The FURJ staff wishes to thank the following for their support: the faculty and students who served as faculty and peer reviewers, the FURJ Faculty Advisory Board, and the FCRH and FCLC Dean’s Offices and their student workers.
WHAT COULD A FELLOWSHIP DO FOR YOU?

Fellowships offers exciting opportunities for high-achieving students to conduct research, attend graduate school, or teach abroad.

To learn more about applying for external fellowships, contact:
Rebecca Stark-Gendrano, PhD
Office for Prestigious Fellowships
rstarkgendrano@fordham.edu

www.fordham.edu/fellowships
Letter from the Editor 1

News and Features
Don’t Pull Your Hair Out: It Might Help Unmask Chronic Stress 2
Three Year Interdisciplinary Study of Understanding Enters Final Year 3
Combatting Racism and Fostering Accountability: Police Officers Respond 4
What Drives Your Political Behavior?: The Motivation Behind Change 5
Dr. Mark Kris on English, Science, and Learning: Alumnus Profile 7

Articles
The Status of Infants in the Ifugao Family Unit: A Case Study in the Old Kiyuyangan Village of the Philippines Based on Perinate Jar Burials 8
Margaret Desmond

Examining Teresa Deevy’s Critique of Gender Roles in Katie Roche 16
Jennifer Lynn Beall

The Ideology of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria 20
Delia C. Burns

Atheist Identity: Through the Lens of Goffman, Du Bois, and Collins 25
Canton Winer

Becoming an Advocate for a Child with Special Needs 28
Cynthia Michelle Caceres

The Molded Body: Ray and Charles Eames’s Lounge Chair Wood 32
Claire Fields

Kathak Dance Through and Beyond the Male Gaze 37
Monica Sobrin

Book Reviews
Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin’s Snuff Box to Citizens United 42
Amanda Stapp

Method Acting and its Discontents: On American Psycho-Drama 42
Samuel Farnum

Cover: Enes Reyhan/Flickr
Dear Reader,

I am pleased to present the sixth volume of the Fordham Undergraduate Research Journal (FURJ). For the better part of a decade now, FURJ has striven to showcase the fascinating work undergraduate students undertake. This year is no different. We invite you to read the research Fordham students have produced on topics ranging from mid-century American chair design to Kathak dance in India. To produce the research for Volume 6 of FURJ, students have examined infant jar burials retrieved from archaeological digs in the Philippines and conducted interviews in New York City nonprofits that serve parents of children with disabilities.

This year, we once again received more submissions than in any previous year, and the quality and breadth of the work published in these pages is a testament both to the vibrant intellectual climate present at our university and the dedicated, unyielding support Fordham provides its students in their endeavors.

FURJ has undergone numerous changes since our last volume was published. The editorial board consists almost entirely of new members. This year, for the first time, FURJ has registered with the Library of Congress for an international standard serial number (ISSN), and our research articles are receiving digital object identifiers (DOIs), thanks especially to the efforts of my predecessor, Megan McLaughlin, FCRH ’15, and Jane Suda, head of reference and information services for Fordham’s libraries. We have worked to expand our online presence, and we are publishing research profiles, along with other news and features, on our blog. Later this year, we will be publishing additional book reviews online as well. Finally, this year has seen the most collaboration between Rose Hill and Lincoln Center, with close to half our staff coming from each campus.

Our efforts would have been impossible without the dedicated support of so many in the Fordham community. I would like to thank the Dean’s Offices as Fordham College Rose Hill and Fordham College Lincoln Center, along with their student workers, for their assistance throughout the publication process. The recommendations from our Faculty Advisory Board and all our faculty reviewers were invaluable in the submissions review process. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the members of our editorial board and general staff, whose astute observations, critical insight, and eagle-eyed editing have helped to make this journal possible. Finally, on behalf of the entire FURJ staff, I would like to extend our deepest thanks and gratitude to our advisor, Dean Erin Burke, for her tireless dedication and unwavering support of FURJ and of undergraduate research at Fordham.

Sincerely,

James Lassen
Editor in Chief
Don’t Pull Your Hair Out
It Might Help Unmask Chronic Stress

Carolyn Allain

Over the course of a typical college career, students will invariably find themselves facing a great deal of stress. For most students, the stressors that they face come from new sources: an unfamiliar environment, harder classes, independence, social situations. However, for many individuals the new pressures of university life are merely drops in the bucket as they cope with chronic stress. Utilizing a cutting-edge process of analyzing the presence of the hormone cortisol in human hair, Fordham University psychology professor Tiffany Yip is teaming with the chemistry department to objectively measure long-term stress in students and its effect on overall health and well-being. This collaboration is funded by a Fordham University faculty research grant.

According to the American Psychological Association, stress is generally defined as “any uncomfortable emotional experience accompanied by predictable biochemical, physiological, and behavioral changes,” and can lead to several adverse physical consequences if the condition is extreme over a long period of time. The response of the body to stress is controlled by the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (HPA) through a series of neurological feedback interactions as a result of outside stressors. Part of this neurological system is the hormone cortisol, which regulates changes in the body such as blood pressure, immune responses, and even cardiopulmonary responses. Cortisol levels in the body normally rise and fall throughout the day following the natural human circadian rhythm, but outside stresses can lead to heightened levels of cortisol in the body, activating the familiar physical reactions of increased heart rate and sweating. Analysis of cortisol levels over time and in response to different stressors is a promising lead for better understanding the workings of the HPA and its relationship to various illnesses.

The link between cortisol in the body and stress has been studied before, but Yip seeks to take advantage of a new and more efficient method of using cortisol to track stress in individuals. According to Yip, previous studies done on human stress and its effect on daily life and moods that rely solely on participant self-reporting are subject to reporting biases. For example, participants may over-report levels of stress because they think that is what the researcher wants. With only the participants’ word to go on, psychologists have often struggled to find an objective means of identifying convergent evidence. New research techniques and technologies combat this obstacle—cortisol is transferred through the blood and thus manifests itself in other parts of the body, namely saliva, feces, urine, and hair. Such samples have measurable levels of cortisol that can be analyzed and compared against participant testimonies to obtain a much more quantitative and comprehensive view of the stress levels of participants.

The original studies of cortisol levels in the body involved blood and saliva samples as they are relatively noninvasive, but the cortisol levels measured by these means only correlate to stress levels within minutes of the sample being taken. In many cases, these measurements are not scientifically useful as they are “point” estimates of HPA levels that can be affected by environmental disturbances like the data collection itself. However, a new study done by a group at the University of Massachusetts Amherst presents a potential solution to this issue. It was found that cortisol is slowly deposited in the shafts of hair over time and, when analyzed, can shed light on cortisol levels for as large a period as a few months. In addition, the cortisol found in hair is far more stable and less susceptible to breakdown than samples extracted by other means. It is precisely this approach that Yip is using in her study of chronic stress in university students.

This investigation of the link between cortisol in human hair and its use as a means of assessing stress is a new field in which this study seeks to make important strides. Yip is specifically looking to see how the stressors of a university environment manifest themselves in students with chronic stress. Over the course of the spring semester the undergraduates working on this project will interview between two hundred fifty and three hundred student participants to assess their means of coping with stress.

Though the study is geared toward students with higher levels of stress or chronic stress, the findings of the project could be universal. Solidifying the use of hair cortisol in stress analysis could be incorporated into similar studies as a means of confirming self-reported data. In addition, findings from this and other studies relating more frequent stress to significant cortisol increases could help explain the role of stress in the homeostatic functions of the HPA. This cutting-edge research from the psychology and chemistry departments holds great potential for developing new means of psychological study as well as uncovering possible links between stress and college campuses.

Carolyn Allain, FCRH ‘17, is from Marlborough, Connecticut, and this is her second year writing for FURJ. She is a chemistry major and an English minor in the Fordham College Rose Hill Honors Program. She hopes to pursue a career in biochemical research.
Three Year Interdisciplinary Study of Understanding Enters Final Year

Daniel Restifo

Since 2013, Fordham University Associate Professor of Philosophy Stephen Grimm has been leading the interdisciplinary, $4.5 million “Varieties of Understanding: New Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Theology” project. Grimm has worked in partnership with Tania Lombrozo of the University of California, Berkeley, Michael Strevens of New York University, and Gordon Graham of Princeton University. The team has overseen the selection of twenty projects from the 395 proposals that it received.

These twenty projects will receive nearly $2.6 million of funding provided by a grant from the John Templeton Foundation with additional funding from Fordham University, the Henry Luce Foundation, and the University of California, Berkeley. The Varieties of Understanding project aims to comprehend what occurrences make it possible for a person to go from knowing a list of facts to having some deeper experience that constitutes the feeling of understanding that list of facts, what the requirements are to understand something, as well as what different forms of understanding result from different approaches to the world, whether they be scientific or humanities-based.

The project was born out of Grimm's hope to recover epistemic goods, which are the things we value knowing about, pursued by the ancient Greek and Medieval philosophers that Grimm claims epistemologists have overlooked in their efforts to answer the Skeptics, philosophers who question even the most fundamental knowledge that people may have of the physical world. In addition to this central goal, Grimm was also curious about the different types of understanding that the various disciplines—specifically, psychology, philosophy, and theology—produce, which led him to the interdisciplinary approach.

The Varieties of Understanding endeavor hopes to illuminate these different modes of understanding that define each of the three fields represented in the project so that they may inform each other and potentially yield a comprehensive understanding of the world. Ultimately, these various inquiries will hopefully explain what understanding is and how it differs from possessing knowledge of something.

As part of the project, researchers with a philosophical background are seeking to grasp various dimensions of understanding, types of understandings (aesthetic, historical, and scientific), and values of understanding, while theologians are pursuing the role of understanding in religious doctrine and conceptions of God. Meanwhile, psychologists interested in understanding are trying to explain understanding empirically by focusing on how the brain comes to understand and on what people can do with their understanding.

For instance, Lombrozo has been conducting research in conjunction with the Varieties of Understanding project at the Conceptions and Cognition lab at the University of California, Berkeley. She has been studying the processes that lead to understanding in children and adults, relying on a psychological approach based on current philosophical findings.

In so doing, Lombrozo and her team have been attempting to answer questions regarding scientific and teleological explanations of understanding, as well as the relationship between understanding and explanation.

In addition to the research projects that have been sponsored, the Varieties of Understanding project also includes two conferences. One, the Midpoint Conference, was held last June at Fordham’s Lincoln Center campus, where researchers presented the work they had completed to that point, sharing any preliminary findings they may have had as well as what they expected to accomplish in the next year of work.

The Capstone Conference, which will mark the end of the three-year endeavor, will take place from June 22–24, 2016, at Fordham’s Lincoln Center campus. This final conference will include many notable psychologists, philosophers, and theologians who will speak about understanding, including Fordham Professor of Philosophy Jennifer Gosetti-Ferencei and the Avery Cardinal Dulles, SJ, Professor of Catholic Theology at Fordham University Terrance Tilley.

The Varieties of Understanding project expects to result in approximately forty-eight articles, fourteen books, and one edited collection of all the works that result from the twenty projects. The project has provided an opportunity not only for scholars to engage in discussion and share what they have to offer to the study of understanding, but also the opportunity for three fields to come together and address a concept that is both relevant to these fields and the human condition.

Grimm believes that investigating the different types of understanding produced by each academic field is particularly relevant to the university setting where students and scholars alike encounter much information and must somehow piece together the relationships. At the university level, knowledge is not the ultimate goal—understanding is. This project opens a dialogue in order that an academic community can take steps toward fostering an environment in which we can not only come to know, but, more importantly, to understand.

Understanding can further be applied to interpersonal relationships. What does it take to understand another person? Does it require us to “walk a mile in their shoes”? Will having a general understanding of that person’s behavioral patterns suffice when attempting to predict the person’s future actions?

The concept of understanding permeates human life. The Varieties of Understanding project hopes to provide scholars with a platform on which to investigate what understanding is, how we come to understand, and the different forms of understanding that exist.

Daniel Restifo, FCRH ’18, is a biological sciences and philosophy double major on the pre-med track. This is his first year working on FURJ, and he hopes to pursue a career in medicine as both a clinician and researcher.
Combatting Racism, Fostering Accountability
Police Officers Respond

KATHLEEN KANALEY

Last year, the Guardian released an interactive website that tracks all police killings in the United States. In 2015, the number of deaths stood at 1,140. Further data analysis reveals that black Americans killed by police officers were twice as likely to be unarmed as white victims. Moreover, nearly 63 percent of the people killed by law enforcement officers were members of racial minorities. These numbers reflect a long history of racial violence and injustice. As historian Robin Kelley notes, “Even before formal police forces were established in cities at the end of the nineteenth century, people in power relied on ‘legal’ and extralegal violence and terrorism to pacify, discipline, and exploit communities of color.”

Sarah Allison, an American Studies major at FCRH, decided to investigate the apparent lack of empathy and respect between police officers and the communities they serve. Her senior thesis examines the tactics law enforcement agencies use to address racial bias and to mitigate its negative impact on communities of color. She proposes that recognizing the history of racism in the criminal justice system is critical to holding police accountable for their own prejudice and preventing their biases from harming the people the officers are meant to protect.

Allison foregrounds her analysis with the assumption “that police officers are human, and a trust that some of them, at least, are equally pained by the slaughter of people of color, and are working towards an alternative.” She trusted that “however buried in bureaucracy and toughness, police had humanity, and that they joined the police to protect and serve.”

Her approach marks a departure from much of the existing discourse. Highly publicized incidents of police brutality have led scholars to examine the ways in which the police perpetuate a culture of racism and hatred. Allison’s argument builds on this foundation, but she takes her research in a different direction. Rather than formulate an accusatory critique of American police departments, she asked several officers to share, based on their own experiences, the most effective ways to combat a racist paradigm. To gather this information, Allison conducted interviews with eight employees of the criminal justice system, including one representative from the New York Attorney General’s office and seven police officers from departments across the country.

The interviews covered a wide range of official methods for improving race relations and increasing officers’ accountability. Two officers mentioned participating in mandatory bias trainings, which are designed to make police realize that they may act according to subconscious prejudices when confronted with stressful or dangerous situations. A common concern among interviewees was that many officers do not take racial bias trainings seriously.

Racism can be an uncomfortable topic, especially when police feel that they must shoulder the blame for the cruelty of every bad cop. One officer described a training in what is known as procedural justice. The workshop teaches police to check that their actions are both constitutional and legitimate while on duty. Officers must obey the law and respect the rights of everyone they encounter; they need to recognize the historical experience that different communities may have had with the police. In communities of color white officers should be conscious of the fact that they occupy a position of power and that their predecessors have repeatedly abused this power. Residents in these neighborhoods are likely to be less trusting of a white officer. White police officers will need to work harder to build a relationship of mutual respect with community members and should be doubly careful to apprehend only those people who pose a legitimate threat to the community.

All but two officers agreed that a more diverse police force would help alleviate some of the tension between police and communities of color. As one interviewee expressed, “The police department has to be of the community. . .it shouldn’t look, like, 50 percent white when the population is only 25 percent white. If you’re looking forward to equitable relationships, a police department would reflect the community that it serves and you would have more people from the community that feel comfortable being part of the police department and giving back to the community that raises them.”

After conducting all eight interviews, Allison found that officers who recognized the historic roots of racism in the criminal justice system were the same officers whose departments had implemented comprehensive programs to improve relationships between police and communities of color. Those who spoke most candidly about the role that race plays in their interactions with community members all acknowledged that the police force has a long way to go toward becoming a truly just and equitable institution.

Allison concludes that programs and trainings, while effective in some instances, fall far short of remediying the racist culture that permeates American society. Dismantling that culture will require creating space and time for police officers to reflect on how their own entrenched prejudices limit their ability to empathize with the communities they serve. Allison stresses the importance of giving community members the chance to engage in honest dialogue with officers about race, and urges us to acknowledge that the police are human beings with incredibly difficult jobs. She hopes that future research will determine better ways for officers to deal with work-related trauma and will explore why programs are the default tools used to confront racism.

Kathleen Kanaley, FCLC ’18, is a natural science and Spanish literature double major. This is her first year working with FURJ.
What Drives Youth Political Behavior?  
The Motivation Behind Change

Maylee Sands

What drives youth political participation? How do youth mobilize to spark political change? What set of values do U.S. youth share with youth around the world? Olena Nikolayenko, associate professor of political science at Fordham University, attempts to answer these questions in her course “Youth and Politics.” The course aims to help students understand the intersection of youth beliefs and political involvement. Students investigate what influences youth values and movements, especially in East Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the United States. The course culminates with students presenting original research, gathered through interviews, that examines youth political patterns in the United States.

Nikolayenko provides an extension to this course by leading eleven students on a study tour to Ukraine, where they compare youth behavior in the United States and Ukraine. Nikolayenko’s impressive academic background illustrates her in-depth knowledge of youth political behavior. Having traveled to Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Serbia, and Ukraine to research social movements in nondemocratic states, Nikolayenko understands the interplay between youth and government and the critical role youth play in shaping the social and political landscape in a country. Nikolayenko’s current research focuses on public opinion, reaction, and participation in political spheres in non-Western regimes, regionally concentrating on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Nikolayenko strives to explain why some youth movements are more successful than others in mobilizing citizens against oppressive regimes.

Through in-depth interviews with former youth participants, Nikolayenko analyzes the nonviolent movements that began in post-communist Eastern Europe at the turn of the twenty-first century. These movements called for political change and were often spearheaded by youth of the region. Nikolayenko cites several instances when Eastern European youth have successfully mobilized citizens in hopes to spark change. Nikolayenko recalls, “The youth movement Kmara (Enough) was formed in the Republic of Georgia shortly before the 2003 parliamentary election to push for political change. This tide of youth activism continued with the rise of the youth movement Pora (It’s Time) in Ukraine on the eve of the 2004 presidential election. Likewise, Azerbaijani youth groups Maqam (It’s Time), Yeni Fikir (New Thinking), and Yobb (No) sprang up to press for the turnover of power during the 2005 parliamentary election. Never before have post-communist youth mobilized in opposition to the incumbent government on such a grand scale.”

In contrast to Nikolayenko’s research, her students’ research focused on analyzing youth political behavior in the United States. The research of two students in the class, Diego Gomez and Ashley Domagola, was highlighted at the sixth annual Undergraduate Research Symposium.

Gomez, a Fordham senior on the prelaw track who studies political science and Italian studies, was one of eleven students who joined the study tour in Ukraine. Gomez researched the likelihood of young adults, aged eighteen to twenty-six, trusting the government and the factors that influenced their trust. Diego interviewed fifteen young adults from the five boroughs of New York. While many of his subjects dismissed the government’s integrity, their claims fell short when asked for specific examples. This led Diego to believe that the youth’s disapproval of the government is a product of “youth’s natural tendency to be rebellious of the status quo.” Socioeconomic status and a person’s environment proved to be a significant determinate of their trust in the government. Diego observed, “These low levels of trust appeared to be based on social patterns instead of political knowledge or recognition.”

Domagola’s research conclusions echoed similar discontent but found greater motivation toward political involvement. Domagola, a senior who is double majoring in political science and Spanish, also participated in the study tour. However, in the United States, she researched voting among Hispanic American youth. She conducted in-depth interviews with students at Fordham. Unlike Diego’s findings of youth who willingly do not participate politically, Domagola found the opposite. Many Hispanic Americans interviewed had a deep desire to vote, but were unable to because they were not naturalized citizens. One student expressed that he had been living the United States legally for his entire life, but was not eligible to vote due to his specific citizenship status. This student is not an outlier; in fact, his is a common story in the United States.

Historically, youth in the United States have shown weak political involvement. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, only 45 percent of eligible young adults aged eighteen to twenty-nine voted in the 2012 election; in comparison, 72 percent of eligible adults aged sixty-five and older voted in the same election. Quentin Kidd, director of the Judy Ford Wason Center for Public Policy at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, Virginia, says that because young adults tend to move geographically more frequently, they are less likely to become attached to one community. As a result, Kidd claims, “Young adults often don’t feel they have a stake in a particular city or community, so they don’t feel motivated to vote.” To get young adults more invested in their community and motivated to vote, Nikolayenko encourages voting as soon as they become eligible: “If first-time voters go to the polling station on Election Day, they are more likely to vote in the future.” Understanding the motivating factors of what hinders or drives youth engagement in politics is a crucial step in progressing forward as a democratic society. Nikolayenko’s research both inside and outside of the classroom is a pioneering force in answering these critical questions.

Maylee Sands, FCRH ’17, is pursuing a degree in economics. She has been an editor and news contributor for FURJ since 2014 and is particularly interested in domestic politics and economic empowerment.
Find your purpose. Share your passions.

ACCELERATED TEACHER CERTIFICATION PROGRAM FOR FORDHAM UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

The Five-Year Integrated Teacher Education Track allows Fordham undergraduates to complete a BA/BS and a Master of Science in Teaching (MST) in five years. Twelve credits will count toward both undergraduate and graduate degrees, a financial benefit unique to this program. Students graduate with over 600 hours of fieldwork. Each student is paired with a field specialist who acts as a mentor during student teaching.

MST PROGRAM OPTIONS

- Early Childhood Education
- Childhood Education
- Adolescence Education
  (Biology, Chemistry, Earth Science, English, Mathematics, Physics, or Social Studies)
- Special Education
- Bilingual Education

For more information, contact the Graduate School of Education admissions office:

gse_admiss@fordham.edu | 212-636-6400 | fordham.edu/gse
Research, especially on an undergraduate level, can seem overwhelming, intimidating, or simply irrelevant. When Dr. Mark Kris, now an oncologist and researcher at Memorial Sloan Kettering (MSK), was a Fordham undergraduate, he had a similar mindset. “I never thought about research as an undergrad,” he said. “I had no idea what it was. It didn’t dawn on me that it was something to do.”

This may sound like a surprising statement coming from someone who is the author or coauthor of over two hundred fifty original scientific publications, whose research efforts have helped develop treatments for cancers, and who leads MSK’s project to train IBM Watson to help physicians select best treatments. Nevertheless, it is a popular view among undergraduate students, especially those who study the humanities. Kris fell into this category. Going against the grain, Kris opted to major in English over the popular pre-med tracks of biology and chemistry.

“A broad background and different backgrounds,” according to Kris, seemed to him “better suited for people in at least some aspects of medicine.” He notes that from his time at Fordham, “The courses that stand out in my mind were not science. It was English, it was philosophy, and that’s the great thing about it.”

He still believes there are “a lot of different ways through medicine.” On the admissions committee at his medical school, he looked for excellence, no matter what the field. In fact, he says, “We concluded that the person who would be at the top of our list is the French major who wrote the best French honors thesis is the last ten years at their college. A person who just excelled in what they did. Obviously, they had to have all the science requirements, but this was the person we would want.”

After graduating summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from Fordham University with a degree in English, Kris went on to earn his MD at Cornell University Medical College. After his residency at the New York Hospital, he was a fellow in medical oncology at Memorial Sloan Kettering. Today he serves as chief of the Thoracic Oncology Service and the William and Joy Ruane Chair in Thoracic Oncology at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center.

Research has become an integral part of Kris’s career, but it was not always that way. One contributing factor to this turnaround was attending a meeting held on behalf of the National Cancer Institute. Here, doctors and researchers presented data accumulated from clinical trials, talked about upcoming proposals, and networked. Kris says he was smitten by the event.

Another event that helped solidify his passion for research was a lecture at Fordham University given by renowned molecular biologist Sol Spiegelman. In his talk, Spiegelman explored new theories about how cancers, particularly leukemia, develop. For this reason, coupled with the loss of a Fordham classmate to leukemia, Kris had initially thought he would become a leukemia specialist.

In fact, from day one at Memorial Sloan Kettering, Kris had involved himself in leukemia research. However, eventually he recognized a vastly unmet need in common forms of cancers, such as lung cancer. “In many ways,” Kris notes, “the problem of dying of cancer in America is from lung cancer. More people die of lung cancer than of colorectal, breast, and prostate cancer combined. If you stopped lung cancer, then a quarter of all cancer deaths would go away.”

Unlike leukemia, lung cancer did not have a nonsurgical treatment option when Kris was starting his research. He now leads a research team aiming to develop new treatments.

Despite his research accomplishments and interest in medicine, Kris is always quick to turn the subject back to the importance of learning how to write and communicate well. One book he often recommends to students is Strunk and White’s 1918 classic *The Elements of Style*, a guide to writing better prose. (“Omit needless words.”)

Kris owes much, he says, to the Jesuits, who, from high school on, taught him the importance of writing and learning beyond the sciences. This need to be intellectually curious, to always search for what more one can learn and to strive to be a better communicator, is something Kris says he cannot stress enough.

“There was an article a few months back,” he recalls. “It was on knowledge and taking courses in non-scientific disciplines. The point of this was not to become a well-rounded person, but that learning a different way of thinking and approaching problems made you a better scientist. Generally scientists do what their mentor says, follow a formula. There are rules: ‘This is how you analyze the data.’ The point is that if you look at science from another way then you become a better scientist. I think it’s also true that you become a better person.”
Abstract: Infants are an understudied demographic in archaeology due to the fragility of infant skeletons. This limits evidence in the archaeological record; therefore, jar burials of infants provide a unique opportunity to examine both material culture and skeletal remains of infants. The excavation of ten jar burials at Old Kiyyangan Village, located in the Ifugao province of the Philippines, allowed for analysis of the morphology of the jars to better understand rituals surrounding this burial practice. This study emphasizes comparison of the jars' sizes and shapes to draw conclusions about their significance as well as studies the skeletal remains within each jar, all of which were determined to be perinates. The jar morphology comparison revealed no consistency in jar shape and size; however, the lack of discernible pattern does not signify that the jar is unimportant. It may indicate haste in burying the infant and the necessity of a protective barrier between the infant and the physical world.

INTRODUCTION

The archaeological record is not always balanced in the information that it supplies about the past. Often there are populations that can be overlooked, and, historically, infants and children have been excluded from archaeological research (Oxenham et al. 2008). However, this has been changing within the past decade as infants and children, in particular their skeletal remains, receive more attention from archaeologists (Halcrow and Tayles, 2008; Lewis 2011). The retrieval of perinate jar burials at Old Kiyyangan Village allows for the study of the burial practices for these perinates based on the morphology of the jars in addition to the skeletal remains, with the goal of expanding knowledge on the role these infants occupied in the family and society. Such knowledge not only bridges gaps in understanding of the role of infants in prehistoric Ifugao society but also contributes to the necessary study of archaeology in Ifugao. While the Ifugao may be one of the best studied indigenous peoples in terms of ethnography, there has been little archaeology done in this region (Acabado 2013).

This research seeks to understand what perinate jar burials can reveal about the societal attitude toward children in Old Kiyyangan Village. By examining the burial jars and comparing them to each other and to nonburial jars, the extent of ritual will be inferred and used to explain the relationship between infants and personhood. This research will analyze the morphology of the jars associated with the perinate burials to identify the rituals practiced in burying perinates, provide information on the family unit in Old Kiyyangan, and provide an overall view of infant status in Ifugao. This paper will explore the topics of kinship in Ifugao, pottery traditions of Ifugao, mortuary archaeology, infant archaeology, and personhood to understand the status of infants in Old Kiyyangan Village. Through the analysis of the morphology of perinate burial jars, the ritual involved in burial of perinates will be inferred to better understand views of personhood and infancy at Old Kiyyangan Village.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Ifugao Archaeological Project

The Ifugao Archaeological Project (IAP) began in 2012 as a collaboration among the Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), the University of the Philippines, the University of Guam, and the National Museum of the Philippines to run an archaeological field school and excavate at Old Kiyyangan Village. This site is featured in Ifugao origin stories as the first settlement site of the Ifugao people. The IAP seeks to understand the role and history of the Ifugao Rice Terraces as well as subsistence patterns of the Ifugao people. The work of IAP has utilized GIS mapping, ethnography, paleoethnobotany, palynology, faunal analysis, and geoarchaeology during excavations to understand the site. In 2015, excavation continued at Old Kiyyangan Village with six new trenches and two shovel test pits.

One of the major finds at Old Kiyyangan Village, which is the focus of this paper, was the discovery of perinate jar burials. There have been eight jar burials of perinates found over the past three years of excavation, from 2012 to 2014 (Acabado 2013). In
2015, two more jar burials were retrieved. It was only possible to reconstruct one of these jars. Overall, there are seventeen jars in varying levels of reconstruction; six are burial, and eleven are nonburial. The focus of this research project will comprise these seventeen jars.

Ifugao Culture (Kinship)

Within Ifugao culture, blood relationships are extremely important and considered the strongest bonds between individuals; for example, blood relatives are more tightly bound together than married couples. This has been explained using hands as a metaphor for the individuals. Blood relations are all fingers of the same hand; they cannot be separated from each other. Married couples are hands holding each other that are much more easily separated from each other. Children of a marriage are represented by intertwining the fingers of these hands which makes separating the hands more difficult but still not impossible (Lambrecht 1962).

There are other examples of how blood relationships play a central role in Ifugao society. When an individual wants to claim ownership of an area of land, he or she must be able to prove blood relation to the previous owner (Acabado 2010). Lambrecht noted in his writing on Ifugao law that the people had an expansive knowledge of genealogies, which reflects the central role of family in society (Lambrecht 1962). In addition, ancestor veneration is common, and this stresses connections of the living to the dead and the importance of blood relations through ritual (Acabado 2010). Even today, blood relations play a strong role in how the Ifugao interact with others. For example, if an individual wished to sell a plot of land, first he would go to his brother or sister and ask if they wished to buy the land. If they did not, he would go to another brother or sister and then to his cousins. After consulting all the family, he could then sell the land to someone outside of the family (Martin 2015). All these examples of strong family ties in Ifugao contribute to understanding the status and importance of an infant within the family as a blood relation.

Ifugao Pottery

Pottery in Ifugao has been relatively stable for a period of fifteen-hundred to three thousand years (Maher 1981). There was little to no variation in pottery from the time the area was settled until recently, when cheap metal pots imported to Ifugao began replacing the craft of pottery, particularly as there were no cultural impediments to the use of metal pots in place of earthenware (Maher 1973; 1981). Ifugao pottery is extremely plain and created for utilitarian purposes. Decoration is rare and usually means the pot was imported through trade. The archaeological record reflects this trend of plain, undecorated pottery throughout the prehistory of Ifugao. There is little variation in shape as well. The main form of pottery is a globular pot. Based on function, the bottom of some pots may be flatter than others, or the rim shaped in a certain manner. In addition, water jars will usually have a handle that cooking pots lack (Maher 1973). These are the main sources of variation within Ifugao pottery.

Potters in Ifugao may be male or female, and the method of producing pottery for each gender is distinct. The process of creating pottery for a male potter begins with going to collect the clay. The potter will then shape the pot through coiling and smoothing the sides. The pot is allowed to dry and then placed in a fire. During firing, the pot is rubbed with resin, both on the inside and outside, which makes the surface smooth and waterproof. Female potters employ significantly distinct methods of producing pottery. They temper the clay with sand and create pots using modeling instead of coiling. The pots are also heated before the firing process. During the firing process, the fire burns itself out and resin is not used. There are some small differences in this process in different regions of Ifugao (Maher 1973). The end products from both methods are indistinguishable from each other in regard to the manner used to produce them (Maher 1984). The combination of male and female potters in Ifugao may be the result of two distinct Philippine traditions (known as Bau and Kalanay) that influenced pottery production in Ifugao. The potters in Kiangan are mainly female potters who are possibly following the Kalanay tradition (Maher 1973).

Mortuary Archaeology

Mortuary work makes up a large part of archaeology, as death occurs in all cultures and the distinct rituals related to death are usually well preserved in the archaeological record. Burials can often relay information about an individual's social status. Some of the earliest funerary archaeology was conducted by Robert Hertz, a French anthropologist, who was not satisfied with the explanation that burial practices were simply a way of facing the decay of the human body after death. He noted that there were different practices of burying individuals based on their social status; for example, the elderly and infants may be treated differently in a mortuary context (Binford 1971).

Mortuary practices, due to their social and religious dimensions, are rooted in materiality. The friends and relatives of the deceased take an active role in interacting with the body, the burial, and their own belief systems. Such interaction leaves a material record. There are numerous ways to analyze the materiality of death. Fahlander and Oestigaard (2008) list seven types of materiality related to death. First, there is the materiality of the body, which refers to the physical body that decays. Second is the materiality of practice or the rituals that take place after an individual has died. Third, the materiality of the interments includes any objects buried with the deceased, either their own belongings or grave gifts. Fourth, the materiality of memory refers to the use of monuments for remembrance of an individual after death. Fifth, the materiality of social change explores how burials reveal heritages and hierarchies within a culture. Sixth, the materiality of age, sex, and gender interprets how burial practices may reflect these categories. Finally, the materiality of eternity refers to how a culture depicts and understands the world after life. The materiality of practice and interments are examined in this paper for the jar burials retrieved from Old Kiyyang Village to understand the ritual of perinate burial.

Infant Archaeology

Infants are a particularly interesting population to study through a funerary lens as their role in society is much less certain than older established members, and thus the ritual and grave goods involved in child burials present interesting questions (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008). For example, at Man Bac, Vietnam, excavation of a Neolithic cemetery found that burials of children under five years old contained grave goods only 50 percent of the time. How these grave goods relate to the social status of the children is a difficult question to answer. The presence of goods could simply be due to family status, or it could have a more personal significance (Oxenham et al. 2008). At Old Kiyyang Village, nearly all of the burials retrieved, both jar and supine, were associated with beads as grave goods. A supine burial refers to the interment of
a body with the body lying in a face-up position. This leads to questions about the meaning of beads in a burial context at Old Kiyangan Village and how they relate to the status of each buried infant (Acabado 2013).

The study of infant burial practices throughout Southeast Asia is increasing as more discoveries of graves are made. For example, in Thailand at Khok Phanom Di, there are numerous infant burials, with a high concentration of burials consisting of thirty-eight to forty-week-old infants. At the same time, burials of preterm perinates are lacking. This presents an interesting question: given that the remains are well preserved and decomposition has not affected the distribution of burials, why are there so many infants who are close to full-term and no preterm burials? The preterm perinates could have been buried elsewhere, which could be evidence of differences in personhood based on pregnancy term length or the condition of live birth. However, this does not explain the high percentage of thirty-eight to forty-week-old perinate remains. Such a high percentage could indicate that these perinates were specially selected for burial in this area (Halcrow et al. 2008). The analysis of the spatial dimension of infant burial and ritual practices involved is used to better understand the relationship between society and these infants.

**Personhood and Archaeology**

Personhood is an important concept within archaeological work, particularly as a substitute for the Western idea of the individual. To study personhood is to study how identity is influenced and defined by social interactions and community. There are two components to personhood: first, there are the identities that are created by society, and second, there are the life experiences of a specific person. There can be individuals who do not have personhood and inanimate objects or animals that do have personhood. Personhood and the individual are not synonymous concepts (Clark and Wilkie 2007).

The relationship of infants and children to personhood is complex and culturally dependent. In some cultures, infants do not have personhood. For example, in Rome, before Christianity, babies who died when they were younger than nine days old were not buried in cemeteries or mourned. However, in other cultures, this personhood may exist for infants. This is seen in a village in Egypt, Deir el-Medina, where infants were considered members of the community even before they are born. Personhood in this case begins while the fetus is still developing in the womb, as this is when life is considered to begin (Halcrow et al. 2008).

Ritual practices, or the lack thereof, contribute to understanding the personhood of infants. A lack of grave goods and ritual in burial can be interpreted as evidence that infants do not have personhood or status as community members, as seen in Iron Age Cyprus (Halcrow et al. 2008). Another example is found in the Ashanti hinterlands, where newborn infants do not have personhood. Infants here are considered to belong to both the physical world and the spirit world. Only time can determine whether the infant will stay in the physical world. The first eight days of life are the important period that determines the infant’s status. Infants who die during these eight days are buried in the area of the village that is used by the women as a latrine, and their bodies may even be disfigured. Children who die before puberty are buried in jars in a similar area. The funeral rituals used for adults are not found in either case. This example represents a common trend where personhood develops over time as one matures (Clark and Wilkie 2007).

**METHODS**

**Jar Morphology Measurements**

Full reconstruction, which here is used to mean that all parts of the pots were discernable and measurable in relation to each other—base, body, neck, and rim—was possible for only eight of the seventeen jars because many of the jars were only partially reconstructed. There are nine partially reconstructed jars for which only some of the measurements could be taken. When possible, a set of proportions were measured based on the system outlined by Anna O. Shepard (1985) in *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*. The measurements included (a) height of the whole jar, (b) breadth of the jar, (c) height of the body of the jar, (d) height of the rim, and (e) breadth of the throat. Each of these measurements is identified by letter (a through e) in the tables, and the letters are used to label the proportions measured.

When taking measurements, the diameter of the body was always measured at the widest point of the vessel, and then the thickness of the body was also measured at this diameter line. For jars that were not fully reconstructed, this diameter line was estimated and this fact was recorded. The breadth of the throat was measured at the point of inflection (Shepard 1985). Both the inner and outer diameters of the rim were taken at this point. The thickness of the rim was measured at the top of the rim.

Several instruments were used to take these measurements. Sliding calipers were used when taking the diameter of the inside of the rim, and spreading calipers were used to measure the outside rim diameter. The thickness of the rim was measured using sliding calipers. The thickness of the body was measured using spreading calipers unless it was possible to use the sliding calipers due to openings in the body of the pot from incomplete reconstruction. The diameter of the body was measured using spreading calipers, except in the case that the body was too large. For this vessel, a ruler and straightedge were used to obtain the diameter. All of the heights were measured using a straightedge and a ruler.

These measurements and derived proportions were compared between the burial jars, and the measurements of the nonburial jars were used as a reference. The small sample size of reconstructed pots and the varying degrees of reconstruction make it difficult to draw strong conclusions from the jars. Having a larger sample size would strengthen the findings of this research. In addition, the fact that the age of the perinate remains in two of the jar burials could not be determined further limited the comparisons between the burial jars.

**RESULTS**

The tables on the following pages contain the measurements and proportions taken for the burial and nonburial reconstructed vessels. The use of N/A is used to indicate measurements that were not available based on the reconstruction of the vessel. Notes have been added if the measurement could not be taken in a consistent manner due to the level of reconstruction of each vessel.
### Table 1. Thicknesses and Diameters of Vessels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCN# (CAR-2012-W1-)</th>
<th>Burial Jar?</th>
<th>Trench</th>
<th>Level/Feature</th>
<th>Rim Thickness</th>
<th>Body Thickness</th>
<th>Inside Rim Diameter</th>
<th>Outside Rim Diameter (e)</th>
<th>Body Diameter (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8774</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Feature 1</td>
<td>7.24mm</td>
<td>0.5cm</td>
<td>105.63mm</td>
<td>11.9cm</td>
<td>17.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10417</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>4.80mm</td>
<td>0.4cm</td>
<td>117.00mm</td>
<td>13.0cm</td>
<td>19.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9158</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Feature 5</td>
<td>7.72mm</td>
<td>0.6cm</td>
<td>153.31mm</td>
<td>16.3cm</td>
<td>26.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8371</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>6.24mm</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8679</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>6.38mm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>26.7cm*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8680</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feature 4</td>
<td>7.39mm</td>
<td>6.24mm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8970</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Level 3 Feature 4</td>
<td>5.90mm</td>
<td>5.60mm*</td>
<td>139.8mm</td>
<td>15.1cm</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8372</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>5.55mm</td>
<td>6.43mm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10001</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>7.79mm</td>
<td>9.17mm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10225</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Level 8 to 10 Feature 5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>6.46mm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18262</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>3.81mm</td>
<td>3.12mm</td>
<td>111.44mm</td>
<td>12.2cm</td>
<td>16.4cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18265</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 10</td>
<td>7.56mm</td>
<td>6.19mm</td>
<td>173.19mm</td>
<td>19.6cm</td>
<td>28.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18007 and 18008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 2</td>
<td>6.36mm</td>
<td>4.57mm*</td>
<td>12.8cm</td>
<td>16.3cm</td>
<td>22.7cm*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18015</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>6.71mm</td>
<td>3.18mm</td>
<td>115.73mm</td>
<td>13.4cm</td>
<td>19.5cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18172</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>5.61mm</td>
<td>6.12mm</td>
<td>15.0cm</td>
<td>16.1cm</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18263</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>5.07mm</td>
<td>6.87mm</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>22.8cm</td>
<td>39.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18035</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>4.86mm</td>
<td>3.94mm</td>
<td>22.5cm</td>
<td>22.9cm</td>
<td>36.0cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates that the diameter line was estimated due to incomplete reconstruction of the vessel

### Table 2. Heights of Jars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCN# (CAR-2012-W1-)</th>
<th>Burial Jar?</th>
<th>Trench</th>
<th>Level/Feature</th>
<th>Vessel Height (a)</th>
<th>Body Height (c)</th>
<th>Rim Height (d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8774</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Feature 1</td>
<td>16.1cm</td>
<td>13.8cm</td>
<td>2.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10417</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>14.3cm</td>
<td>11.5cm</td>
<td>2.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9158</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Feature 5</td>
<td>23.2cm</td>
<td>18.7cm</td>
<td>4.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8371</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8679</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8680</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feature 4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3.7cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8970</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Level 3 Feature 4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8372</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10001</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10225</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Level 8 to 10 Feature 5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18262</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>13.8cm</td>
<td>10.4cm</td>
<td>3.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18265</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 10</td>
<td>23.4cm</td>
<td>19.5cm</td>
<td>3.9cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18007 and 18008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18015</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>12.0cm</td>
<td>2.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18172</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>32.0cm</td>
<td>27.5cm</td>
<td>3.4cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18263</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feature 8</td>
<td>27.7cm</td>
<td>24.1cm</td>
<td>3.6cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18035</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Feature 3</td>
<td>15.0cm</td>
<td>19.0cm</td>
<td>4.5cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3. Proportions of Vessels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCN# (CAR-2012-W1-)</th>
<th>Burial Jar?</th>
<th>Height to Breadth of Vessel (a/b)</th>
<th>Height to Breadth of Body (c/b)</th>
<th>Height of Neck to Breadth of Throat (d/e)</th>
<th>Ratio of Neck Height to Body Height (d/c)</th>
<th>Ratio of Throat Diameter to Body Diameter (e/b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8774</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10417</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9158</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8970</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18262</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18265</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18007/18008</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18015</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18172</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18263</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18035</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: vessels for which no proportions could be derived were excluded from the table.

### Table 4. Burial Jar Measurements and Perinate Ages

*(Age of perinate remains from Acabado 2013)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCN# (CAR-2012-W1-)</th>
<th>Age of Perinate Remains</th>
<th>Vessel Height</th>
<th>Body Height</th>
<th>Rim Height</th>
<th>Body Diameter</th>
<th>Inside Rim Height</th>
<th>Outside Rim Height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10417</td>
<td>neonate (age unknown)</td>
<td>14.3cm</td>
<td>11.5cm</td>
<td>2.7cm</td>
<td>19.2 cm</td>
<td>117.0mm</td>
<td>13.0cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9158</td>
<td>24 weeks</td>
<td>23.2cm</td>
<td>18.7cm</td>
<td>4.6cm</td>
<td>26.5cm</td>
<td>153.31mm</td>
<td>16.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8679</td>
<td>36 weeks</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>26.7cm*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8970</td>
<td>40 weeks</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4.2 cm</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>139.8mm</td>
<td>15.1cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10225</td>
<td>neonate (age unknown)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18035</td>
<td>36 weeks</td>
<td>15.0cm</td>
<td>19.0cm</td>
<td>4.5cm</td>
<td>36.0cm</td>
<td>22.5cm</td>
<td>22.9cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of shape and size, there were no similarities between the six reconstructed burial jars (see Figure 1). Each jar had a unique shape and size that did not reflect a relationship between the jars in terms of a specific vessel shape or size that was used for jar burials. Even the two burial jars containing perinates of the same age were not similar in shape or size (see Figure 2). The diameters of the vessels were 26.7 centimeters and 36.0 centimeters, which reflected a significant size difference. In addition, a third vessel, which contained the burial of a twenty-four-week-old fetus, was measured to have a diameter of 26.5 centimeters, similar to one of the vessels containing a thirty-six-week-old perinate. See Table 4 for all of the jar measurements compared to the age of the perinate remains within each vessel. Unfortunately, the age of the perinate remains in CAR-2012-W1-10417 could not be determined. As this jar is significantly smaller than the others, such a comparison would have been beneficial.

Another limitation occurred in that the reconstruction of CAR-2012-W1-10225 was not sufficient to be able to compare it to the rest of the burial jars. A basic shape of the jar could not be determined from the reconstructed fragments. Nonetheless, the five reconstructed jars revealed a lack of unity that speaks to the ritual involved with burying perinates in Old Kiyyangan Village. The jars demonstrate the variety of pottery shapes and sizes that is further illustrated by the nonburial pottery. These nonburial vessels encompass an even wider range of shapes and sizes; the measurements and proportions reveal little consistency in these vessels. Table 3 contains the five proportions necessary to understand the shape of a vessel. There is little consistency in these proportions among all of the vessels. The most consistent proportion is the relationship of the width of the throat to the diameter of the body, but the other four proportions display quite wide variability. This indicates that most vessels had a unique shape and size, which could be based in function.

DISCUSSION

The burial jars found at Old Kiyyangan Village do not reflect a ritual significance in appearance based on the comparative morphology of the vessels, as there is no standard shape or size between the jars. They also do not appear to be carefully sized to the perinate buried within as seen by the wide variety of sizes among the vessels and compounded by the size differences between the two pots that contained thirty-six-week-old perinates. However, because the ages of two perinates could not be determined, the evidence that the size of the perinate body was not considered before the burial is limited. The variety of the nonburial jars illustrates the wide range of pottery found in Old Kiyyangan Village and adds support to the theory that readily available vessels were used to bury the perinate. It is likely that each time a jar was needed; it would vary from the other jars used, as these were not created with the sole purpose of burying perinates.

A possible explanation for the variety in morphology of the burial jars could relate to burial rituals. Creating a special jar would take time, as demonstrated by the description of Ifugao pottery-making methods explained above; however, current burial practices of infants in Ifugao mandate that the infant must be buried as soon as possible and before the next sunrise (Martin 2015). This would leave little time to create a specialized jar in which to bury the infant if the same burial timeline was also practiced in Old Kiyyangan Village. A utilitarian jar that was close at hand would be the most convenient vessel in which to bury the infant quickly. Yet the use of a utilitarian vessel does not signify that the infant is unimportant or that the infant lacks personhood. In fact, the proximity of the jar burials to house pads (Lauer et al. n.d.) seems to indicate that families desired to keep the children close by rather than bury them outside the village or in an area that could indicate lack of personhood, as exemplified by the Ashanti burial practices discussed earlier. Based on the significance of the family in Ifugao culture, it is possible that the infants had status within the family because they were blood-related family members.

Despite the variation in the appearance of the burial jars, they all exhibit a womb-like quality, which has been associated with jar burials (Reyes 2015). The jars offer protection for the perinate remains and keep them separated from the earthly realm through a physical barrier. Based on the age of the perinate remains, the infants buried in these jars could possibly be miscarriages or stillborn, or have died shortly after birth. Given that jar burials and supine burials were found for infants, yet perinates younger than thirty-eight to forty weeks...
Figure 2. Two reconstructed burial jars (from left: CAR-2012-W1-8679 and CAR-2012-W1-18035).

were never found in supine burials, it is possible that the jar burial method was used for perinates who were miscarried, and the practice for burying infants who were born alive was a supine burial (Lauer et al.). In this case, the infants buried in jars would never have had contact with the outside world as living individuals, and the burial jar would mimic this phenomenon by offering a physical barrier from the world in the same way that the mother’s womb did. This basis for the practice of jar burials would indicate carefully constructed personhood for perinates not carried to full term. While this is a different type of personhood from that of a mature adult, it reflects the existence of a specific space within the structure of the world that these perinates occupy as individuals who never experienced the physical world. The vessel of the jar burial preserves this relationship. It acts as a symbol of protection for the perinate, and the burial close to the house pad enhances the connection between the family and the deceased infant.

CONCLUSION

The morphology of both burial jars and nonburial jars reflects a wide variety of pottery shapes and sizes found in Old Kiyangan Village. There is little consistency reflected by the reconstructed pots as seen in the measurements and proportions taken for this research. This lack of a discernable pattern in jar morphology indicates that the shape and size of the vessel were not crucial to the ritual of burying infants. However, the lack of importance of the specific morphology of the burial vessel does not signify that the presence of a vessel was unimportant. The use of a burial jar reflects a protective approach to burying perinates who were likely not carried to full term and resulted in miscarriages. The jars indicate that these infants hold a specific role in Ifugao society and family, which is preserved by the ritual of burial. The possibility of such a carefully constructed status for perinates not carried to full term contributes to a better understanding of social and family relationships in Old Kiyangan Village.

FURTHER STUDY

A larger sample size is necessary for more conclusive outcomes, particularly when determining the relationship between the size of perinate remains and the size of the burial jar. Another aspect of the jar burials not addressed in this paper is the burial of two different perinates of different ages in a single pot. Further work can be done to understand the relationship between these two infants. Were they buried at the same time or at different moments, which would indicate that the pot was retrieved for a second burial? Are these infants from the same family? In addition, the beads that were found in all of the jar burials can be studied to further understand the status of infants and ritual importance of jar burials. There were beads found in the jar burials and the supine burials, which offers a basis of comparison between these two forms of burying infants.

REFERENCES


Martin, M. Personal Communication. 31 July 2015.


Examining Teresa Deevy’s Critique of Gender Roles in *Katie Roche*  

**Jennifer Lynn Beall**  
DOI: 10.17284/FURJ/v6-a2  

**Abstract:** This paper explores Teresa Deevy’s 1936 play *Katie Roche* as a subversive text used to critique the cultural and political enforcement of traditional gender roles in Irish society. Although Deevy was well known in the 1930s and 1940s for writing six plays for the Abbey Theatre and several more for radio broadcasts, her works have received little attention since her death in 1963. This paper relies on a textual analysis of *Katie Roche*, contemporary reviews of its original performance, and current scholarship in Irish theater studies to examine the play’s critique of gender roles within its cultural and historical context. Through analyzing these aspects of the play, this paper seeks to bring greater attention to Teresa Deevy and contribute to the emerging studies of her life and works.

**Acknowledgments:** I would like to thank Dr. Angela O’Donnell for introducing me to Teresa Deevy’s works, encouraging me to submit to FURJ, and for providing suggestions for editing. This paper was originally written for her class The Writing Irish.

Within the Irish theater canon, Teresa Deevy is not a name likely to be recognized by many people today. During the 1930s and 1940s, however, she was one of Ireland’s most prominent playwrights, writing six plays for the Abbey Theatre and dozens more for radio broadcasts. The most highly acclaimed of her Abbey plays is *Katie Roche*. This three-act play is remarkable for its complex characters, as well as for its critique of gender roles. Deevy wrote at a time when Irish women were expected to become wives who maintained domestic stability, with few additional options for participation in society. Within Irish theater, these rigid gender roles were reflected in productions where female characters were often depicted as the idealized wives or feminine personifications of Ireland. In *Katie Roche*, Deevy utilizes the conventions of Irish nationalist theater in order to critique the expectations for women upheld in the genre and Irish society as a whole.

**A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO TERESA DEEVY**

Born in 1894, Teresa Deevy was the youngest of thirteen children of a middle-class Catholic family. Growing up in her native Waterford, she attended school at the local Ursuline convent. In 1913 she was one of the first female students to enroll at University College Dublin. Although her original plan was to study to become a teacher, not long after beginning her studies, she contracted Ménières disease, which claimed her hearing. After this tragedy, she traveled to London for a period of five years in order to study lip-reading by attending the theater. It was here that her enchantment with the power of the performances inspired her to write plays of her own.

Deevy’s choice to write for the theater after losing her hearing may seem unusual, but some scholars have noted that her deafness may have played a role in her ability to write incredibly realistic dialogue. As Christopher Morash puts it, “Deevy’s own deafness in the world of the hearing may have contributed to a heightened consciousness of language, and of its failures.” However, it is important to approach Deevy’s works not just as literature, but as works for performance. If it was simply language that interested Deevy, she could have just as well chosen to write fiction or poetry. While she did publish a few short stories in her lifetime, she was first and foremost a playwright. Her adept handling of dialogue is only a facet of what makes her plays compelling. According to Cathy Leeney, "privileging of literary over theatrical values in part explains why Deevy’s work has yet to be recognized as a valuable and integral part of the Irish theatrical canon," as it is through performance that the "energy and vitality" of her plays emerges. Fortunately, although her plays were highly regarded by the public and critics during her time as an Abbey Writer, they are rarely produced today.

**IRISH NATIONALIST THEATER AT THE ABBEY**

The Abbey, Ireland’s national theater, began as the brainchild of William Butler Yeats and Lady Augusta Gregory. The two founded the Irish Literary Theatre (which would eventually become the Abbey) as part of their goal to create a new national literature for Ireland. Although theater had already been used as a medium for expressing nationalist ideals, Yeats and Gregory viewed their theatrical endeavor as something entirely new. As Christopher Morash puts it, “Irish Literary Theatre came into being by imagining an empty space where in fact there was a crowded room.” Though a distinctly Irish form of theater had already existed, Gregory and Yeats saw themselves as developing a new theater for a new audience, an audience that was meant to be the whole of Ireland.

In the early days of the Irish Literary Theatre there was some debate over what this new national theater would look like. Should it be realistic in its portrayal of Irish society, reflecting on stage what was happening in the lives of real people? Or should it, like Yeats’s poetry, tell the story of a romanticized ideal of Ireland? The ways this question was answered would help to lay the foundation for the production of Teresa Deevy’s plays at the Abbey three decades later.

From the ways that Yeats wrote about his visions for an Irish nationalist theater, it would at first appear that he was on the side of realism. He wrote in one of the Literary Theatre’s publications that artists in the Irish theater should create work “that reflects the life of Ireland as the Scandinavian theatre reflects the Scandinavian life.” Yeats’s reference to the “Scandinavian theatre” reflects his admiration for the realistic plays of Ibsen, whom he called “the one great master the modern stage has produced.” Based on this praise, one might expect that Yeats would
seek to create and produce theater that reflected Ibsen’s use of realism and harsh social scrutiny, but when it came to his own dramatic works, Yeats opted for the romantic over the realistic as he created works depicting an idealistic view of Ireland. The theatrical form that ultimately emerged from this push to create a national theater that would represent the life of Ireland was the peasant play. Broadly speaking, these plays were focused on the lives of Irish peasant families and their connection with their homes and the rural Irish countryside. They were set in “the interior of the Irish peasant home,” a setting meant to connect the idea of the home with the Irish the land. This setting served not only to assert that the land belonged to the Irish peasants who had cultivated it, but also to establish the home as the most suitable place for women. These plays depict domestic tranquility as being maintained by the women, and it is when the women cannot fulfill their domestic roles that tranquility is lost and conflicts arise.8

The idea of home as the center of Irish culture was essential to forming a distinctly Irish voice in the wake of English colonialism because “it provided not only the foundation upon which Irish nationality was built, but also served as the link between the land and the people.” By creating this link between home and the land, Irish nationalist rhetoric sought to reclaim the land from English control and assert the dignity of the Irish people who had cultivated it. The idea that it was necessary for women to maintain the home for the good of Irish society was promoted in Irish nationalist theater, and, as will be shown, eventually became codified in Irish law.

This narrow concept of women’s societal roles is one that Deevy criticizes in Katie Roche. In this play, Deevy uses the dramatic elements of the Irish nationalist context in which she was writing. At first glance, the setting of Katie Roche and its domestic dynamics appear to be familiar elements of the Irish peasant play, though a closer reading, as will be explored below, reveals how Deevy uses these familiar elements, typically used to enforce the domestic expectations of women, in order to critique the constricting roles that these expectations forced upon Irish women.

**AN OVERVIEW OF KATIE ROCHE**

*Katie Roche* is ultimately the story of a woman whose attempts to find happiness are thwarted by the circumstances of her life. From the outset, Katie Roche is at a disadvantage. An illegitimate and orphaned child, she is left in the care of a Mrs. Roche who refuses to tell her anything of her parentage and eventually sends her off to a convent where she works without pay helping to care for other orphans. The play begins when Katie is nineteen years old and has been working for three years as a servant to Amelia Gregg, Amelia’s forty-five-year-old brother, Stanislaus Gregg soon proposes to Katie. Over the course of the play, Deevy explores the deteriorating relationship between Katie and Stanislaus. It is clear from the outset that this will not be a stable relationship; Stanislaus continually belittles Katie and treats her like a child, while Katie initially vehemently rejects Stanislaus’s offer of marriage. It would appear that she only accepts the offer in an attempt to elevate her social status from the unfortunate conditions of her birth. The play concludes with Stanislaus forcing Katie to leave her country home after finding her in the company of her former sweetheart, Michael Maguire.

When it was first produced, the play was met with acclaim from reviewers who lauded Deevy’s ability to depict complex human emotions. One reviewer stated, “Masterpiece is a word to be used sparingly, but I have no hesitation in applying it to Miss Deevy’s ‘Katie Roche,’” even as he admits that he cannot fully appreciate its complexity after one viewing. “It is a play to be read, to be studied, to be seen again and again,” he wrote.9 Other reviewers failed to see the same complexity. One writing for the Leader summarized the play as one about a woman whose “wildest dreams come true without any effort on her part. Things just happen for her.” It is difficult to understand how a viewer would interpret Katie’s struggles in a failing marriage with a much older man as her wildest dreams coming true, though it is telling that this same reviewer viewed Stanislaus as “a firm but sympathetic friend [Katie needs] to guide her till she begins to know her own heart.”10 Stanislaus’s actions throughout the play appear to be anything but sympathetic, as he berates Katie for her speech, leaves her alone for months at a time, and ultimately forces her to leave her home against her will. A more accurate reading of the play can be found in an Irish Times review, which states that “all through the play one seems to see an almost imperceptible change in the ordinary values of life.”11 This subtle change can be seen in Katie’s changing experience in her marriage. While at first Katie is excited at the possibility of freeing herself from the strictures of lower-class life imposed on her by the circumstances of her birth, as the play continues it becomes apparent that Katie has been trapped within another imposed role.

**WOMEN AND THE IRISH PEASANT PLAY: DEEVY’S SUBVERSION OF NATIONALIST TROPS**

The setting of *Katie Roche* resembles the traditional settings of Irish peasant plays, though, it should be noted, this is not quite the story of Irish peasants. The Gregg family is comfortably middle-class, even bearing a surname that seems to connect them more to the English landowners than the Irish peasants who were the focus of the Abbey’s early nationalist plays. However, the play is set entirely in the interior of their country home, a conceit familiar to the traditional peasant play. Joy Richmond describes that in the peasant play, though the audience never sees the land, the “phenomenological sense that the land was just outside the door haunted the stage.”12 This too is true of *Katie Roche*. The characters are often going in and out of the front door, discussing the weather, and describing their travels through the countryside. It is clear that the land is an important part of these characters’ lives, though this importance is greater for some characters than others. Stanislaus Gregg, for example, rarely comments on the world outside his home. At the beginning of the play, it is revealed that he has not lived in this country home and in fact that he has lived abroad for many years. Throughout the course of the play, he is frequently away in Dublin, spending little time in the country even after marrying Katie. This distancing from the rural Irish land is a further indication that Stanislaus is not aligned with the Irish peasant character of earlier theater.

Katie, on the other hand, appears to have a close connection with the land. That she should have this connection while Stanislaus does not is significant. This connection makes Katie more closely aligned with the paradigm of the Irish peasant protagonist, a typically male character, than the most prominent man in the play. For an audience familiar with the traditional peasant plays, as Deevy’s Abbey audience would have been, this would have been a subtle way to emphasize the deviation from the traditional structure of creating a play centered on a male protagonist, with women present mostly as supporting characters meant to uphold standard expectations of femininity. Katie’s connection to the land is further emphasized toward the end of the play when, at Stanislaus’s behest, she is forced to leave her country home to move to Dublin. She expresses her concerns, saying, “I wouldn’t know when the trees would be changing, or what was the river…’d be in a strange place.”13 This provides another subversion of the tropes of traditional Irish nationalist plays; while in the peasant plays it is the woman’s separation from hearth and home that causes discord, the greatest unhappiness in *Katie Roche* comes from Katie’s separation from the land. It is significant that this separation comes at the hands of her husband, a figure who in the peasant plays would be expected to preserve his family’s connection to the ancestral land.
Stanislaus, however, shows no such concern, even going so far as to say that he will take Katie abroad and that they never will return to the country home.

The connection of woman to land is not unusual in Irish nationalist theater, but, unlike in Katie Roche, it is common for women to be presented as a symbol of the land. The most prominent example of this trope is Cathleen Ní Houlihan by William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory. In this play the Gillane family is visited by a “poor old woman” who is revealed to be the personification of Ireland. The Gillane family is the archetypal family of the Irish peasant play, which comprises a hard-working father devoted to tending to his land, a mother who maintains harmony in the domestic sphere, and a young son who is prepared to die for Ireland. As the play progresses, the old woman tells the son, “If anyone would give me help he must give himself, he must give me all,” demanding the ultimate sacrifice in service to his country from the son. At the end of the play, it is the promise of this sacrifice that allows the old woman to transform into Cathleen Ní Houlihan, “a young girl” with “the walk of a queen” who is the female embodiment of the ideal of Ireland at its full glory.

This female embodiment of the land is a common trope in Irish nationalist plays, as is the transformation of the old woman into a beautiful maiden through the sacrifice of a young man. This transformation reflects ideals of femininity that uphold youth and purity as indicators of a woman’s worth and allows the young man to be seen as the active hero, while the woman is the passive symbol. In Cathleen Ní Houlihan this symbolic form of femininity is juxtaposed with the other feminine ideal, the married woman who keeps tranquility at home. These two images of womanhood are common throughout Irish theater and are a significant aspect of the theatrical environment in which Teresa Deevy worked.

In Katie Roche, Deevy subverts both of these tropes in order to reflect the frustration of a woman trapped by these ideals. While the ideals of femininity depicted in Cathleen Ní Houlihan certainly did not reflect the lived experiences of many Irish women they did reflect real expectations for how women should conduct their lives. The notion that a woman’s place was maintaining the home was not only a literary trope, but in fact became codified in the Irish constitution. Katie Roche premiered on the Abbey stage in 1936, just one year before the Irish constitution was ratified. This constitution included Article 42.2 which stated, “the State recognizes that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved” and continued to say that the government would “endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.”

Deevy was well aware of these expectations when writing Katie Roche. But as Deevy’s greatest skill was in creating complex characters, one should not expect to find any neatly packaged tropes in her depictions of female characters. In fact, her eponymous protagonist is a subversion of these tropes. Katie Roche is a young woman who, like most real women, fully embodies neither the ideals of the Cathleen Ní Houlihan figure, nor the domestic virtues of the idealized Irish wife. She is described as having a “sort of inward glow,” but this glow is at odds with the society that tries to force her into defined gender roles. As Deevy describes in her detailed stage directions, Katie “continually tries to smother” this glow in order to fit into the roles expected of her. Throughout the play, Katie can be seen trying to fit herself into roles that are too small for her spirit and imagination. At the top of Act I she attempts to fulfill the role of the pious young maiden, going so far as to say that she plans to enter the convent in order to save her soul. After marrying Stanislaus, she struggles to fit into the role of the dutiful wife.

It is through this struggle that Deevy criticizes the idea that women are best suited for roles in the home as wives and mothers. In making Katie a complex character, Deevy has already challenged the traditional use of woman as symbol or as the object of a male protagonist’s actions, but with little agency of her own. With that trope excluded entirely from her work, Deevy sets out on her primary task of critiquing the mythical depictions of the Irish wife presented in earlier plays, and, ultimately, the real expectations of 1930s Irish society for women to fulfill the role of the “ideal wife.”

DEEVY AND THE IRISH CATHOLIC CHURCH

Like many Irish citizens of her time, Teresa Deevy was a practicing Catholic. She was described by family members as “very religious” and was known to take daily communion. Judy Friel argues in her article “Rehearsing ‘Katie Roche’” that through her writings Deevy “tried to express the female experience from the Gaelic, Catholic tradition.” If this was in fact Deevy’s goal, the experience she depicts is much different from what might one expect from a pious Irish Catholic woman. It is clear that Deevy was not afraid to criticize the role that the institutional church played in her society. In a letter written to the editor of the Irish Times she questioned the banning of a book that had been declared unfit for the Irish public because of “general indecency.” Deevy defied this assessment, asking, “Does the real objection to this book lie in the fact that the central character turns from the faith of his childhood, and does not, in the end, repent this turning?” Deevy is quick to criticize the censorship of the book on religious grounds, making her letter a criticism of the rigidity of the Irish Catholic Church.

This same criticism is expressed throughout Katie Roche. Early in the play, Katie describes her desire to become a saint and her plans to become a nun in order to achieve this goal. She describes how while working at the convent in her childhood she “read a lot of Saints’ lives.” She asserts that these biographies are good examples for her to follow because some of the saints “hated the convent as much as myself, until... (sermonizing herself)...until they conquered.” Piety does not come naturally to Katie, yet she frequently “sermonizes” herself in attempts to emulate these saints, likely because the nuns in the convent instructed her to “conquer” her naturally exuberant personality.

A telling moment of criticism comes in the second act after the itinerant holy man Reuben discovers Katie with her arms around Michael Maguire. After chastising Katie for her actions, Reuben raises his walking stick and hits Katie across the shoulders hard enough to make her collapse into a nearby chair. Significantly, this disturbing moment is one that went without comment from most contemporary reviewers of the play. The scheme continues with Reuben revealing that he is in fact Katie’s father. It is telling that Deevy depicts the character with the closest ties to the Church, the one whom many of the other characters call a saint, as the one who takes the most violent steps toward confining Katie in her domestic role. Reuben is a man so concerned with following the letter of the law that he is incapable of feeling any compassion for his daughter. He even tells Katie, “If I find him [Michael] here again I’ll—flog you.” Reuben is so consumed with religious scrupulosity that he believes that it is necessary to keep Katie in her domestic role, one enforced by the Church, through any means necessary. The audience cannot help but feel resentment toward Reuben for his cruelty, a resentment that reflects Deevy’s own frustration with the role the Irish Catholic Church played in enforcing confining gender roles.

THE TROUBLE WITH THE ENDING

In assessing Katie Roche as a critique of the gender roles upheld in Irish culture, the ending of the play appears problematic. In the final
moments of the play, as Katie tearfully says goodbye to her home, she is told by her sister-in-law Amelia that it is better to accept this forced departure than to fight it. "If you’re brave, you can make it grand!" Amelia declares. After a moment, Deevy gives the stage direction that Katie “grows exultant” before responding, “I will be brave!” When she leaves with Stanislaus, it appears to be in complete acquiescence to his control over her fate, which just moments before she had vehemently opposed. Judy Friel describes the ending as an "intellectual failure" on Deevy’s part to make “the great imaginative leap” that would have allowed Katie to take control of her life. This assessment relies on the notion that Deevy was so shaped by her experience as an Irish Catholic woman that she could not imagine an ending in which Katie would go so far as to reject traditional gender roles. It reads the ending as an act of self-censorship on Deevy’s part, born out of a fear to be too obviously critical of the society that shaped her.

This, however, does not appear to be a fair assessment. As is obvious from her letter to the editor of the Irish Times, Deevy was not afraid to raise public criticisms of the authorities in Ireland. Her words reveal an impassioned belief that people ought to be able to make their own choices about how they live their lives. It is unlikely that she would temper this belief in her plays out of fear of being too critical. Rather, the ending can be seen as a conscious choice on Deevy’s part to do exactly what Yeats demanded when he wrote of creating theater “that reflects the life of Ireland.” Deevy’s play is subversive in that it does not paint the picture of an idealized Ireland presented in the nationalist plays performed at the Abbey, but instead shows the reality of strict expectations forced upon Irish women. Much of Katie Roche’s woes stem from being expected to fit into a role that is too small for her. While Deevy could have written the ending to have Katie reject this role, that would not have been as effective a critique of the reality that Irish women faced. The ending that Deevy chose is just as subversive as the rest of Katie Roche, for although Katie seems to be leaving happily, it is not a comfortable ending. Instead, it demonstrates the dangers of losing spirit and autonomy in a society that places such constricting expectations on women.

ENDNOTES

5 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 23.
9 N., “Katie Roche’ At the Abbey,” the Leader, March 21, 1936.
13 It is worth noting that in the playbills for the original productions of Cathleen ni Houlihan, Lady Gregory’s coauthorship is not recognized, though recent scholarship revealed that Lady Gregory had played a significant role in writing the play.
15 Yeats and Gregory, 44.
17 Deevy, Katie Roche, 57.
19 Friel, 125.
21 Deevy, Katie Roche, 59.
22 Deevy, Katie Roche, 80.
23 Deevy, Katie Roche, 102.
24 Friel, 124.
The Ideology of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria

DELIA C. BURNS

DOI: 10.17284/FURJ/v6-a3

Abstract: The self-proclaimed Islamic State currently poses the greatest large-scale threat to international security and has committed countless crimes against humanity: its disguised soldiers partake in ruthless violence from suicide bombings to persecution. Exactly how does a population justify this kind of violence, and where does the ideology come from? How do civilians in the Middle East and around the world eradicate dangerous extremism, especially one with roots in both religious and political ideologies? Violent Islamic extremism can be tracked from the Prophet’s own encouragement of the protection of the Islamic community. These traditional ideals become radicalized in the advents of Salafism and Wahhabism, and manifest themselves in a relentless commitment to reinstate a unified, Muslim caliphate. Finding the solutions to ending this reign of extremism begins with recognizing the Islamic State’s religious origins and pushing for secular, representative governance and support for moderate local leadership.

Acknowledgments: Special thanks to Ambassador T. Hamid al Bayati, PhD, permanent ambassador of Iraq to the United Nations, for his support throughout this project and my greater career. His guidance is invaluable and encouragement fundamental to my success.

Introduction and Background

The United States’ government has been looking at the Islamic State group as a political, economic, military, and security problem, rather than realizing it as an ideological one. In fact, it is a battle with radicalism. The Islamic State is an ideological movement rooted in a Salafi-jihadi brand of Islam that echoes the attitude of the Islamic Empire (or caliphate, encompassing the entire Muslim population) in the seventh and eighth centuries. The violent rebirth of old, extremist ideas culminated in the declaration of an independent, “united” Islamic State on June 29, 2014.1 Today, the Islamic States operates a massive anti-West, anti-Shia movement from their de facto capital of Raqqah.2 The Islamic State orchestrates attacks within and outside of the Middle East through its vast network of insurgencies, and does all of this with the assurance that their caliphate and caliph are chosen and warranted by Allah himself.3

The ideology of the Islamic State has not gone unstudied—in fact, extensive research exists on the origins of the religious and political forces behind creating one of the world’s most dangerous insurgencies.4 Here, I attempt to marry such research with suggestions for an ideological response to the Islamic State.

For almost five hundred years, the Ottoman Empire ruled over the lands of the Middle East. In 1917, Britain seized control and created the borders of the modern states. After Iraq gained its independence in 1932, its government was unstable due to the British decision to award power to the Shia minority over the Sunni majority. The British had made this decision on because Sunnis supported the British occupation in Iraq. In 1979, Saddam Hussein became president, but the next twenty years only brought poor living conditions and conflict with Iran, a Shia nation. When the United States toppled Saddam’s regime in 2003, al-Qaeda had been operating a vast network in Iraq with the intention of expelling Westerners from the region and uniting all Sunni Muslims once again.

2004 saw the creation of the Salafi-jihadi group al-Qaeda in Iraq (the precursor of which was Jama’at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad), under the leadership of jihadi Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Zarqawi, a Jordanian-born Sunni militant, fought with al-Qaeda in the 1980s. He traveled to Iraq in 2002 and planned the assassination of U.S. diplomat Laurence Foley. On May 11, 2004, Zarqawi beheaded an American journalist and filmed the process, releasing it in a video entitled “Abu Musab al-Zarqawi show[n] slaughtering an American.” Zarqawi had come to practice Salafist teachings during his time in the American prison Camp Bucca.4 There, Zarqawi studied Salafism and jihadi principles under Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, a major Salafist thinker at the time.5 Zarqawi would come to be killed in an air strike in the north of Baghdad along with his spiritual advisor, Sheik Abd-Al-Rahman.6 Zarqawi practiced an extreme, fundamental form of Islam rooted in violent Jihad and “purifying” the faith. His group allied themselves with al-Qaeda, which had given Zarqawi a small amount of cash for terrorist operations in Jordan in 1999.7 However, differences in method and belief—perhaps bin Laden’s distaste for Zarqawi—led to the creation of the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI) in 2006, which waged jihad not only on Westerners but on any community or sect that resisted its specific brand of Islam. From there, members went to Syria and managed to procure weapons and fighters and began to call themselves the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant. On June 10, 2014, Islamic State fighters crossed the Syrian border into Iraq and managed to gain control of Mosul, the largest city in northern Iraq after the capital.

Most popular among young, pious Muslims,8 the Islamic State operates a successful recruitment system based in the promise of a better, more pious life.9 Since Shii Nouri al Maliki’s election as Iraq’s prime minister in 2006, Shii officials had been infiltrating the ranks of Iraqi government officials—a reality that made Sunni communities uneasy.10 Following formation of the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI), Sunni Muslims, feeling betrayed by both Shiiites and their own governments,
flocked to join the ranks of the jihadi group. Women joined with the guarantee of a husband and financial stability. The Islamic State motivates membership with the promise of martyrdom, even more than safety and money. Their pronounced reverence of the November 2015 attacks in Paris is an obvious example of how they warrant salvation for anyone who joins their ranks.

Saddam's political introduction of Ba'athism into his military ranks would provide the future foundation for displaced Iraqi soldiers to join the Islamic State. Ba'athism's advocacy of eradicating Kurds, Iranians, Kuwaitis, and Shiites, as well as U.S. forces and supporters, aligned well with the Salafist ideals soldiers picked up as prisoners of war. Ba'athism also encouraged the political incorporation of sharia law, which the Islamic State took full advantage of.

The Islamic State believes it is continuing the legacy of expansionism that began with the Abbasid Dynasty in the eighth century, providing a historical foundation for their ideology. They are fulfilling their traditional Muslim duty of upholding the caliphate, rebirthing the Ottoman Empire that the British dispelled in the 1920s (see announcement above).

The Islamic State has managed to unite jihadis behind their cause for a unified Islamic state. They see the apocalyptic battle between the Romans (the West) and the Muslims in the form of the “end of times,” one of their core beliefs. The establishment of the Islamic State was only the first step in their plan. Now, they intend to engulf the rest of the region and prepare for this battle, the fundamental goal that lies beneath all of the Islamic State's operations. They will not cease to use it as justification for any action, no matter how violent or who is affected. They have gone so far to extend their ruthlessness to a fearless acceptance and reverence of death. The following explores the religious origins of this ideology and how it manifests itself in the politics and intentions of the Islamic State.

Religious Foundations: Salafi-Jihadism

The religious ideology of the Islamic State comes from various Salafi-Wahhabi sects that propagate violent jihad as a means of unifying Muslims and purifying the religion. Here the Islamic State ideology emerges, one that seeks to reinstate the traditional, “purest” form of Islam from the time of the Crusades and before.

The Salafi Dimension. Salafism seeks to purify Islam of Western influence and centuries’ worth of innovation. Anything the early caliphs did not condone is heresy. It is their prerogative to destroy historical documents and relics that do not represent what they consider to be the original faith. Though its believers follow the Sunni interpretation of events after Mohammad's death, the growth of Salafism represents a break from the Sunni community. Salafists believe that they are the only true Muslims and that all idolatry is forbidden. They advocate for the purification of the faith by eradicating the kuffar (“nonbelievers”), which includes all Shia and any fellow Sunnis who do not follow Salafist doctrine. Salafists are strictly against the Shia reverence of Mohammad's family.

Consequently, Salafists strike all democracy and Western ideology. Any followers of secular law are nonbelievers. Therefore, Salafists desire the toppling of all democratic (or pseudo-democratic) governments of the Middle East established out of the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars and Arab Spring. In addition, Salafists are strictly against the faith of the Yazidis, resulting in the persecution and massacre of thousands of Yazidis.

Zarqawi came to know Salafi-jihadism in Afghanistan under the instruction of spiritual leader, Abdullah Azzam, who would also later inspire Osama bin Laden and thousands of Arab mujahedeen. He became radicalized in what is now considered to be the base of the Islamic State’s belief system: the American prison Camp Bucca, in Iraq.

The Wahhabi Dimension. Wahhabism emerged as an extension of Salafism in the mid-eighteenth century. It forms the foundation of the Saudi Arabian political system and justifies Saudi jihad against Shiites within the country. Saudi Arabia's propagation of Wahhabism continues to contribute to the success and legitimizing of the Islamic State.

Technically beginning as a reform movement, Wahhabism’s founder, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab preached the rejection of all innovation and basing religious observance solely on the teachings of the Quran: the same beliefs found in Salafism. However, Wahhabism also advocates for the practice of violent jihad and claims Muslims can lawfully kill all heretics of the religion in order to “purify” the religion.

Today, Wahhabism thought runs rampant in Salafi-jihadi groups and provides the origin for their embrace of violent jihad. In addition, Wahhabi traditions of uniform dress and a strict imposition of sharia law in everyday life survive through the Islamic State. The Islamic State has even banned music and dancing and imposed a strict policies
Kharijites, members of this sect of Sunni Islam, believe that if a ruler is sinful, Muslims must not follow him and have a duty to overthrow him. This ideology is directly contradicted by many Prophet narrations, but many interpret this to mean that Muslims must fight against any oppressor. Most insurgencies are now considered neo-khawarij as a way of branding those in favor of revolution. The branding manifests itself in the Islamic State’s belief in toppling the existing governments of the Middle East due to their oppressive natures. Kharijites are also considered “Takfiris,” which means to pronounce takfir (i.e., to accuse of apostasy) against any Muslim who does not follow the faith correctly or strictly, putting forth yet another motivation for violent jihad.

Political Foundations: Appropriation of Sunni Unrest

Iraq has traditionally been ruled under a Sunni leadership, one with a deeply ingrained Sunni Arab identity. Sunni clerks in Iraq, especially in recent years, have condemned the growth of radical Salafism and Wahhabism and denounced the Islamic State. The Islamic State’s Salafi-jihadi belief system is not recognized as a part of either branch, but it has managed to associate itself with Sunni resistance of the Shia leadership in Iraq and to use the conflict to both recruit and justify widespread persecution of Shiites.

Nevertheless, in recent years Iraq has experienced a Shia takeover of their politics. After the American-led interim government in 2003, the West also put various Shiite factions in charge in the government. This may have been the result of Sunnis having fought against Americans, opposite to what the British did from 1914 to 1932, when they handed the power to the Sunnis who had helped them and deprived the Shiites who opposed them. In addition, Sunni Muslims boycotted the 2004 elections due to demands that had not been met in the violent conditions of the North, where many of the Sunni peoples resided. The Sunnis experienced what they considered to be a threat to their Sunni Arab identity as Shiites began to take over control of the Iraqi government. Therefore, the push for Sunni leadership emerges from a combination of religious fervor and strict nationalism, one that is aggravated by a search for lost power and prestige that began in the fallout of Saddam’s regime.

The Islamic State is particularly popular due to its success in putting down (seemingly) anti-Sunni forces. In Southern Syria, it has inflicted widespread persecution of Shiites. In reality, the Islamic State persecutes both Shia and Sunni, along with anyone who does not follow their Salafi-jihadi ideology. They are not partial to Sunnis, but, rather, they see more support from this side because of their Sunni origins and formal condemnation of the Shia. When al-Qaeda attacked Sunni civilians in 2006, Sunni tribes formed an Awakening Council made up of community and tribal leaders in what would come to be known as the Sunni Awakening. The movement would provide recruits for the Islamic State as well as foster its division with al-Qaeda.

Jihad and Eradicating Nonbelievers

The ideology of jihad. Jihad (“struggle”) is any exerted effort to protect Islam and its followers. For the Islamic State, however, this reveals itself in extreme and arbitrary violence and the persecution of nonbelievers. Jihad gained popularity in the second half of the twentieth century, being propagated by the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1960s and 1970s and through the rise of Salafist doctrine. Various groups started waging jihad with the aim to establish Islamic states; in other words, the Islamic State group is not a new idea. Jihadi groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic State, hold the belief originated in the eighth century that Allah tells Muslims to attack those who fight them and drive them out of their lands, and not to fight those who do not resist. The Islamic State, however, sees any level of resistance against Salafi-jihadism as a form of being fought against and, thus, justifies the jihad waged on other Muslims, using fear and brutality to demonstrate their supremacy.

Ayman al-Zawahiri, the current leader of al-Qaeda, outlines his four step plan for jihad: One, to expel all Americans from Iraq; two, to establish an Islamic State, filling the void left by departing American forces; three, to extend jihad to secular countries bordering Iraq; four, to fight Israel, the “ultimate challenge to Islamic entity.” Zarqawi added his own dimension to the plan: a focus on killing Shia-majority population in Iraq in order to incite a Sunni–Shia civil war that will force Sunnis to reclaim their lost power and prestige within Iraq. From there, the Sunni Islamic State will target all other sects of Islam in addition to Western forces.

The Islamic State is not willing to wait to be strategic about its jihad, either, as al-Qaeda has been. While jihad had traditionally been defensive, or used as a means to keep Islam alive and protect its followers, the Islamic State propagated the ideal of offensive jihad, one that is ruthless and arbitrary, attacking all who do not follow their Salafi-jihadi ideology. In fact, Osama bin Laden had expressed his dislike of Zarqawi, due to his tattoos and indiscriminate killing of Shias (bin Laden’s own mother was Shia). The Islamic State and al-Qaeda lead increasingly different missions, made most clear by their diverging jihadi viewpoints.

Jihad on the West. Anti-West sentiment had already existed in the region for quite some time. When British and French forces overlooked the region’s tribal history in the drawing of its borders, locals resisted. Clans had to survive in the twentieth century by cutting deals with whoever was in power. In the Middle East, many have the general conception that the West will not work to recognize and protect the tribal culture they depend upon. The Islamic State claims the British, Arabs, and Turks conspired together to end the Islamic Caliphate (the Ottoman Empire) and stripped it of its glory. The Islamic State now seeks to recover this glory.

Today, the Islamic State supports the notion that, if not stopped, the West will establish a Christian-Israeli Empire that will engulf the Middle East. In fact, they believe Israel represents the ultimate Western challenge to Islamic authority. They see Westerners as supporting nonbelievers, as they put Shiites in power and support the “illegitimate” governments of the region. The Islamic State is able to pose Western forces as being the real terrorists. One Western recruit puts it, I saw the foreign troops burning villages, raping local women and girls, rounding up innocent young men as suspected terrorists and sending them overseas for torture, gunning down women, children, and the elderly in the streets and indiscriminately firing missiles from their jets. Who was I to believe was the terrorist? Through these ideals, the Islamic State is also able to recruit in the West among those disillusioned by their own governments.

Sharia Law and the Islamic State

Establishing the Islamic State. Religious ideology gave way to political ideology as the Islamic State declared their sovereignty in 2014. On June 29, 2014, the Islamic State claimed its existence as a caliphate with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as its caliph (perhaps only in name), controlling vast lands in northern Iraq and southern Syria. Before the announcement, the Islamic State was hardly taken seriously, especially after living in the...
shadow of al-Qaeda for so many years. Its astounding success in the preceding months brought about the announcement in late June.

After World War I, the Ottoman Empire—the last of the great Islamic caliphates—collapsed, and Britain and France divided the region into the states we know today. For the “religion of peace,” the existence of the caliphate brought stability and protection to those that called themselves Muslim. The terrorists’ declaration in 2014 of the rebirth of an Islamic state marked the recognition of the return of the caliphate, one with a “government” that functions entirely on sharia law as a part of its Salafi-jihadi doctrine.46

Therefore, the Islamic State runs on a nationalist ideology: the jihadists are fighting for their “country.” In fact, the Islamic State claims to function like a country, with borders and infrastructure of its own.47 It has its own bureaucracy, headed by Baghdadi and his cabinet. From their de facto capital of Raqqah, the Islamic State runs on a policy of strict military discipline and implementation of sharia law.48 Its leadership believes war is in the interest of Muslims everywhere. They are said to equate conquest with enlightenment, ruthlessly expanding their borders.49

What ultimately attributes to the Islamic State’s recruitment success is that it “is an equal opportunity organization. It has everything from the sadistic psychopath to the humanitarian to the idealist driven.”50 It survives on the basis that anyone can join their cause, as long as they proclaim loyalty to the Islamic State and its beliefs. Its recruiters specifically reach out to disaffected individuals and promise a better life, one rife with “guns and girls.”

By functioning like a real-life state, the Islamic State looks legitimate in this promise. It has its own law, and provides food, shelter, clothing, charity, postal services, clean roads, and more for its “citizens.” For recruits, moving to the Islamic State is equated to immigrating to another country.51 Through their propaganda, the Islamic State can make itself seem like the ultimate welfare state, using anti-Western ideology to make itself look like the good guy. For young, devout Muslims, it provides a career led by strict, traditional Muslim values. To a disaffected individual, the Islamic State is the easiest guarantee of financial stability and religious fulfillment. In addition, it has stuck whole-heartedly to its original goal of establishing and expanding a united Islamic state, which only gives them stronger legitimacy in comparison to most other Middle Eastern governing bodies.

**Sharia law**: The Islamic State wholly incorporates sharia law into its governance and jihad operations. Sharia, or “path,” provides the guide for a Muslim’s life—familial, religious, and financial aspects. Sharia is considered to be the most pious way of life, but it is extreme if followed exactly.52 For example, if sharia is followed exactly as the Islamic State does, women are to be completely veiled at all times, with threat of punishment by public humiliation. Gay men are publicly executed by being hurled off roofs. Christians are crucified. In addition, the Islamic State can kidnap and rape any woman who is not a Muslim.53

All violent, grotesque attacks, including heavy use of suicide bombers, on nonbelievers are attributed to protecting Muslims, with the only true Muslims being who subscribe to Islamic State’s ideology. By framing all others as a threat to Islam and violators of sharia law, the Islamic State can justify any action. In this way, sharia is its ideological safety net.

**Fighting the Ideological War**

There are various ideological responses both the West and regional leaders can enact in order to suppress the kind of extremism the Islamic State thrives on:

1. **Recognize the Muslim foundation of the Islamic State’s religious and political ideology.** In the past, the Obama administration has denied the ideology of the Islamic State as being rooted in Islamic law,54 prompting the international community to allow for the creation of Middle Eastern constitutions ridden with sharia, treating it as the “highest law of the land,” despite its extremism.55 Had Obama’s administration acknowledged the Islamic State’s roots in sharia, more care might’ve been taken in the formation of Middle Eastern governments not to legitimize the extremist doctrine. The Islamic State’s ideology is a deep misinterpretation of the Quran and Islamic doctrine, enabled by this political legitimization of sharia. It is harming the very foundations of one of the world’s most populous religions in order to motivate response from major Islamic leaders and countries. In addition, if the West wants to stop recruitment from inside its countries’ borders, it must counter the impression of the Islamic State as an equal opportunity state. This kind of extremism can justify the persecution of virtually anyone for any reason, and nobody is safe. Through the glorification of martyrdom, the Islamic State has shown that one of the only surefire means to prove one’s allegiance is through one’s own ultimate destruction.

2. **Discourage the inclusion of sharia Law in states’ constitutions.** The Islamic State, through its Wahhabist doctrine, has literalized sharia and used it to justify discrimination and persecution—even to the point of genocide. An ideological solution would strike the necessity for
jihad and replace it with a necessity for ensuring peace in the form of diplomacy and tolerance.

3. Support moderate, secular leadership. The West, along with local community leaders in the Middle East, must support the moderate, tolerant form of Islam that is practiced most widely, by civilians within and outside the Middle East. This includes providing military and financial support for moderate local leaders from both Sunni and Shia branches in order to make anti-jihadi political structures attractive to both local civilians and those who have joined the Islamic State.

4. Support local, representative leadership. The West must also motivate Middle Eastern governments to suppress extremism in order to create political stability. This can help avoid the type of vacuum created with the departure of American forces in 2011 and the resulting Arab Spring. While the Arab Spring was warranted on ethical grounds of fighting discrimination and oppression, it emerged from Western oversight in attempting to establish governments that were too centralized and theocratic. This time, the governments must be led by locally established community leaders, from varying sects and national identities, especially to appeal to the tribal origins of the Arab nations and provide nations with safe ideological spaces to function within, making members less likely to become mujahedeen.

5. Discourage extreme Salafi-jihadism on the whole. Policies that suppress extremism and Salafi-jihadism and expose its realities are crucial to creating a valid offensive against the Islamic State. This can be done through social media campaigns and a genuine effort toward shutting down Islamic-State-sponsored propaganda. Only then can the West delegitimize Salafi-jihadism and promote tolerance.

An international effort is necessary for the establishment of peace and the defeat of the Islamic State, but this is only possible if Western populations are on board as well. Solely destroying the Islamic State is not enough. There will still be those who believe in and want to fight for its principles. Thus, an ideological response is necessary. Many are willing to die for the cause of the Islamic State. For this reason, the cause itself must be extinguished.

ENDNOTES

3 C. J. Knight, ISIS: Terrorism and the Rise of ISIS.
4 Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan, ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror (Regan Arts, 2015).
7 Weiss.
10 Spencer, Ch. 2.
11 Ibid, Ch. 3.
12 Mason.
Atheists are one of the least trusted groups in the United States, and are less likely to be accepted—both publicly and privately—than most other ethnic, religious, and other minority groups (Edgell, Gerteis, and Hartmann 2006). As other formerly popular forms of prejudice, including anti-Semitism and anti-Catholic sentiment, have generally waned when compared to a century ago, exclusionary attitudes toward atheists have come to the fore, often outpacing prejudices held against Muslims, possibly the United States' next least trusted group. A 2012 Gallup poll, for example, revealed that Americans were more likely to say they would not vote for an atheist than any other group (Jones 2012). Forty-three percent said they would not vote for an atheist, followed by 40 percent who said they would not vote for a Muslim and 30 percent who said they would not vote for a gay or lesbian candidate. Atheists are viewed as immoral and anti-American, and they face extremely high levels of distrust and disdain by the American public. Studies have shown that atheists are more distrusted than Christians, Muslims, gay men, feminists, or Jewish people, ranking as low as rapists in regard to distrust (Villarca 2011).

In short, atheism is what Erving Goffman would call a “spoiled identity.” Goffman's concepts of stigma and spoiled identity were raised in his 1963 work *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* in the context of prostitutes, drug addicts, physically “deformed” people, etc., but these ideas can be revealing in the context of atheism as well. Stigmatized people are those who are viewed as aberrant and lack social acceptance. They are thus, Goffman argues, forced to constantly struggle to adjust their identities. In a sense, individuals in stigmatized roles are managed by their identities just as much—if not more—than the other way around. By falling outside of “normal,” atheists must be aware of their identity in a way that those in the norm (i.e., individuals who believe in God) are not. Individuals in deviant, stigmatized roles are distrusted because they step out of the role assigned to them. Goffman's concept of role break applies to atheists in that they step out of the “normal” role of a wholesome, Christian, moral American by declaring their disbelief in God. Atheists “break character” when they proclaim their disbelief, and negative reactions toward atheists and atheism are an attempt to force people back into the normative role of believer.

Goffman’s concepts of role, role distance, and role break are also useful when exploring atheist identity. Goffman uses dramaturgical analysis to understand identity. In a sense, to Goffman, all of the world is a stage, and everyone plays his or her parts. Roles are, more or less, consciously performed. Individuals manage impressions of themselves in the way they perform these roles. For atheists, performativity can be viewed through Goffman’s three types of roles: scripted role, role distance, and role break. In between each of these roles, it should be noted, there are transgression zones, so deviation from one role to another is hardly accidental. A scripted role, essentially firmly following the role expected of and assigned to an individual, is strictly enforced. In the context of atheism, an atheist following a scripted role would play the part of a typical, wholesome, religious (and specifically Christian) American. Goffman's concept of role distance represents a tempered resistance to one's assigned role. Role distance is an arena reserved for one's individuality. It pushes the envelope while still playing the role, showing that there is a space for the exercise of individuality within the role. There are varying degrees of role distance for atheists. Role distance may be expressed in simply refraining from attending church, but it can also be expressed in gentle jokes against religion that hint at disbelief. In fact, role distance could even be expressed through identifying publicly as “agnostic” (a person who claims neither faith nor belief in God), as long as the individual continues to outwardly respect the legitimacy of religion. Goffman’s concept of role break represents a complete rejection of an assigned role. Role break is a jail break, completely breaking with the role. An act of rebellion, role break often receives a notably negative, aggressive reception by those in the dominant group.

In the context of atheism, role break is best encapsulated by the “New Atheists.” New Atheism (a fledgling social movement that emerged in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks) favors an overtly confrontational brand of atheism. Instead of conforming to the idea that religion and morality are synonymous, and that in order to be American one must also be Christian, New Atheists flip the tables and criticize religion instead. Rather than taking the soft approach historically employed by American atheists—who operated perhaps more in role distance than in role break—the New Atheists openly criticize religion and the belief in God not only as erroneous,
but also as socially harmful. Rather than working to maintain a
diplomatic relationship with communities of faith through delicate
self-censorship, the New Atheists forcefully proclaim their distaste for
religion. For example, even the title of Christopher Hitchens’s best-
makes his distaste for religion clear, and Hitchens calls religion “violent,
irrational, intolerant, allied to racism, tribalism, and bigotry, invested
in ignorance and hostile to free inquiry, contemptuous of women and
coercive toward children” (Hitchens 2009). Richard Dawkins wrote
in his 2006 bestseller *The God Delusion* that, “The God of the Old
Testament is arguably the most unpleasant character in all fiction:
jealous and proud of it; a petty, unjust, unforgiving control-freak; a
vindictive, bloodthirsty ethnic cleanser; a misogynistic, homophobic,
racist, infanticidal, genocidal, filicidal, pestilential, megalomanical,
sadomasochistic, capriciously malevolent bully” (Dawkins 2008). As
these aggressive transgressions in social acceptability demonstrate,
New Atheism clearly represents role break and the determined self-
forging of identity on the part of American atheist individuals.

All of this is to show that atheist identity, as with many—if not
most or all—identities, is constructed both by insiders and by outsiders.
Identity exists in a social context, making Goffman’s dramaturgical
analysis convincing. Social actors perform their identities in the context
of other social actors. They react to the other actors, both influencing
and being influenced by those around them. Furthermore, actors
perform for those in the audience. Identity is a performative act, fluid
and intersecting. In other words, identity is not simply something that
one is born with; it is crafted and created.

W.E.B. Du Bois also presents concepts that can be useful when
examining the identity of American atheists. Du Bois’s concept of
double consciousness can also be repurposed to explore the concept
of atheist identity. Du Bois addresses the idea of double consciousness
in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). In its original sense, double
consciousness refers to the idea that black people must struggle with
a multifaceted conception of self, forced to see themselves not only
through their own eyes, but also through the eyes of others. In the
context of atheist identity, white and black can be replaced by believer
and nonbeliever. Similar to black people (though certainly not to the
same degree), atheists must understand their identity not only through
their own conception, but also through the conception of believers.
Like black people, atheists cannot expunge themselves of the degrading
consciousness placed upon them by those in dominant roles. For black
people, this contempt comes primarily from whites; for atheists, this
contempt comes from believers.

In *The Souls of Black Folk,* Du Bois suggests that double
consciousness robs black people of self-consciousness. The negative
conceptions of the dominant (whites) are something that black people
cannot shed or ignore. As the subordinated group, black people must see
themselves through their own selves as well as through the dominant
gaze. The situation is somewhat similar for atheists. Black people,
through the dominant gaze, are viewed as lazy, shiftless, criminal,
dirty, stupid, sub-humans. Atheists are viewed as immoral, aggressive,
heartless, heathen. Shifting Du Bois’s idea of double consciousness
from race to religion, it can be argued that atheists cannot shed the
dominant’s gaze and thus are not free to forge their own identity.

Distrust of atheists is a form of othering. The Other is a person
seen through someone else’s dominance; the dominant others the
subordinated. The Other is “different,” which implies that there is a
standard, and (perhaps more importantly) that the Other is unequal to
the dominant. Often, the Other is less than fully human, or subhuman.
The Other is, simply, beyond the pale. Othering is the process by
which the dominant turns the subordinate into the Other. In the
context of race and Du Bois’s double consciousness, the concept of the
Other makes a great deal of sense, but the concept works well when
addressing atheist identity as well. Atheists are othered by the Christian
majority and are implied to be not only outside of the standard, but
also substandard. (Again, it should be noted that while atheists face
discrimination and social stigmatization that can be compared to the
discrimination black people face, the extent is far less widespread for
atheists than for black people and the consequences are far less severe.
This comparison is meant not to equate discrimination against atheists
with discrimination against black people, but merely to explore and
better understand atheist identity.)

Du Bois’s (1903) concept of the color line can also be appropriated
to an atheist context. The color line is a social construction that separates
the dominant (white people) from the subordinated (black people).
In other words, the color line is a transgression zone. The color line
also separates privilege from non-privilege. By transforming the color
line into the “belief line,” Du Bois’s idea can be applied to a different
context. While by no means as severe as the color line, the belief line
can be seen as a transgression zone that separates the dominant (believers)
from the subordinated (nonbelievers). Partly because atheism is not a
physical marker as race is, the belief line does not permeate society to the
extent of the color line. Still, the belief line is a fairly clear demarcation
of privilege and non-privilege. Atheists, for example, are virtually
unelectable in the United States, and many atheists report facing hiring
and workplace discrimination when they are public about their beliefs,
both issues that those in the Christian majority need not face.

Another important aspect of Du Bois’s color line is that it illustrates
the idea that people in dominant positions tend not to see their own
privilege, while those who are in subordinated positions must see it all
the time. In the context of atheism, this can be seen in some Christian’s
insistence on the existence of the so-called “War on Christmas.” Though
the majority of Americans identify as Christian, and the vast majority
of the country’s lawmakers do as well, few Christians recognize the
privileges they hold in American society. Atheists, conversely, are ever
aware of these privileges because they do not hold many of them.
Atheism, for example, is not considered a religion, so atheists do not
receive the same civil rights and legal protections as those in religious
communities. A simple example of this is that atheists are explicitly
banned from serving in higher office in some states, and seven states
even have such bans written in their state constitutions (Bulger 2013).
Atheists are much more likely to be aware of these discriminations than
religious people are because atheists are the subordinated group and
religious individuals are the dominant group in the United States.

This breakdown of privilege can be seen even in the vocabulary
used to describe atheists. Like many advocates for marginalized groups,
atheists also face the challenge of being perceived as aggressive and pushy
when publicly advocating for their beliefs. Many religious Americans
perceive public atheist sentiments as an assault on their own beliefs—
if not an outright attack on the founding principles of the country—
and react negatively to public professions of atheism. As David Niose
(2012) highlights, the double standard of the “militant atheist” and
the “devout Christian” plays out not only in interpersonal interactions,
but also in national media. Atheists who vocally express their views on
religion commonly receive the label “militant,” yet Christians who even
more aggressively espouse their religious beliefs rarely receive this same
distinction, instead earning the label “evangelical” or “devout.” As a
result, many atheists simply lie low, “often identifying by default with a
religion they don’t believe and don’t practice” (Niose 2012). Certainly,
the fear of being perceived or labeled as militant prevents many atheists
from engaging in conversation with others about their beliefs, quashing
discussion before it even begins. This social reality is a fairly visible
manifestation of the “belief line,” though many others exist.

Because the color line and the belief line are demarcations of
privilege, there is significant incentive for those who can pass as white
(in the case of the color line) or those who can pass as believing (in
the case of the belief line) to hide their blackness or their disbelief. The critical difference is that atheists can far more easily and far more frequently conceal their disbelief than black people can conceal their blackness. Using Du Bois’s ideas in an atheist context does not come without its problems. For the most part, black individuals cannot conceal their identity. Atheists, on the other hand, can conceal their identity easily. There is no physical marker of atheism, while blackness is (when reduced to its simplest form) a physical marker in and of itself. If atheists simply keep their beliefs confidential, they are assumed to be believers, part of the “norm.” Black people largely do not have this luxury, unless they fall into the small category of “light-skinned” black people who can “pass” for white. Still, this raises another interesting comparison between how black people and atheists manage their identities. Goffman’s idea of masking, which he discusses in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), can be applied to be both black people and atheists. Black people might mask by overtly playing into the role placed upon them by the racist assumptions of whites. Atheists, on the other hand, can mask themselves more or less by keeping their mouths shut regarding their beliefs. They can even go to church, wear religious jewelry, and participate in religious ceremonies, masking their nonbeliever identity in the shell of markers of religious identity. In fact, it can be argued that many, if not most, atheists in the United States manage their atheism by masking it because the social ramifications for making one’s disbelief public can be so severe. Atheists can face workplace discrimination, political discrimination, family tension, and general social stigmatization, all of which can be avoided simply by masking an aspect of their identity. Still, because passing and masking are distortions of identity, these acts do not come without some amount of internal discomfort.

It is important to remember that atheism is only one aspect of an atheist’s identity. Repurposed to an atheist context, Patricia Hill Collins’s idea of “intersectionality” can be elucidating. Collins’s 1990 book Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment explores the intersectionality of identity. With a focus on black feminism, Collins examines the idea that oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation intersect with one another and that they arise from mutually constructed systems of power. Though Collins does not focus on religion, this could be added to her list of systems of oppression neatly to capture the oppression of atheists as well. While oppressions can be intersectional, identities can be as well (though, as Goffman argues, society tends to try to reduce people to their neat, simple roles). In fact, this poses a major problem for American atheists. Atheists in the United States—or at least those who publicly identify as atheist—are largely white, male, educated, and relatively wealthy. Due to this reality, atheists who do not fall into that category often feel ignored and isolated even by their fellow atheists. Female atheists, for example, often complain of widespread misogyny within the atheist community. A female atheist, then, must navigate the oppressions both of gender and religion, negotiating the intersection of her identity both as a woman and as an atheist. While the oppressions she faces may appear to be separable and distinct, Collins’s analysis shows that the intersectionality of these issues makes it important for them to be studied together.

Collins’s conceptualization of intersectionality sees people as being in the center of a simultaneous intersection of multiple factors. This paper has attempted to parse out some of the specific obstacles and social realities facing atheists in the United States, but it is important to remember that atheist identity cannot be studied in a vacuum. Identity is the result of an entwining and meshing of social factors, and it is the convergence of these factors that reveals a great deal about society. Many of the issues facing atheists have not been explored in much detail by sociologists. As such, the ideas introduced in this paper run the risk of appearing reductionist. Identity is not tidy, a reality that Collins powerfully addresses in the idea of intersectionality. As with all identities, atheism must be examined in its relation to other identities, though spatial limitations prevent me from exploring these intersections in greater detail here.

While the study of atheist identity remains a nascent field, the comparisons explored here show that theorists have already laid a great deal of groundwork for better understanding atheism as an identity. Though they may not have explicitly focused on atheism, the analyses of W.E.B. Du Bois, Erving Goffman, and Patricia Hill Collins (to name a few) can be useful for breaking into this field. The examination of atheist identity may just be budding, but there is a great deal of promise for the future.

REFERENCES


Jones, Jeffrey M. 2012. “Atheists, Muslims See Most Bias as Presidential Candidates.” Gallup (June 21).


Becoming an Advocate for a Child With Special Needs

CYNTHIA MICHELLE CACERES
DOI: 10.17284/FURJ/v6-a5

Abstract: This paper describes and analyzes the challenges parents encounter in becoming advocates for children with disabilities. The study explores how mothers overcome personal and institutional challenges as they strive to act in their child’s best interests. The study’s focus on the parent’s struggles allows for a deeper understanding of the parent’s role in a child’s experience of living with a disability. Interviews were conducted with parents and staff at a nonprofit children’s organization in New York City. The interviews demonstrate the mothers’ hands-on approach in collecting experience and knowledge for use against bureaucratic inefficiency. The findings are valuable for professionals so that they can tailor a specific strategy of advocacy for a child, as well as teach skills that acknowledge the parent’s personal background and obstacles.

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank my advisors, Dr. Aseel Sawalha and Dr. Clara E. Rodriguez, for their invaluable support, guidance, and encouragement throughout this project. I would also like to thank Megan Flynn and Eva-Marie Kailas for their invaluable feedback during the writing process. I would also like to express my gratitude to the staff of New Alternatives for Children for welcoming me back with open arms and for being so supportive of my research endeavors. I thank the parents who agreed to be interviewed for this project: it was a privilege to hear their stories. Thanks also to Fordham College at Lincoln Center for funding this project with a Fordham undergraduate student research grant.

Behind a child with a disability, there is a large, complex network of systems at work that set out to provide the child the support and tools he or she needs to be able to participate in society. However, the complexity of the systems propels the child’s parent to step up to ensure that her child’s needs are not forgotten. The parent is the child’s voice. This voice is amplified through the parent’s relentless actions in face of bureaucratic inefficiency. This study explores the ways mothers of children with disabilities and other medical conditions navigate the health-care, educational, and social services systems through advocacy. It asks the following questions: What is entailed in being an advocate for a child with a disability or medical condition? After the child’s diagnosis, how do a child’s caregivers learn the necessary skills to be advocates? How do the caregivers implement those advocacy skills in a variety of settings? What are the external and internal obstacles they encounter as the child’s advocates? The second part of my research focuses on the question: How does Latina identity affect the mother’s ability to advocate for a child with special needs?

To answer these questions, I conducted interviews with the child’s support system, which included parents, medical professionals, and social workers. In addition, I spent two months collecting data through participant observation at the offices of a nonprofit child welfare organization, New Alternatives for Children (NAC), in New York City. I observed the daily encounters of the parents with NAC, and informally talked to the children and their parents. The findings allowed for a deeper understanding of the parent’s role in contributing to a child’s experience of living with a disability. The insights are valuable for professional advocates who wish to tailor a specific strategy of advocacy for a child, as well as teach skills that acknowledge the parent’s personal background and potential obstacles. The paper argues that parents fulfill their duty of advocating for their children with disabilities by pushing past their personal limitations through acts of resistance and acquiring various forms of social and cultural capital from institutions and professional advocates.

In this study, the term “parent” refers to both biological and nonbiological parents. I also employed the term caregiver, which is a generic term that refers to an individual who provided care for the child. Eileen K. Scott (2010), in her study on mothers of children with disabilities, adopted McPherson et al.’s (1998) definition of children with disabilities: “those who have a chronic physical, developmental, behavioral, or emotional condition and who also require health and related services of a type or amount beyond that required by children generally” (McPherson et al., 1998, p. 138 quoted in Scott, 2010, p.693).

The American Association on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (AAIDD) characterizes an intellectual disability as having “significant limitations both in intellectual functioning (reasoning, learning, problem solving) and in adaptive behavior, which covers a range of everyday social and practical skills. This disability originates before the age of eighteen” (AAIDD, 2015). The organization also defines developmental disabilities:

- an umbrella term that includes intellectual disability but also includes other disabilities that are apparent during childhood.
- Developmental disabilities are severe chronic disabilities that can be cognitive or physical or both. The disabilities appear before the age of twenty-two and are likely to be lifelong. (AAIDD, 2015)

I divided the concept of developmental disabilities into physical developmental disabilities (e.g., hearing loss) and mental developmental disabilities (e.g., autism spectrum disorder) to categorize the parents’ children in my sample.

New Alternatives for Children is a nonprofit organization in Manhattan that serves children with disabilities and/or medical conditions. NAC provides support and services to ensure that the children have a stable, permanent home. The families encounter a variety of problems such as poverty, homelessness, and substance abuse. NAC serves children whose medical needs range from terminal diagnoses to developmental disabilities. NAC also treats children with mental health diagnoses.

NAC has programs that provide services to families. The prevention
program primarily serves families who were referred to NAC by New York City’s Administration for Children’s Services (ACS) for being at risk for abuse and/or neglect. The prevention program’s goal is to prevent the child’s removal from home. After the immediate risks are eliminated, families in prevention who still need support transition into the partners in parenting (PIP) program. However, families’ cases in prevention can also be closed without any need for further support. PIP also serves families who were never in prevention; although they did not need prevention’s intensive monitoring, they still might need support.

NAC has a foster care program that recruits and trains foster parents to connect with special needs cases referred by ACS. Foster families have access to the same services as the other families at NAC. The post-legal adoption network (PLAN) serves adoptive families who need NAC’s support and services. The education department ensures that the children receive the necessary services to succeed in school. NAC’s on-site medical clinic provides health-care services. Although NAC offers more programs with additional services, the aforementioned programs provided avenues for recruitment for this study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Philip N. Cohen and Miruna Petrescu-Prahova (2006) and Eileen K. Scott (2010) explain that children with disabilities were more likely than typically developing children to live in households headed by women. They explain that women perform the majority of unpaid labor for children with disabilities. Similarly, Linda M. Blum (2007) asserts that mothers are the primary caregivers of children with disabilities. She defines the mother as a vigilante; she “takes the ‘law’ into [her] own hands” to advocate for her child (Blum, 2007, p. 212).

Landsman (1998) explains that “advocacy for one’s disabled child becomes a part of [the mother’s identity], but it is born of the recognition of the child’s humanity and of one’s fear that the full value of the child is missed by others” (p. 87). Parents in my sample feared that if they did not advocate for their children, no one else would do so. They did not want their children to be held back or fall through the cracks. Advocacy included the act of asserting one’s own knowledge about one’s child over professionals’ opinions (Landsman, 1998).

Trainor (2010) investigated parents’ use of social and cultural capital in the special educational planning process. Trainor defines cultural capital as materials “that inform knowledge, attitudes, and actions” and social capital as “relationships that establish group membership and provide power in the form of shared capital” (p. 247). Parents collect cultural capital through social networks to exert as much power as possible against professionals. Trainor concludes that most of cultural capital was embodied within the parents (i.e., comportment) and that the cultivation of capital depended on other preexisting capital. Trainor’s study allowed me to define NAC’s third-party role in the acquisition and activation of capital between the parents and institutions, as well as identify barriers in capital acquisition.

METHODS

I gained access to NAC based on my background as a former client. My family was a client from the late 1990s to 2010 due to my older brother’s multiple disabilities. Not only did I receive services as a sibling of a person with a disability but also because of my hearing loss. The executive director of NAC permitted me to conduct fieldwork at NAC for two months in the summer of 2015.

NAC provided me with an email address to communicate with the staff and parents. I made room reservations for my interviews. I also acted as a volunteer at recreational events. My position at NAC made my role as a researcher feasible because it provided me legitimacy as a researcher in my outreach to employees and parents for interviews. It allowed me to investigate both sides of the relationship between NAC and parents.

All names are pseudonyms for confidentiality. I worked with a top-level employee, “Crystal Reagan,” who served as the gatekeeper. She helped me to identify employees I needed to approach with requests for interviews. We discussed that I needed to speak both to employees who advocate for parents and program administrators who have a different perspective from those employees. With her assistance, I determined I needed to interview staff in prevention, PIP, PLAN, foster care, the education department, and the medical clinic. Reagan also opened lines of communication between the employees and me.

I conducted twelve semi-structured interviews with the staff. I interviewed five directors and seven subordinate employees. Out of the twelve staff members, Reagan referred seven employees to me. Those initial seven respondents referred me to the rest of the staff sample. I asked the respondents about their program affiliation and the work they do. They discussed their goals, advocacy, the challenges they encountered, and the progress of a case from the intake process into NAC to termination. I asked the staff for parent referrals or to direct me to other employees who were able to recruit parents on my behalf. Parents were more likely to agree if they learned of the project from a caseworker who already had rapport with them.

I interviewed twelve parents in total, all of whom were mothers. There were four mothers from PLAN and three from PIP. There were two mothers from prevention. One parent’s program affiliation was unknown because she was recruited through a social worker who ran a parent support group. Out of the ten parents recruited through NAC’s caseworkers, I interviewed eight parents at NAC and two parents in their apartments. I also recruited and interviewed a former NAC client and her friend, who was never affiliated with NAC, through my personal social network. Five parents were single, four were married, and one parent had a long-term boyfriend. The relationship status of the two other parents is unknown. Four parents were Latina, two of whom were not born in the United States. One non-Latina parent adopted a half–Puerto Rican child, and a non-Latina parent had a half-Cuban biological son.

The twelve parents’ families had twenty children with special needs in total. Thirteen children had mental developmental disabilities. Autism spectrum disorder was the most common diagnosis with eight cases out of the thirteen children. Two children had intellectual disabilities. Seven children had physical developmental disabilities. There were overlaps between the three types of disabilities. Four children had multiple diagnoses, two of whom had both physical and mental developmental disabilities, one of whom had multiple physical developmental disabilities, and one of whom had multiple mental developmental disabilities.

The majority of the sample’s children had mental developmental disabilities considered to be invisible disabilities. However, previous research focused on physical disabilities even though more children were diagnosed with “more ambiguous, controversial, and invisible social, emotional, and behavioral disorders,” such as attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (Blum, 2007, p.203). Parents had to work harder to push professionals to give their children a definite diagnosis to request appropriate services or go against the systems to request services without a clear diagnosis (Blum, 2007). Consequently, I theorized that parents of children with mental developmental disabilities had advocated more strongly to be more visible for recruitment.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with the parents. The parents discussed their relationships with NAC and described their children’s disabilities and services. They recounted observing their children not completing developmental milestones, getting their children evaluated, receiving the news of the diagnoses, and engaging in advocacy afterward. The parents offered anecdotes of challenges they encountered in their interactions with school and health-care professionals.
RESEARCHER’S POSITION AND IDENTITY

I shifted from the role of a NAC client to the role of a researcher who studied NAC’s relations with families from the inside. It was impossible not to use my family’s experience as a point of reference, especially when I interacted with employees who both remembered my family and the caseworkers we worked with (who had left long ago). I was aware of my positions as an individual with a disability and as the child of an advocate mother. I related to the parents’ frustrations when they spoke about their challenges. However, the interviews also gave me new insights into the challenges my mother and other parents faced on a personal level. In my fieldwork, I fluctuated between the positions of the insider and the outsider.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Gendered Advocacy

The staff stated that they mostly worked with mothers—and specifically single mothers. One employee observed that “men are so unheard of in the system. Even if there are men, the cases are usually in mothers’ names.” Even though a father may be involved in a child’s life, precedence was still given to the mother. A social worker explained that she had never worked with a single father where there was not a woman who also cared for the children. Her statements exemplified previous research that even in the cases of single fathers, the notion of caregiving as a woman’s responsibility is viewed as the norm (Blum, 2007; Cohen and Petrescu-Prahova, 2006; Scott, 2010). NAC’s interactions with mostly women implied that the role of the advocate was gendered. Married mothers also demonstrated gendered advocacy when they explained they did most of the advocacy work and updated their husbands on what happened.

Advocacy as Part of Mother’s Identity

Landsman (1998) explains that advocacy became a part of a mother’s identity but my data suggests variation in advocacy’s integration into the mothers’ identities. “Mooney” and “Soto” had sons with autism spectrum disorder. Mooney and Soto described themselves as parents of a child with autism. Nonetheless, after Mooney identified herself, she added, “But that’s not who I am. I’m more than that.” Mooney advised others not to let a child’s disability take over a parent’s life. Despite emphasizing the importance of advocating for a child in her interview, Mooney restricted her role as an advocate to a part of her identity. However, Soto was completely rooted in her identity as the parent of a child with autism and, by extension, her son’s advocate, when she added that she had a shirt that said, “I’m the voice of a child with autism.”

A Mother’s Struggle with Caregiving and Advocacy

Trainor (2010, p. 247) defines objectified cultural capital as materials “that inform knowledge, attitudes, and actions” and social capital as “relationships that establish group membership and provide power in the form of shared capital.” My data reflect Trainor’s observation that parents collect information and referrals from various sources, such as the Internet, friends, and professionals. NAC’s clients differ from Trainor’s sample in that there is a third party involved (a nonprofit agency) that informs the parents’ actions in their interactions with schools and other institutions. By being connected to NAC, the parents have significant social and cultural capital. Parents and employees describe NAC as a one-stop site where one could access recreational, educational, medical, and mental health services as well as services directed toward parents. A nurse explained, “Whenever the parents are stuck or need specific services for the child, that’s when NAC comes in, since NAC has connections.”

All the employees said that they aimed to get a sense of where the client was and to follow the client’s lead to provide help that could fulfill their specific needs. A caseworker warned against providing unsolicited aid that did not address the clients’ priorities. The medical staff’s duties include ensuring the parents fully understand their children’s disabilities and/or medical diagnoses, prognoses, and treatments. They help to clarify and add to the cultural capital the parents collected from the doctors. They help the parents to formulate questions for their children’s doctors and teach them how to obtain information to make informed decisions. Not only do the medical staff help the parents understand what the doctors said, they teach parents strategies to acquire more cultural capital from the doctors.

Parents may know of services that are suitable for their children, yet they are also aware that they lack the necessary social and cultural capital to obtain those services without NAC’s assistance. Mooney had a son with autism spectrum disorder, ADHD, and a borderline case of an anxiety disorder. After learning about autism service dogs, she set out to get her son a dog. When she found a program that was expensive and had a waiting list, she solicited her social worker’s help. They worked on getting her son into therapy so he could eventually receive pet therapy. The social worker explained that if her son did six months of pet therapy, he could qualify for a grant. Mooney explained that it was her social worker’s job to know about available resources that she may have never found in her efforts.

One employee said, “You can’t advocate without knowing what’s going on,” exemplifying the importance of cultural capital and the “pursuit of information” throughout the child’s life (Trainor, 2010, p.253). As the child grows, parents continually gather information to ensure that their child has the appropriate services to facilitate his or her entry into new spaces. For example, one parent reframed her advocacy: “What can I do to provide for [my son] as an adult?” Parents also had to stay updated on new information about the children’s disabilities. Trainor (2010, p. 259) also explained that establishing relations with other parents “was the most effective way to acquire capital.” My data indicate that not only did the parents set out to develop new connections to expand their social networks and learn more about their children’s disabilities and available services; they also utilized their preexisting networks to gather cultural capital.

Foundational Capital

Trainor’s concept of foundational capital examined foreign-born parents’ challenges in their advocacy. Foundational capital is an individual’s preexisting knowledge (e.g., language fluency) that allows
her to cultivate, access, and use capital (Trainor, 2010, p. 256–257). Two parents who immigrated to the United States in the 1980s had no previous knowledge of English. In addition to educating themselves about their children’s disabilities and the systems they had to navigate, they had to learn English to compensate for their lack of foundational capital. The lack of foundational capital was also manifested in the language barrier. A nurse explained that sometimes interpreter services were not provided for the parents or the parents did not know that there were interpreter services available. Parents demonstrate their lack of foundational capital by being unaware of their right to request interpreter services. This language barrier, in turn, affects the parents’ ability to participate in meetings. The nurse had to educate the parents to request the interpreter services without hesitation.

**Advocacy Based on Children’s Race and Ethnicity**

Two parents realized that their children's ethnicity shaped their relationships with the institutions. Mooney disclosed that her son was half Cuban. She viewed her son as biracial. She corrected people who assume he is white by saying, “He’s not white; he’s Hispanic.” Mooney racialized her son’s Cuban identity and advocated for him to be viewed as Hispanic. On the other hand, Castillo’s problem was that assumptions based on her son’s Latino identity affected her son’s services. When Castillo’s son, Sonny, was born, he stayed in the hospital for twenty months during which he received physical, occupational, and speech therapy due to developmental delays. However, the therapy was delayed because the hospital searched for a Spanish-speaking therapist for bilingual services. The hospital said that Sonny understood Spanish. Castillo was confused as she spoke to Sonny very little in Spanish. The medical staff interacted with Sonny more often than she did. Castillo concluded that the hospital provided bilingual services instead of English-only services because Sonny was Latino. The issue with the search for a Spanish-speaking therapist was that Sonny did not receive the services in a timely manner. Castillo believed that if there was a delay in Sonny receiving his services because they were supposed to be given in Spanish, there would always be a delay in Sonny receiving his services. Castillo “realized this problem would be throughout [Sonny’s] life because he will always need services,” including at-home nurse care. Sonny’s identity as a Latino triggered a chain of events where the hospital’s assumption of Sonny needing bilingual services pushed Castillo to realize that provision delayed Sonny’s services and put him at risk.

**Latina Identity’s Impact on Advocacy**

When the parents were asked about whether their Latina identity provided an advantage in their advocacy, they stated that their Latina identity (and ability to speak Spanish) did not play a role. However, Castillo elaborated, No. What kind of advantage could it be?... I didn’t have the advantage of the language. I have the advantage from the knowledge. I make them think, “Who is she? How did she get it? How did she know?” That is the stereotype. The people who speak Spanish are burros. The people who make good arrangements among children with disabilities. Latina identity might create a need for advocacy in which parents correct how various systems view their children’s Latina/o identity. Even though Latina parents may be stereotyped, they focus on advocating to the best of their ability. Parents’ advocacy consists of acts of resistance against institutional forces, sometimes at personal expense, to ensure that their children receive inclusive opportunities and can participate in society. The parents in the study ultimately persevered to provide the best care for their children with disabilities.

**CONCLUSION**

The mothers demonstrate their external and internal struggles (e.g., institutional barriers and language fluency) in navigating different systems in their gendered role as advocates while simultaneously cultivating their various types of capital. Previous research and my data support that advocacy is a part of mothers’ identities but my data demonstrate variation in the extent of advocacy being integrated into a mother’s identity. Advocacy was fueled by the belief that a mother was the only one who could advocate for her child. Despite that mothers immerse themselves in their advocacy, advocacy may be more difficult for some mothers because they advocate at the expense of their health. Previous research and my data exemplify that parents must develop and activate social and cultural capital in order to access to services and educational opportunities for their children. NAC provides parents access to its collection of cultural and social capital. NAC staff has specialized knowledge and connections that parents employ to implement treatments for their children they could not on their own. To be effective advocates, parents must continue to learn about new developments and ensure their children’s smooth transition throughout life. Although parents must develop social capital to gather new cultural capital, they tap into their preexisting networks to attain cultural capital. And although NAC is an integral part of their advocacy, parents prioritize reaching out to other parents for insider information.

Foreign-born Latina parents lack foundational capital in terms of language fluency that they must compensate for with the use of English classes and interpreters. Latina identity might create a need for advocacy in which parents correct how various systems view their children’s Latina/o identity. Even though Latina parents may be stereotyped, they focus on advocating to the best of their ability. Parents’ advocacy consists of acts of resistance against institutional forces, sometimes at personal expense, to ensure that their children receive inclusive opportunities and can participate in society. The parents in the study ultimately persevered to provide the best care for their children with disabilities.

**REFERENCES**


Abstract: The drastic stylistic shift in American furniture post–World War II is apparent in mid-twentieth century chair design. As mass production proved to be both successful and promising for military means, furniture designers turned to its production technique for domestic purposes. Through a close examination of the formal components of Ray and Charles Eames’s Lounge Chair Wood (1946), I explore the relationship between the human body and the human-made object, as well as how mass production plays in benefitting an individual user, while still catering to a wide range of body types. By using architectural prosthetic theory and linking the Lounge Chair Wood with the Eameses’ leg splint design used to heal over 150,000 injured American soldiers during World War II, I contend that the Lounge Chair Wood acts as an extension of the human body, supplementing the body’s postural disabilities in the same way that a leg splint supports an injured leg.

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank Professor Nina Rowe of Fordham University’s art history and music department for her trust, direction, and support while writing this research piece.

In 1999, *Time* magazine named the Lounge Chair Wood (LCW) side chair by Ray and Charles Eames the single greatest chair design of the twentieth century. Lounge Chair Wood was first exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1946, just five years after the couple was commissioned to design leg splints for wounded soldiers during World War II. The formal and functional similarities between the LCW and the leg splints reveal the primary design concerns of both Ray and Charles Eames, and the splints suggest one reason why furniture design transformed radically in the middle of the twentieth century. I am fundamentally concerned with the relationship between the body, the LCW, and the formal traits of the chair that shape the actual sitting experience. I aim to convey that the LCW acts as an immobile body splint, with its formal qualities informed by orthopedic intent and not solely by aesthetic ambitions. By exploring how the leg splints provided the Eameses the necessary knowledge and technical training that would eventually fuel the creation of the LCW, as well as how prosthetic theory determined their design process, I intend to show that this chair demonstrates the fundamental concerns of chair design—to create a seamless, organic, and supportive bond between the body and object.

When viewed from the front, the LCW appears short and wide. It is 75 centimeters tall, 50 centimeters wide, and 54 centimeters long. Its presence is almost underwhelming. The chair is composed of a set of individually molded plywood sections. The backrest, the seat, and two sets of legs are secured together by one foundational base unit. Viewed from the rear profile, the base units are composed of orthopedic intent and not solely by aesthetic ambitions. By exploring how the leg splints provided the Eameses the necessary knowledge and technical training that would eventually fuel the creation of the LCW, as well as how prosthetic theory determined their design process, I intend to show that this chair demonstrates the fundamental concerns of chair design—to create a seamless, organic, and supportive bond between the body and object.

When viewed from the front, the LCW appears short and wide. It is 75 centimeters tall, 50 centimeters wide, and 54 centimeters long. Its presence is almost underwhelming. The chair is composed of a set of individually molded plywood sections. The backrest, the seat, and two sets of legs are secured together by one foundational base unit. Viewed from the rear profile, the base units are composed of orthopedic intent and not solely by aesthetic ambitions. By exploring how the leg splints provided the Eameses the necessary knowledge and technical training that would eventually fuel the creation of the LCW, as well as how prosthetic theory determined their design process, I intend to show that this chair demonstrates the fundamental concerns of chair design—to create a seamless, organic, and supportive bond between the body and object.

When viewed from the front, the LCW appears short and wide. It is 75 centimeters tall, 50 centimeters wide, and 54 centimeters long. Its presence is almost underwhelming. The chair is composed of a set of individually molded plywood sections. The backrest, the seat, and two sets of legs are secured together by one foundational base unit. Viewed from the rear profile, the base units are composed of orthopedic intent and not solely by aesthetic ambitions. By exploring how the leg splints provided the Eameses the necessary knowledge and technical training that would eventually fuel the creation of the LCW, as well as how prosthetic theory determined their design process, I intend to show that this chair demonstrates the fundamental concerns of chair design—to create a seamless, organic, and supportive bond between the body and object.
ultimately left out of the initial design thought. The chairs that resulted from this mindset and originated in this movement of mass production were drastically simpler and more straightforward than custom-made furniture pieces, which were often loaded with embellishment and excess detail.

Scholars recognize that the leg splints Charles and Ray Eames designed for injured World War II victims in 1941 directly influenced the creation of the LCW in 1946.8 Scholars frequently note that the defining aesthetic quality of mid-century American furniture is simplicity as designers search for the ideal form. It is not my objective to rebuke or argue against any of this scholarship, but instead to present new research that expands on it. In my investigation, I have found that Charles and Ray Eames were not exclusively concerned with designing a mass-producible chair that embodied the perfect chair form. For academics to consider this objective as the designers’ only intent would be a superficial concept, as it reinforces the romantic idea that aesthetics determine design value. Instead, because of their experience with the leg splints, it is clear that the Eameses were much more interested in designing a universal chair form that had the orthopedic capabilities to literally restore and support the human frame.

The incentive to create the Lounge Chair Wood first came out of collaborative efforts. Charles Eames and Ray Kaiser Eames met in 1940 at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan, where they were both enrolled in architecture and industrial design courses. With the help of Charles’s close friend Eero Saarinen, son of architect Eliel Saarinen and who would also become one of the major furniture influences of the mid-twentieth century, Charles Eames and Ray Kaiser collaborated on a design project for a competition held by MoMA in New York City. This project initiated Charles and Ray’s interest in molded plywood and tested their ability to create three-dimensional curves out of an incredibly resilient material. They entered MoMA’s “Organic Designs in Home Furnishings” competition that same year, submitting a one-piece molded plywood chair shell that won first place in both the chairs and case goods competition categories.9

Ray and Charles married and moved from Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, to Los Angeles, California, in 1941 to work on individual and collaborative projects in a new environment. Charles designed film sets for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), and Ray painted and worked freelance as a graphic designer. The couple also decided to continue their experimental investigations of molded plywood. After many weeks of disappointing trials and flawed design decisions that left the couple feeling discouraged about the material’s capabilities, the Eameses discovered the best possible process for molding plywood. According to lecturer Max Underwood in “Inside the Office of Charles and Ray Eames,” the completed form that this process bred “grew out of recognizing, accepting, and rigorously working through all the constraints of the particular design problem under consideration.”10

Wendell G. Scott, a U.S. Navy surgeon, first approached Ray and Charles in December of 1941, after hearing that the couple had been experimenting with molded wood and were exhibiting their findings at their apartment in Westwood, California. Scott told the Eameses that the military was experiencing problems with their current metal leg splints. According to Eames scholar John Neuhart, the metal splint that the military was providing to injured soldiers did not sufficiently secure the leg, causing both a loss of circulation in the limb and leaving the heel exposed and unprotected. These design errors in the splint could cause gangrene in the injured limb or death from shock of the exposed injury.11 In addition, when the splint was unintentionally struck during victim mobilization, the metal would vibrate back and forth, causing the wounded leg to injure, and bringing the victim back to phase one of the healing process.12 After seeing the Eameses’ molded plywood experiments, Scott suggested that Charles and Ray modify their molded plywood method and construct a new design for leg splints that could be rapidly mass-produced and distributed to the military.

The goal was to make lightweight splints that would “hold, immobilize, and support injured limbs safely and in relative comfort.”13 The military needed the splints to be durable, transportable, and reusable. The 1941 leg splint prototype first began with Charles creating a plaster mold of his own leg, which, according to Neuhart, was a painful procedure involving long periods of heat and pressure that left burns and bruises on Charles’s skin. The mold of Charles’s leg was then reshaped and shifted into a symmetrical shape that gave
the splint the sufficient capability to hold either the left or the right leg. Strands of plywood were then placed in consecutive layers over the plaster mold. After a five-hour-long molding process that formed the plywood plies together to create one unit, the splint was removed from the mold and the first prototype of the leg splint was created.

The leg splints of 1941 exhibit many of the same formal characteristics that scholars use to define the style of the mid-century chairs—simplicity and a quest for the “purified” form. However, Neuhart notes that during the time that Ray and Charles were designing their initial splint prototype, it became evident that the basic shape of the leg splint had to be simplified in order to provide better support for a wider range of body types. Neuhart’s remark conveys the Eameses’ rudimentary design concerns and provides a reason why American mid-twentieth century chairs are considered to be alarmingly bare and simplistic. The leg splint prototype was edited and simplified to a symmetrical form not to find the most “purified” artistic form as most scholars would assume, but because it was essential that the leg splint cater to a wide range of body types, while still supporting, immobilizing, and restoring the wounded individual. It seems that the Eameses realized during the leg splint production process that designing objects for human use was not an artistic endeavor to aestheticize utility, but an opportunity to accomplish a particular purpose and fulfill a specific need. In 1943, the simplified version of the leg splint went into mass production, and by the end of the war, 150,000 leg splints had been manufactured, shipped, and distributed to the U.S. military.

If nothing else, the success of the leg splints are evident (see Figures 1 and 2). Both objects are made of molded plywood and bend in relation to the lines of the body. The plywood’s stiffness combined with its ability to curve directs the user’s body parts into a predetermined position. This calculated and predetermined body position is the reason why the Lounge Chair Wood has the orthopedic capability to perform as a modernized body splint, as it is intended to support and correct the natural body posture of the sitter. Each formal component of the LCW forces the sitter’s spine and back muscles to straighten, the abdominal muscles in the torso to engage, and the legs to rest comfortably. In 1975, Progressive Architecture magazine published an article entitled “Slouching Towards Barcelona,” in which an orthopedic surgeon evaluated the corporeal effects of mid-century chairs. When commenting on the Eames plywood chairs, the surgeon, Lambert, concluded that “yielding surfaces that react to the sitter’s own body contours” provide both muscular equilibrium and postural advantages.

According to a study conducted in 2013 based on the Neufert Architects’ Data by Ernst and Peter Neufert, it was determined that both the angles and the dimensions of the Lounge Chair Wood did not exactly abide by the recommended limits for lounge chair constraints. Architects’ Data, first published in Germany in 1936, investigates the dimensional and spatial requirements of the human body in regard to architectural objects such as seating, housing, and even railway carriages. The book has been an essential source for architects and designers, providing “a concise source of core information needed to form a framework for the detailed planning of any building project.” It was confirmed by the principles of the Architectural Standard that the seat height of the Eames’ LCW is 10 millimeters above the maximum recommended height for lounge chairs, while the seat depth
is 30 millimeters above the recommended value. Finally, the seat panel to back rest angle, the seat panel to leg panel angle, and the backrest to leg panel angle are all about 5 degrees above the recommended limits. It seems odd, then, that the Eameses made the choice to design a lounge chair as their first furniture prototype post–World War II, only to push against its recommended design limits. After all, it was Charles Eames himself who once stated, “One of the few effective keys to the design problem is the ability of the designer to recognize as many constraints as possible—and the willingness and enthusiasm for working within these constraints.”¹⁹

When the Eameses were in the process of designing their leg splints, they must have come to the understanding that the splints’ ability to support was only achieved if and when the form allowed the limb to entirely surrender to it. If the splints could not fully support both the leg’s unique shape and its resting weight, the leg of the injured victim would not heal, defeating both the splint’s purpose and functional capabilities. When Charles and Ray designed the Lounge Chair Wood just five years later, they had to have concluded that the sitter would only be able to experience the object’s restorative capabilities if he or she fully surrendered to it in the form of a lounging position. The fact that both Charles and Ray apparently made the executive decision to rebel against the recommended dimensions of lounge chairs while designing a lounge chair reveals that they were much concerned with influencing the human physique. If Charles and Ray were solely concerned with support rather than with both support and physical improvement, then they would have abided by the established design rules. Rather, it seems that Charles and Ray used the knowledge gained by their experience with the leg splints to expand and enhance their chair design process.

When Charles and Ray first exhibited the Lounge Chair Wood in 1946, they also exhibited another chair prototype, entitled Dining Chair Wood (DCW). Both the DCW and the LCW were shown at the March 1946 Museum of Modern Art exhibition, the February 1946 Architectural League Preview, and at the December 1945 Barclay Hotel press and trade preview.²⁰ They were grouped together as prototypes of groundbreaking, mass–producible, molded plywood chairs and were “judged to have the most potential for production and marketing.” However, besides the fact that the DCW is lofter in height and reduced in width, these two designs differ in their purposes. The Dining Chair Wood is intended for the sitter to perform the bodily movements of dining—reaching, eating, or twisting. In the cases when the body is in motion and the limbs are in action, the sitter is effectively resisting the structural form they are meant to embrace. The DCW’s sitter does not fully sink in or succumb to the chair’s shape. With the Lounge Chair Wood, however, the sitter is meant to do nothing but surrender to its form, giving the chair full responsibility to support and restore.

In 1948, two years after the invention of the Lounge Chair Wood, architecture critic Sigfried Giedion wrote Mechanization Takes Command, which examines the aftermath of the industrial age and the effects of mechanization on American daily life. Giedion outlines mechanization’s encounters with the household, architecture, agriculture, automobiles, comfort, bath, furniture, and many other instances in which Giedion noticed that mechanization was beginning to greatly affect the human being. When speaking about the mechanization of twentieth-century chairs, their effects on the body, and the Modernist era at large, Giedion posits that molded plywood came to the design medium foremost in the twentieth century because its resilient nature endorsed “relaxation through slight variations of posture.” This observation accords with Lambert’s 1975 observations of molded plywood’s ability to benefit the user, which were mentioned earlier in this essay. But Giedion suggests an alternative conjecture, speculating that the trend toward organic material asserted itself because of the humanistic tendency to reject inauthentic material and crave “objects that bear the trace of life. Bark, grotesque roots, shells, fossils. Things that have passed through time and tide.”²¹

This recognition that material objects having a deep and intrinsic psychological relationship with the human body is an idea that architect and designer Le Corbusier brought forth to the academic design sphere with his book The Decorative Art of Today. The book was written in protest of the 1925 Decorative Arts Exhibition in Paris, in which Le Corbusier saw threatening design trends that he believed did not flatter the creative possibilities that arose in the industrial age. The author praises the opportunity of industrial mass production and is primarily concerned with the functional competence of architecture and mechanized design. Le Corbusier poses a series of theories that deal with the relationship between the body and human–made objects. He writes that mechanized objects are designed in order to supplement the natural inefficacies of the human body. He explains further that because nature is intemperate, humans are born with “insufficient armor” and do not have the corporeal facilities to defend him or herself against the powerful tests of nature.²² In effect, Le Corbusier states that it is vital for designers to understand that objects intended for humans to use are in fact augmenting the natural inefficiencies of the human body, acting as extensions of human limbs, and made to be worn like clothing.²³

If the Lounge Chair Wood is examined closely through the lenses of both Le Corbusier and Giedion, then it can be assumed that the LCW acts as an extension of the human body, supplementing the body’s postural disabilities in the very same way that the leg splints support an injured leg. The organic nature of the LCW’s molded plywood reinforces this idea and enhances my argument, as it stands true with Giedion’s theory that humans tend to be more inherently connected to earth materials than they are with metal, plastic, or rubber, which were all materials with which chair design experimented post–World War II. Although it can be said that there were many chairs that came out of the mid-century modernist movement that also examined the relationship between the body, material, and the universal form, the Eames Lounge Chair Wood of 1946 is the only one directly influenced by an object intended for medicinal use. To explain this idea directly, the Eameses’ leg splint design foreshadowed the potential of the LCW.

The physically beneficial yet comfortable body posture led by the Eameses’ pioneering initiatives and manifested in the form of the Lounge Chair Wood reveal an important truth regarding the qualities of mid–century furniture and the fundamental design concerns of both Charles and Ray Eames. The leg splints, rooted in medicinal intent, prompted the Eames to examine the relationship between the human body and the objects designed for it, inevitably concluding that a material object has the intrinsic ability to benefit the body, even in the most unexpected of circumstances. Furthermore, discussing prosthetic theory in a discourse of chair design and relating it to Charles and Ray Eames’s Lounge Chair Wood clearly emphasizes the fundamental concerns of object design, which is to create an object that seamlessly bonds with its participant, acting as an extension of the user. But the most important idea to reconcile with in the case of the Lounge Chair Wood is that it transcends both of these ideas. The Lounge Chair Wood does more than seamlessly bond with its user or acts as an extension of the human body. It affects and restores the body, using its angles, curves, and materiality to push the limits of the human frame into a restorative sitting experience.

The director of the Bauhaus, Walter Gropius, stated, “An object is defined by its nature. In order, then, to design it to function correctly—a container, a chair, or a house—one must first study its nature, for it must serve its purpose perfectly.”²⁴ In the case of the LCW, the human body defines its form and authorizes the chair to function in the way Gropius describes. But it is by the power of the
Eames's design knowledge and their ability to execute their ideas that the Lounge Chair Wood surpasses function and enters the realm of design innovation.

ENDNOTES


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Neuhart et al., 59.


10 Underwood, 49.

11 Neuhart et al., 28

12 Underwood, 49.

13 Neuhart, et al.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Yee, 85.

17 Cionca et al.


19 Underwood, 49.

20 Neuhart et al., 61


24 Yee, 85.
Kathak Dance Through and Beyond
The Male Gaze

MONICA SOBRIN
DOI: 10.17284/FURJ/v6-a7

Abstract: Throughout India’s history, Kathak has not solely been a detached, innocent art form that was acted upon by outside imperialist and colonial forces. Rather, it has been used as a tool to influence specific power dynamics and cultivate particular ways of thought by those in the position of power; its history has been written and rewritten in order to marginalize women and promote imperialist/colonial endeavors. This paper traces Kathak dance’s history and explores alternative feminist interpretations of Kathak’s journey by deconstructing and elaborating on the official history in the (1) Mughal Court, (2) British Colony, and (3) “postcolonial” state, as opposed to the traditional narrative. By deconstructing and intentionally reclaiming Kathak’s origins and history, it is possible to share it with those who have historically been excluded from it, as well as the world that otherwise would have no (or incorrect) knowledge of it.

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank my gurus, Pt. Krishna Mohan Maharaj and Pt. Satya Narayana Charika, for their dedication to Kathak and their students. I would also like to thank Dr. Orit Avisbai for providing guidance and support throughout the writing process.

Kathak is one of the ancient classical dance styles of North India. Its rich history spans from the Brahminical tradition, to Mughal courts, then the British Raj, and finally the postcolonial state. Unfortunately, Kathak’s history is one of misogyny: even into the “postcolonial” era, women continue to be marginalized by colonial forces that proclaim Kathak to be the dance of the male kathakaars, who derive their authority from connection to antiquity. Kathak’s history has been written and rewritten to be palatable to middle-class and Western audiences, and that means glossing over—and at times blatantly ignoring—the role of lower-class Muslim women in the dance’s development and formation into what it is today. This paper traces Kathak dance throughout its history andexplores feminist reinterpretations in the (1) Mughal Court, (2) British Colony, and (3) “postcolonial” state. By critically analyzing Kathak’s role in these eras of Indian history, it is evident that Kathak’s full history must be reclaimed as much as possible to avoid the deterioration of the art and further oppression of marginalized voices.

The word “Kathak” is derived from the Sanskrit word katha, meaning “story,” and the traveling (male) bards and minstrels who performed in ancient India were referred to as Kathakaars, Kathakas, or Kathaks, or literally “storytellers.” Initially, Kathak was performed as a devotional temple dance.

With the Mughal conquest and occupation of India in the late sixteenth century CE, however, Kathak’s progression diverted from that of other Indian classical dance styles; the religious themes that were once a defining characteristic of the dance gave way to technical skill, expressive charm, and rapid chakkars, or “spins.” As a secular court dance performed for entertainment in Mughal courts, Kathak began to embrace female sensuality and expression, which is evident in the emergence of tawaifs and other trained dancers, who were trained as singers, instrumentalists, and high-profile courtesans for the all-male courts.

As Mughal rule transitioned to British colonialism in the nineteenth century, Europeans associated Kathak purely with baijis (South Indian court dancers), tawaifs (North Indian court dancers), and devadasis (temple dancers)—and these dancers were associated with prostitutes. These ignorant assumptions led to the British conception of the “nautch girl” as a common brothel worker, and, by extension, Kathak’s connection to vulgarity. As the British colonized India and the courtesan culture of the Mughal Empire declined, patronage decreased and Kathak lessened in popularity.

Leading up to independence in 1947 and the postcolonial era, classical Indian music and dance experienced a “cultural renaissance,” ‘regeneration,’ or even ‘resuscitation” in an effort to reclaim “Indianness in the wake of centuries of occupation.”1 Dance was viewed as an “ideal representation of India’s ancient and Hindu past,” a “pure and essentially spiritual way of connecting with cultural mores and traditions uncontaminated by West Asian or European contact.”2 Throughout the mid-late twentieth century, the infant Indian state became a patron of the classical arts in an effort to centralize and disseminate culture throughout the Hindustani (“Indian”) population. Performances, television shows, and festivals were sponsored by the government to celebrate and reclaim the pure and true Hindustani identity. In 1964, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) was created and financed by the Ministry of External Affairs in an effort to establish and continue cultural relations with foreign countries. That same year, Kathak Kendra became a constituent body of the Sangeet Natak Akademy and began its mission to “develop a unified standard of Kathak appreciation.”3 Both the Sangeet Natak Akademy and the ICCR were dependent on government grants and administered by government agents; as a result, “performing artists had to politically align themselves with the central government” and teach in accordance to the accepted tradition.4

This history is recapitulated by numerous dance historians, scholars, and gurus as the single official narrative of Kathak dance.5 In reality, Kathak’s development includes a multiplicity of histories—
histories that spread beyond the “selectively authorize[d] Brahminical narrative” that the post-independence Indian state chose to retain in an effort to appear royal and authentic. It is critical that this history be questioned and deconstructed in order to reveal the patriarchal power dynamics and systems of privilege, power, and oppression that are at work through Kathak’s past. It is only then that we are better able to understand Kathak’s present, and more importantly, the stories of those who are excluded from the traditional narrative.

ALTERNATIVE FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS: DECONSTRUCTING AND EXPANDING UPON THE TRADITIONAL NARRATIVE

From the ancient Kathakaars to the devadasis, from the tawaifs to the Akademies, Kathak, as an art form, has been signified and resignified since its conception. Additionally, in the postcolonial era, it has been commodified and consumed, by both Indian and non-Indian populations alike, which communicates a particular narrative about the history and culture of the current Indian state. This section explores the ways in which Kathak has been used as a tool to convey, emphasize, and enforce particular patriarchal stories through its own narrative. Yes, Kathak functions as an object that is influenced and acted upon by the historical, cultural, religious, economic, etc. powers that are at play in a given time and location; but it is just as important to analyze and question the ways in which it is used to construct and support a dominant narrative.

In the Mughal Court

Conventional chronicles of Kathak tend to gloss over the three hundred years of Mughal rule in India, noting that during this time it became a court dance that emphasized sensuality, technique, grace, and expressions. As a result of Christian British colonialism, this period of Kathak is often looked upon similarly to the Dark Ages in Western Europe’s history; it was a time when Kathak’s true Hindu identity was lost, when Mughal sensuality and frivolity overpowered Hindu values and styles. Today, people look back and notice the tawaifs and baijis, mistaking them for the nautch girl or “in-and-out prostitute.” On the other hand, dancers and guru hail this time as one that legitimated Kathak as more than just a cultural and religious ritual: it was economically and politically privileged as it obtained a prestigious role in court and developed completely separately from other classical dance styles. I argue that the fact the Mughal Era—the period when Muslim women were the primary teachers and performers of Kathak—is viewed as a time of debauchery and overt sexuality by modern dancers and historians (a field that is composed predominantly of Hindu men) indicates that Kathak’s history has been edited and reframed in order to support the post-independence mode of thought. This understanding is far too simplistic to account for Kathak’s prevalence in Mughal courts. It is necessary to examine how pre-British Kathak was regarded and discussed during that specific time period.

Mughal courtesan tales provide interesting, critical perspectives on the impact of the Mughal Empire’s class and gender dynamics on Kathak, perspectives that illuminate previously hidden power dynamics between courtesans and courtiers. Katherine Butler Schofield claims that because the courtesan tales in Mughal historical chronicles are “virtually identical in composition,” they do not actually describe the lives of real women, as they may seem to do at first glance. Instead, these stories are “narratively constructed as both tragedy and cautionary tale, the moral of which concerns the power of music and love combined to destroy social cohesion, political standing, and life itself,” for Indo-Islamic thought has always seen the power of music as potentially subversive. Even though the protagonists of these stories appear to be the dancing courtesans, the real subject is the courtier, and his potential downfall if he succumbs to the courtesan’s charm. This moral reveals “North Indian men’s perceptions of courtesans’ lives and the wider political meanings they exemplify,” which likely extend into the postcolonial age.

The courtesan’s position is one of intersecting identities and ideas, where boundaries are blurred and subverted. First, their presence in Mughal courts complicates economic and social boundaries, for musicians and dancers came from significantly lower classes/castes than their patrons but because of their highly admired talents that were “indispensable to elite social functions, they were uniquely permitted…to mingle in intimate proximity with men of high social status.” Additionally, they transgress the walls of the harem, which was “sharply circumscribed and sealed off visually and physically” to perform in both male and female spaces. These female performers were part of a select group that could escape the physical and metaphorical bounds of the harem, which “was as much a concept, the ‘forbidden,’...which signified the superiority and power of men.” By virtue of her ability to undermine economic, social, and gender divides, the courtesan posed a threat to elite men of the Mughal court, those who were at risk of succumbing to her power. This threat to courtiers made the courtesan a threat to the very systems of power and oppression that supported the hierarchal social, economic, political, and gender divisions that structured the world. Even though the courtesan tales may have been intended to proliferate a patriarchal message regarding the dangers of female sexuality, they depict the incredible amount of power these women potentially had in Mughal courts.

In the British Colony

When the British replaced the Mughals as India’s rulers, Kathak was once again resignified, but instead of representing a threat to the existing social order, as it did during the Mughal Era, it symbolized Indian immorality and barbarity, and was used as a justification for colonization. Hereditary women performers “occupied a liminal position in ‘respectable society’” and often did not marry, meaning that they could not become legitimate wives and mothers in the patriarchal social structure. But not marrying meant not being wielded or being subject to the misogynistic power dynamics between husband and wife. Due to their artistic skill and societal position, these women are often compared to the geishas in Japan. The many and varied communities of female performers (patur, daruni-parastars, lulis, kancanis, kamacanis, burukanis, dominis, dbadbinbis, ramjanis, kalawanfis), each of whom had a distinct repertoire and role, who were patronized at the Mughal courts, were grouped under one label: the nautch girl. The nautch girl—who was linked with the common brothel prostitute—is a blanket British construct to describe any and all of the hereditary female performers who were present in the courtesan culture of the Mughal Era, regardless of the extent to which they participated in sex work. In 1892, the “anti-nautch” movement, which aimed to ban nautch identities and activities altogether, gained traction around the country. In 1892, organizers petitioned the viceroy and governor general of India and the governor of Madras to outlaw prostitution and nautch dancing. Thus began the beginning of the decline of courtesan culture and women’s position of power in Kathak dance.

The fight against anything not “purely Indian,” including the Mughal Empire’s courtesan culture and British colonialism, led to the decline of this culture and the drastic decrease in the number of women learning and being recognized for Kathak in post-independence India. The method in which Kathak was taught and passed down became dependent on the “immediate social and political circumstances” of the colonial and postcolonial state. For example, Pandit Mishra, guru
As Indian culture continued to adopt to Western values, the status and prominence of women in Kathak, and the public realm in general, decreased, which led to an increase in the power and prominence of men. Throughout the early twentieth century, the censorship and silencing of hereditary female performers caused the "refined world of the North Indian courtesan" to disappear and the culture of the South Indian devadasi to go underground.25 Margaret Walker notes:

The most musically accomplished hereditary female performing artists ceased dancing and became "amateur singers." Others found new places in society by marrying and retiring from performance. Yet others slipped into poverty and prostitution. A final blow was dealt in 1947 when one of the first Acts of the new Indian Parliament was the passing of the Devadasi Abolition Bill banning the dedication of girls to temple service.24

Anne McClintock points out that the term "postcolonialism is prematurely celebratory and obfuscatory" because "while some countries may be postcolonial with respect to their erstwhile European masters, they may not be with respect to their new colonizing neighbors."26 In the context of devadasis and courtesans in postcolonial India, the "new colonizing neighbors" McClintock refers to are actually Indian men seeking to conform to Western ideals and purify Kathak from non-Indian influences and immorality. This point is evident in light of Walker's analysis, for the attack on female hereditary dancers in the name of modernization and westernization clearly was an attack on women. Even after achieving independence from Great Britain, Indian women were still marginalized by the forces of colonialism, as evident through the choice to either marry and conform to (now Western-influenced) societal norms, or "slip into poverty and prostitution."

Religious, sexual, and class distinctions illustrate the way that the forces of colonization did not disappear from the "postcolonial" state; rather, they simply changed hands from the white, Christian British to the elite Hindu men (who initially became wealthy because they benefited from the British systems of colonialism and occupation). Regardless of who the oppressor may be, however, the primary victim remains the marginalized, lower-class Indian woman. The gradual privileging of men over women in Kathak's development in the infant postcolonial state further illustrates the way that gender, religion, and class/caste were driving factors in the retrieval and reconstruction of Kathak's history in the infant postcolonial state. It is important to note that the female hereditary dancers who were gradually pushed out of performance and Kathak life were predominantly lower-class Muslim women who were being replaced by and oppressed by upper-class Hindu men in an effort to dilute Muslim influence and presence.26

Margaret Walker argues that the "revival of dance in particular was made possible in large part through the disenfranchisement of the hereditary women...free from prior associations, dance was thus gentrified as it was revived, and the separation of dance from sexuality" allowed it to become a respectable hobby for middle-class girls and women.27

For Kathak to become a nonthreatening and proper pastime that did not push back against the nationalist narrative, its history had to be rewritten and commodified into an easily marketable consumer good. Vincent Miller describes the commodification of culture as the "process in which the habits and dispositions learned in the consumption of literal commodities spread into our relationships with culture."28 People are trained to choose things, even religion, in a commoditized manner from everyday life. Religious traditions are passed down and spread in a manner where free-floating signifiers are susceptible to dangerous manipulation and misappropriation. Kathak was first commodified with the Mughal conquest of India, when it...
was taken out of its deeply religious context and commodified into an entertaining show to be consumed by prominent men in power. It was further commodified during the period of British colonialism, when the practice and complex relationships between castes, tribes, and religions were misinterpreted and broadly generalized to create the *nautch*-girl construct. In the late colonial and postcolonial era, Kathak was commodified again in light of the *anti-nautch* movement, which marginalized women and contributed to ideas of white supremacy and superiority on the part of the British, while leading Indians to believe that outside influences soiled the once purely Indian practice and identity. The cultural revival of the late colonial and postcolonial era “involve[d] the commodification and objectification of music and dance as these ‘pure and traditional’ styles” harkening back to antiquity. As Kathak was resuscitated to create something for the middle and upper-middle class to perform and receive, the very fabric of its history was “modified through cleansing it of connections to the performing arts hereditary women or lower-caste entertainers, emphasizing connections to Sanskrit treatises, and creating new repertoire based on treatises, temple structure, and Hindu ritual.”

Stories of Kathak’s history have been told and retold. For Kathak to have experienced a “renaissance,” “regeneration,” or even “resuscitation” in the early twentieth century, it had to have been damaged or near-death in the time leading up to its rebirth. The word “resuscitation,” in particular, suggests that Kathak was near the brink of death due to Mughal and British influences, and that it was the retrieval of ancient Hindu ideas and customs that breathed a new life into it during the postcolonial era. This word choice is not coincidental; I believe it was deliberately chosen to make Kathak more palatable to the middle class that was uncomfortable with its association with the lower-class *nautch* tradition during British rule. In order to revive the dance’s “revised histories, explanations that reinforce classicization by connecting current dances to the ancient past while distancing them from lower castes, sexuality, or foreign influence,” it was necessary for Kathak, as it existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to first be discredited and executed. Pallabi Chakravorty details, “By tracing the origin of Kathak back to the Brahmin *kathak* caste, with a brief link to the high culture of the Mughal courts, Kathak became primarily a male-dominated Brahminical practice.” This caste of “hereditary men, rather than women, who are themselves called Kathaks, [share] their name and identity with the dance itself.” These male *kathaks* (translating to “storytellers”)—by virtue of selecting and sharing only particular stories, stories that rarely belong to the hereditary women who were forced out of the narrative by the *anti-nautch* movement—literally rewrote and retold the story of Kathak’s history. The purpose of this linguistic connection is not to place all the blame for Kathak’s edited chronicle on the prominent *gurus* who shared the dance with the West; this point is intended to question the established systems and those who benefit from them when particular groups of people appear to be absent from the dominant narrative at various points in time (e.g., *kathakaara*’s absence from the Mughal court scene and hereditary female performers’ absence from the ancient and postcolonial account).

**IMPAKT OF THE REFRAMED HISTORY AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE**

Kathak’s cherry-picked history leaves one with a number of questions and concerns for the role of Kathak, classical dance styles, and postcolonial identities as a whole. The official narrative idolizes the Western ideal of authority being legitimated by connections with the ancient past. Is it possible to decolonize Kathak’s history, and from there, decolonize the Indian mind? A feminist reinterpretation of history encourages colonized populations to reexamine their nationalist histories and traditions. A critical understanding pushes all people to decolonize their minds and unshackle themselves from the chains of oppression.

Even if it is impossible to rescue precolonial Kathak in its entirety, it is critical that we make the effort to uplift the voices and experiences of those who have been marginalized and excluded from the official narrative. Only when we comprehend the dance’s origins and development can we understand it in its present form, and only when we understand its present form can we share it with those who have historically been excluded from it, as well as the world that otherwise would have no (or incorrect) knowledge of it.

**ENDNOTES**


2 Ibid.


4 Ibid.


6 Chakravorty.


8 Ibid., 152.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 151.

11 Ibid., 153.

12 Ibid.

13 Walker.


15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., 3.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., 8.


22 Ibid.

23 Walker, 3.

24 Ibid.


26 Chakravorty.

27 Walker, 5, 10.


29 Walker, 10.

30 Ibid., 5.

31 Ibid., 1.

32 Ibid., 6.

33 Chakravorty.

34 Walker, 6.
Committed to Discovery through Research.

Master’s Programs Accepting Applications for Fall 2016:

- MS in Applied Psychological Methods
- MA in Classics
- MS in Clinical Research Methods
- MS in Computer Science
- MS in Cybersecurity New!
- MS in Data Analytics New!
- MA in Elections and Campaign Management
- MA in Ethics and Society
- MA in History
- MA in International Humanitarian Action
- MA in Urban Studies

Application fee is now only $35

To learn about our other graduate programs and advanced certificates, visit fordham.edu/gsas

GSAS Admissions: fuga@fordham.edu | 718-817-4416

Reviewed by Amanda Stapp

Zephyr Teachout, associate professor of law at Fordham University, narrowly lost the 2014 New York gubernatorial primary election against incumbent Governor Andrew Cuomo. Running on a Democratic platform calling for economic justice, Teachout has spent her career criticizing the effects of political corruption. Calendrically coinciding with her political loss, Teachout published a nearly four-hundred-page comprehensive book, *Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin's Snuffbox to Citizens United*, analyzing the challenges and implications of finding a legal way to define corruption.

The foundation of democracy, equal representation, will quickly deteriorate unless legal precedence is established to halt the vastly disproportionate political influence that wealthy actors currently clench. Thus, the sustainability of our nation’s most core value depends on the definition of corruption. In *Citizens United*, the Supreme Court defined corruption as quid pro quo. In other words, they determined corruption only existed in the form of explicit contracts. Any exchange of money for political influence covertly expressed was therefore not considered corruption Teachout is critical of the Supreme Court’s narrow definition. She retraces the definition of corruption through legal historical anecdotes preceding to the era of our founding fathers to prove the decision upheld in *Citizens United* held no precedence. Although quid pro quo is legally convenient, Teachout argues it does not efficaciously eliminate corruption.

Teachout adopts the instinctual definition that corruption is when public power is abused for private ends. Legally, this definition is extremely complex and largely incompatible with criminal law. It infers that the presence of corruption is dependent on motives and intentions, which is problematic, due to the fact that intentions are ambiguous because they can easily be repudiated.

*Corruption in America* is a suitable and comprehensive read for anyone who cares about the integrity of our nation. Intriguing and well-written legal anecdotes, as alluded to in the title, ranging from the Revolutionary perspective on gifts given to ambassadors to the legalized bribery upheld in recent Supreme Court cases guide the reader. Although the struggle in defining corruption is never wholly resolved, Teachout’s work is a complete analysis of the development of the term. Through this process, Teachout presents a convincing argument for trust-busting, public financing campaigns, and sitting politicians on the Supreme Court. These are the same alluring and creative ideas that brought her so close to winning office.

Although an entertaining and thought-provoking read, some questions still remain. Can democracy exist without bribery as an expression of our first amendment right of free expression? Is corruption just a natural consequence of inequality? Should corruption be legally defined at all? Although these questions remain unanswered, one thing is certain: if there is any hope of pursuing the nation our founding fathers envisioned, we must prudently contemplate this fundamental dilemma.


Reviewed by Samuel Farnum

Like an actor whose enigmatic persona captures widespread public attention, method acting has become a familiar trope in American popular culture, but scholars of American cultural discourse cannot agree on how to define it. In her book *Method Acting and its Discontents: On American Psycho-Drama*, Shonni Enelow, assistant professor of English at Fordham University, elucidates the aspects of its nature that render the form of acting fundamentally difficult to define. Focusing on Lee Strasberg’s Method taught at the Actor’s Studio during the 1950s and 1960s, Enelow reveals it as both an artistic and interpretive approach fraught with contradiction. The Method inspires controversies and anxieties with a character that takes on a life of its own.

Enelow does not try to obscure the contradictory nature of her subject; rather, she revels in its “obstreperous” history by focusing on the competing identifications that surround the Method—identifications that segue into a discussion of broader American cultural issues. Like an effective biography, *Method Acting and its Discontents* offers meanings beyond those related to its primary subject. Enelow argues that contradictory reactions to the Method reflect forces that altered American theater and culture in the mid-twentieth century. By positioning the Method within psychological, political, and ideological discourses, she successfully demonstrates the Method’s relationship to changing conceptions of mental interiority and identity, shifting views about racial and sexual difference, and new approaches to overcoming mediated expression during the culturally fluid decades immediately following World War II.
Enelow’s analysis develops out of two distinct investigative strategies. She describes these strategies as “paranoid reading,” which bases itself on critique and the “hermeneutics of suspicion,” and is paired with emotionally authentic characters in false contexts. Enelow suggests this confusion between the natural and intimate with the unnatural and false was “perhaps the most monstrous thing of all” about this type of acting; however, this uncomfortable juxtaposition is one that increasingly plagued an American theater and culture moving into the postmodern era.

The second part of her book, “Political Methods,” connects debates over the Method’s ability to express the experiences of marginalized groups through theatrical representation with debates over how these groups sought to be identified in wider American society. The primary persons of interest here are James Baldwin and Lee Strasberg. As a young writer, Baldwin supported the tenants of liberal universalism, a concept that suggested the leveling of differences between groups in favor of a generalized human ideal. This relates to what Stanislavsky, the Russian founder of method acting, sought from his actors when he attempted to remove them from “external theatrical clichés” of representation and get them toward “the kind of emotions that are universal to humanity.” Unfortunately, in many cases, white experience defined the “universal” purposed by liberal universalism. Similarly, many believed that white experience defined the emotional space Strasberg’s Method guided actors toward. Enelow explores one such critic in detail. Baldwin, who, working with the Actor’s Studio on his play Blues for Mister Charlie, sought representation that would “not merely assimilate the black actor and the black charter to structures of national whiteness.” Through her analysis of Baldwin’s work and his tenuous relationship with Strasberg, Enelow demonstrates how the debates surrounding the Method and its limits in representing otherness reflected debates relating to the general identification of minority groups and their need to move beyond psychological representation toward political action.

In “Methods and Scripts,” the third and final part of her book, Enelow explores issues relating to the Method’s treatment of mediation in theater and how these treatments reflect an American experience increasingly mediated by new technologies. She positions this section in the wake of a critical designation long shared by both artists and scholars, as they have suggested that the Method is “opposed to the avant-garde unraveling of ‘seams joining drama to script to theater to performance,’ and aligned with the ‘illusionistic mimetic theater [that] is based on mechanical reproduction.’” Enelow challenges this designation, examining Where’s Daddy, a play by William Inge, and Symbiopsychotaxiplasm: Take One, an experimental film by William Greaves, in order to exhibit the Method’s avant-garde potential. By doing so, Enelow exposes the Method’s treatment of mediation in both projects. She reveals how they showcase the Method’s subversive potential as a reaction against cultural anxieties rooted in the state of art during a new age of mass–mechanical reproduction.

To conclude, Enelow offers a passage that points toward another conclusion: that of Greaves’s short film, Symbiopsychotaxiplasm: Take One. The film ends with a fascinating scene where a homeless man, Victor Vikowsky, wanders into the film’s shooting and begins toying with the cast and crew. As the scene blurs the distinctions between mental stability and unpredictability, identification and representation, scriptedness and improvisation, art and life, the film highlights the grand design of Enelow’s whole project where she connects the often contradictory and troubling nature of Strasberg’s acting method to forces tormenting American postwar culture. Although, by the end of her analysis, Enelow’s subject remains just as hard to conclusively pin down as it was in the beginning, Enelow offers new value to the Method’s enigmatic history with Method Acting and its Discontents: On American Psycho-Drama, demonstrating this history as an unlikely, but welcome, window into the state of American theater and culture at the crux of a tumultuous era.
FORDHAM COLLEGE AT ROSE HILL NINTH ANNUAL UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS CREATED BY FORDHAM ALUMNI:

The Virginia Ambrosini, MD, Fellowship
The Dominic T. and Rosina C. Adams Fellowship
The Fordham College Alumni Association Fellowship
The George and Mary Jane McCartney Fellowship
The Jeanne Myers, PhD, Fellowship
The Robert Russo, MD, Fellowship
The Robert Schaffhauser, PhD, Fellowship
The Fay Curcio Siciliano Undergraduate Research Fellowship in Mathematics
The Boniface A. and Alison Zaino Fellowships

DONORS WHOSE GENEROUS SUPPORT FUNDS UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH WITHIN FORDHAM COLLEGE AT ROSE HILL

Peter L. Angelino, FCRH ’76
Ann Marie Assumma, PAR, FCRH ’76
Edward V. Atmally, FCRH ’53
Richard J. Babaan, MD, FCRH ’68
Bernard R. Bahoshy, FCRH ’50
William E. Banfield, Esq., FCRH ’74
Susan C. Barr, FCRH ’82, PAR
and Timothy P. Barr, FCRH ’82
The Honorable William G. Bassler, FCRH ’60
Stacy Bowe and Michael J. Bowe, Esq., FCRH ’88
Lawrence P. Brown Jr., MD, PAR, FCRH ’59
John D. Brusco, GABELLI ’87
George Scruggs Bullen Jr., FCRH ’65
Jean Marie Campbell, Esq., FCRH ’86
Joseph A. Candido, MD, FCRH ’72
Margaret Cantwell, MD, TMC ’70
and Joseph E. Cantwell, FCRH ’70
Robert W. Capece, FCRH ’65
Vivian Cardia, TMC ’74
Michael P. Casey, MD, FCRH ’67
Peter R. Cella, Esq., FCRH ’53
Jon M. Corahan, PAR, FCRH ’65
Linda Correnti, FCRH ’80, GSE ’06
Rafael Cuellar, FCRH ’94
Mark A. Cunniff, FCRH ’68
George Curtis, Esq., FCRH ’70
Joseph F. Cusick, MD, FCRH ’61
Francis L. Daylor Jr., FCRH ’54
Michael F. Defino, PAR, GABELLI ’72
Robert I. Dillon, FCRH ’58, GSAS ’60
Julie Jarecke Gebauer, PAR, and Davin J. Gebauer, PAR
John D. Draghi, FCRH ’67
Janet G. Dracon, TMC ’70
and Dennis J. Dracon, Esq., FCRH ’70
Thomas J. Fahey, MD, FCRH ’73
Janet Falcone, FCRH ’89, PAR
and Philip M. Falcone, MD, FCRH ’81, PAR
Allison R. Farina, FCRH ’93, LAW ’99
Jeannine C. Flynn, Esq., PAR
John E. Forrest, FCRH ’55
Paul M. Frank, Esq., FCRH ’60

Paul E. Freeman, PHA ’55
Ann Marie Garnett, PAR
John M. Geraghty, FCRH ’65
Joseph R. Giolito, PhD, FCRH ’62
Julius A. Giglio, FCRH ’51
Armands E. Giuliano, MD, PAR, FCRH ’69
Sonia Giolitt and Stephen Giolitta, PAR, GABELLI ’80
Edwin J. Goss, FCRH ’50
Bronislav E. Grajek, Esq., FCRH ’68
Patricia A. Glinz and Ralph M. Greggs, FCRH ’80
Thaddeus J. Hubert, Esq., FCRH ’72
Mark J. Hyland, FCRH ’77, LAW ’80
A. Richard Juelis, FCRH ’70
Paul B. Keller, Esq., FCRH ’94
James R. Knickman, PhD, FCRH ’72
Dennis E. Logue, PhD, FCRH ’64
Lawrence F. Lonergan, FCRH ’64, GSAS ’68
Raphael S.F. Longobardi, MD, FCRH ’86
James B. Lynch, FCRH ’58
Mary F. Maguire, FCRH ’77
Anne Maganinni, PhD, TMC ’70
and Anthony Maganinni, DDS, FCRH ’68
Edmund D. Marinucci, MD, FCRH ’41
James B. McCaffrey, FCRH ’63
Kenneth J. McGlynn, FCRH ’77
Francis J. McGrath, PhD, FCRH ’63, GSAS ’69
Robert K. McLaughlin, FCRH ’54
Robert L. McLaughlin, PhD, FCRH ’79,
GSAS ’82, GSAS ’87
Michael F. Micheli, FCRH ’61
Daniel Molloy, FCRH ’75
Maureen E. Monahan, FCRH ’80
Michael J. Mullarney, FCRH ’68
Francis X. Murphy, FCRH ’62
Louis J. Murphy, FCRH ’62
Elizabeth Neff, TMC ’77
Christopher J. Nogue, MD, FCRH ’68
Richard L. O’Hara, Esq., FCRH ’52, LAW ’58
Robert J. Orlandi, MD, FCRH ’64

Elizabeth A. Parrella
Anthony J. Passannante Sr., MD, FCRH ’50, GSAS ’52
James Pollock, Esq., FCRH ’61
William G. Poppe, FCRH ’64
Ellen M. Triani and Ronald G. Triani, FCRH ’68
Joseph F. Rea, FCRH ’60, GABELLI ’73
Thomas J. Reddington, Esq., FCRH ’52, LAW ’57
Christa and John Reedy, Esq., FCRH ’76
Ellen M. Reilly, FCRH ’83
Thomas R. Riley, PAR, FCRH ’81
Christine Rio, TMC ’71
Marc F. Rosa, FCRH ’01
Nina M. Ross, FCRH ’81
Edward F. Rover, Esq., FCRH ’61
and Maureen W. Rover, GABELLI ’86
Patricia Ruppel and Dennis G. Ruppel, Esq., FCRH ’68
Charles K. Ryan, FCRH ’52
Mary A. Ryan-Thomson, FCRH ’86
Ambassador Charles B. Salmon, FCRH ’59
James P. Sauter, Esq., FCRH ’84, LAW ’87
Eugene P. Souther, Esq., FCRH ’53, LAW ’59
Catherine Botticelli, Esq., FCRH ’85, LAW ’88
and Michael L. Spafford
Frank S. Stella, FCRH ’04
The Dana Foundation
Michael J. Tortorella, PhD, FCRH ’68
George B. Trotta, FCRH ’53
Samuel A. Turney, Esq., FCRH ’79, LAW ’83
Janet G. Vitale and Paul J. Vitale, FCRH ’72
Theodore T. Wall, FCRH ’58
Kathleen A. Walsh, Esq., FCRH ’84, LAW ’89
Mark J. Wichern, FCRH ’84, GABELLI ’90