad news from the media had trained my brain to weed out the threats from anything I heard or read; it had heightened my own sense of worry. All I took away from the story on Keller were two words, *deaf* and *blind*, and they were all I could think about for months afterward. As I sat at lunch that day in my elementary school's cafeteria, I realized something I hadn't noticed before, that it was very *loud* with so many students talking and eating all at once. Already having those negative seeds of thought planted in my mind, my young brain jumped to the most logical conclusion it could: "If I keep sitting in this loud lunch area, I'm going to go deaf." I raised my hand and asked a yard aide if I could go to the nurse. Once in the safety of that tiny, sterilized office, I could finally relax. I was safe there, surrounded by gloves and medicine and shiny, clean surfaces, and so there I stayed. Every single day for the rest of the year, I ate lunch alone in the nurse's office. I was so worried that I was going to lose my hearing that I missed out on a crucial friend-making opportunity, leading to even more isolation down the line. And this all happened because I consumed so much bad news that I started to see the world as a place that wanted to hurt me, a place that was closing in on me with every step I took. My mind was not yet developed enough to realize that many of my worries were unreasonable, as I can see now. Is this how future generations are doomed to live, so immersed in the dangers of the great, big, bad world that they lose their sense of childhood innocence? This is not a fate I would wish on any child, and although I can look back on this scenario and find it almost comical today, there is no replacement for the damage of so many years of living in worry and fear.

Moving forward, I have made the conscious decision to give less weight to the latest in world catastrophes, because I can always count on each of these stories of supposed international importance to fade back into the void from which it came, and when the panic dissipates, what people are left with is the real, tangible world in front of them: daily life,

immediate issues, and pleasures that call attention away from the television screens, the cell phones, the newspapers. Yes, news is important. It is beneficial to stay informed, and necessary to be educated on national issues such as the presidential campaign and international problems such as climate change. But my personal choice is to pass over stories with negative headlines, to suffer the losses of sometimes not knowing the details of the latest devastating news story, because I know that my mental state is much better off by doing so. I am willing to make that sacrifice. To others, my choice might seem detrimental, and it is true that there is a great deal of importance in being aware of world events if one wants to assert his or her stance as a knowledgeable, global citizen. But individuals need to draw the line somewhere. The choice is really up to each person, separately, to realize when enough is enough, to understand when mental well-being is at risk, and to take the necessary steps to solve that problem, whether the solution is as simple as refraining from viewing the five o'clock news or as decisive as quitting a job as a war journalist because they've witnessed too much suffering. While news is an essential piece of the world, people must remember to always choose news sources wisely, to think about personal mental health when reading articles, and to remember that the world is not such a dark, scary place. In fact, there is so much beauty to be found if one only takes the time to notice it.

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Issue Fifteen

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