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Cover: Excerpt from page 105 of *What To Do For Uncle Sam* written by Carolyn Sherwin Bailey (1918)
Dear Fordham Community,

Alongside a tireless Editorial Board and General Staff, I am pleased to present The Fordham Undergraduate Research Journal, Volume VII. Like FURJ leaders and staff, Fordham’s undergraduate researchers color the innovation and collaboration occurring on our campus daily. In this issue, discover how smartwatches can be incorporated into security protocol, how perceptions of Jewish masculinity once promulgated crime, how elephants symbolize hierarchies in literature, and much more.

FURJ embodies the tenets of what our Jesuit education prescribes: commitment to the discovery of wisdom and the transmission of learning through research and education of the highest quality. To this end, FURJ highlights the commitment and discovery of our community’s vast pursuits.

This year, we received a record amount of submissions. Although we were only able to publish about one fourth of the total articles and reviews submitted, we extend a warm thank you to all those who took the time to research, write, prepare, and submit their projects to our journal for consideration. We understand and admire the rigor of every venture; reviewing submissions gave us an up-close view into the minds of our peers—minds that will surely venture beyond the Fordham gates to, as Ignatius teaches, “set the world on fire.”

So too was this a transitional year for FURJ, as we experienced a shift in faculty mentorship. We navigated this obstacle with ease thanks to the understanding, teamwork, and tenacity of our enthusiastic team and interim faculty advisor, Dr. Patricio I. Meneses. Volume VII would not have come to fruition if not for Dr. Meneses’s guidance and mentorship. We would also like to thank our faculty review board for their time and valuable input. We extend special thanks to Dr. Barbara Mundy, who contributed to our success in vastly expanding our lecture series featuring Fordham professors’ research and publications on a monthly basis.

By increasing our online news presence by 50% this publication cycle, we’ve increased our publication output while fostering our news writers’ budding interest in journalism. By also maintaining open lines of communication with our faculty advisors, we’ve gathered suggestions and feedback on how to proceed moving into the next publication cycle.

Moving forward with new leadership and a dedicated readership, it is my hope that FURJ continues to fortify and feature the best and brightest undergraduate researchers. We dedicate Volume VII to all those who contributed to this publication project in some way, shape or form.

Very Yours Truly,

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Fordham Alumna Feature:
Mary Jane McCartney

Carolyn Allain, FCRH ’17

Any Fordham University student can attest to the importance of the university’s core humanities curriculum, but for Mary Jane McCartney, retired vice president for Gas Operations at Con Edison, the curriculum has defined her career. Since graduating in 1969 from the Thomas More College—an all-women’s college that Fordham absorbed in 1974—with a Bachelor of Arts in Mathematics, McCartney has entered the world of industry and business, and has repeatedly fallen back on her liberal arts training.

Armed with a background in mathematics, McCartney began her career as a computer programmer for Shell Oil. Over time, she moved between positions, getting a taste of forecasting and trading while learning the ins and outs of the oil business. When McCartney joined Con Edison, she became the first woman to hold the vice presidency of the company, serving as the vice president of Electric and Gas Services for Queens, NY, and later as the senior vice president for Gas Operations until her retirement in 2009.

McCartney believes very strong links exist between business, the liberal arts, and the sciences. "Having a liberal arts background is extremely important," she says. "You need the ethical background most importantly so that you have a perspective when you're making decisions on doing right from wrong." In addition, McCartney believes that the analytical skills gained from a STEM education are incredibly important, as "people need to be able to manage data whether you're in sales, law, management, or any field. I think that having math or engineering or technology training helps you to look at problems in an analytical way."

Having jumpstarted her career with her formal science training, McCartney has also found that the values she has gained from her Jesuit education have influenced her career. She has realized the impact of these values through her positions in management; she says, "My strengths were in my people skills, my ability to get along in business, to inspire, and I had no idea about that in college."

People skills have certainly been an important facet of McCartney’s career. In her various leadership roles, she has been responsible for bringing power to the city and helping businesses to implement cleaner energy resources. She has greatly appreciated how her position has brought people together and has depended on her ability to make meaningful connections.

McCartney has also been a trailblazer for women within Con Edison and the energy industry. Having worked in male-dominated fields and taken on positions that were new to women, McCartney emphasizes the importance of fostering support for women in business and technology. "The more women that prepare for STEM and the business world, the more women—I hope—will be able to break through." McCartney has certainly helped to pave the way for female leadership; in 2008 she was named one of New York City’s 10 Most Influential Women in Business by the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). “I was very proud to be chosen. I was one of the first chosen from Con Edison.”

With all of her experience and accomplishments, McCartney still finds ways to give back to her alma mater. She serves on the Fordham STEM Council and helps to guide the university’s participation in and support of the sciences. McCartney appreciates this position, saying, "I love to see students present their research and I love to encourage scholarship for students. I like making sure the school is on track and it is nice to have the opportunity to do that.”

Ensuring students’ high academic achievement is an important point for McCartney. She encourages students to take advantage of the wide-ranging educational opportunities offered at Fordham, both for personal and professional gain. “Broaden your experience as much as you can. Take subjects that you may not think you have any interest in, just to learn something new. If you get an opportunity to do some research then that is a great experience. Spread your wings!”

The willingness to indulge in new experiences and not restrict oneself is advice that McCartney stresses: “You never know what turn your career is going to take. Have an open mind because you don't know what you're going to love.” McCartney confesses that she did not know what careers she was looking for as an undergraduate, and that she greatly benefitted from taking a leap of faith and trying something new.

In her many years of service to New York City, Mary Jane McCartney has learned the importance and value of giving back to the community. Most importantly, she emphasizes the role that Jesuit education has played in her career and the importance of the values that were instilled in her: “I love the sense of doing for others—it is built into the DNA of the school. It has changed my life.”

Carolyn Allain, FCRH ’17, is a senior at FCRH from Marlborough, Connecticut. This is her third year writing for FURJ. She is a Chemistry major and an English minor in the Fordham College Rose Hill Honors Program hoping to pursue a career in biochemical research. She will commence a Ph.D. program at Yale University in the fall.
Dr. Quinn Culver, an accomplished and talented mathematician in Fordham University's mathematics department, currently studies algorithmic randomness, which he says exists “at the intersection of computability theory and probability theory.” His most recent article, “The Interplay of Classes of Algorithmically Random Objects,” has been accepted for publication in the Journal of Logic and Analysis.

Culver studies the algorithmic randomness of infinite objects. Algorithm is the technical term for any step-by-step process, and Culver defines randomness as “that which a computer cannot determine is not random” because there is no discernible pattern. This true randomness has many interesting and relevant mathematical properties, as opposed to the pseudo-randomness that permeates so much of commonly utilized random number generation. The four infinite random objects that Culver works with most are “random real numbers (the archetype), random probability measures, random continuous functions, and random closed sets.” He works to determine the interplay between these random objects, trying to establish relationships between them, or arrive at statements that involve one or more of these infinite random objects.

Though the details of his research may be incomprehensible to most, his passion for his research is clear: “I don’t care so much about the publication—the discovery and the math itself, proving theorems, is the fun part,” Culver said. “I’m in it for the love of the game, you could say.” The passion in his voice was palpable as he continued, “It’s exciting for something to be such a mystery, to have no idea how to even determine whether something is true or false, and then to eventually arrive at a definitive answer.”

Culver first became interested in this sub-discipline of mathematics while working toward his Master of Science degree in Mathematics at the University of Hawai‘i. “One of the logicians there studies algorithmic randomness,” Culver said. “I took some of his classes, [and] managed to solve a problem that he posed.” In particular, Gödel’s incompleteness theorems, which state that no axiomatic system whose theorems can be generated by an algorithm can demonstrate its own consistency, piqued Culver’s interest in randomness.

When queried about the applications of his research, Culver replied, “That’s a tough question. We consider the non-computability of certain things, determining what can and cannot be done.” In this specific sub-discipline, “the Halting problem started it all—in general, there is no way to determine if [a process] is going to halt without simulating it and seeing if it stops.” In pure mathematics this is an even more complicated question than that of P and NP-complete problems in the computer sciences, since they are both technically computable. “In this case, what we deal with is more of a philosophical problem than anything else.”

When pressed further on the practical applications of his research, Culver shrugged and observed that “mathematics is allowed to just explore this abstract realm because it mysteriously has had many practical consequences throughout time.” He noted that “G.H. Hardy famously gloated that none of his work would ever be applicable,” and now his work on number theory is foundational to many aspects of quantum physics and thermodynamics.

“Mathematicians are allowed free range to do whatever they want, and enough of the time, there will be a practical consequence for physicist and engineers,” Culver said. The difficulty is, since so many areas of theoretical mathematics have surpassed computational and technological capabilities, “it’s too hard to predict what mathematical research will eventually be useful.” In general, “mathematicians are the most distant from the real world, ‘up here in the clouds,’ which has historically proven fruitful.”

Two hours of typical research for Culver “mainly consists of reading another paper.” After that, it means “wrestling with a problem, getting the blank paper out, writing down questions precisely.” Often these questions come from other mathematics publications.

His research often incorporates computer processes to determine properties of random objects. When asked about the relevance of computers to his research, Culver reverently responded, “Monte Carlo simulations are beautiful.” Monte Carlo simulations use repeated computer samplings to determine the properties of some phenomenon or random object. He gave an example: “If I want to know how long it takes, on average, to get four consecutive heads on a fair coin, I can just get a computer to do it a bunch of times and it will be close to the right answer by the law of large numbers—the trick, then, is to prove that the answer is correct.”

Though Culver enjoys and is adept at utilizing computers for his research, Culver maintains that “the best way to do math is with a couple friends, in a room, with a piece of chalk on a blackboard.” He was adamant that it be with chalk, as “chalk never fails,” and “chalk is just superior in performance.”

Culver asserts that he has had a positive experience with the academic research and publication processes so far. He appreciates the necessity of the peer-reviewed publication process, as “there’s a lot of crackpottery out there” and thus gatekeepers to academic respectability are necessary. However, he decried the publish-or-perish mentality that plagues academia, and he personally believes that the emphasis should be placed on the quality of publications rather than quantity.

One obstacle to his research thus far, at least since coming to Fordham, is time. “I love my students very much, but teaching is consuming me,” Culver said. “It does mean I have a lot less time to sit and think and read.”

Despite this challenge, Culver always carves out time for his research. When asked as to whether original research is an important component of an undergraduate education, he responded, “Yes, definitely—but more important than the fact that it’s important, is that research is great and it’s enjoyable. You get to experience original thought. There’s no set toolbox, anything goes—you have no idea if the proof is going to be a hundred pages long, or if it’s even solvable... and that’s the fun part.”

Brian Collins, FCRH ‘18, is a Mathematics and Economics double major in the Fordham College Rose Hill Honors Program. This is his first year writing for FURJ, and he hopes to pursue a career in finance or actuarial science.
New York City, a congested metropolis, is home to millions of busy humans and lively animals alike. Bothered by the impact of urban sprawl on animals, Violet Guzman, an engineering and physics student at Fordham University, directed a scientific study to determine if there was a difference in population diversity among Lepidoptera species in two disparate areas of Greater New York City.

Consisting of butterflies, moths, and skippers, Guzman says that the Lepidoptera order is “important to ecosystems for myriad reasons, from being an important food source to simply providing beauty to urban green spaces.” The “Lepidoptera Taxome” project claims that this class composes “around 10% of all described species of living organisms,” consisting of more than 180,000 species. Guzman drew all Lepidoptera samples for her study from Prospect Park in urban Brooklyn and the Louis Calder Center, a forested, rural site at Fordham University’s Westchester campus in the Bronx.

Guzman focused her scientific enquiry on moths because of the insects’ propensities to be either nocturnal or diurnal, as well as the species’ likelihood to dispel frequent misapprehension by the public eye. “While many concerns are raised over habitat fragmentation with respect to small mammals in urban areas,” Guzman says, “not much attention is paid to some of the most abundant insect families who suffer as well.”

Hypothesizing that the Louis Calder Center site would have higher species variety compared to the Prospect Park Site, Guzman conducted her study during the summer of 2016 as part of “Project TRUE,” a scholastic partnership between Fordham University and the Wildlife Conservation Society. Created to encourage high school students to pursue studies of science, technology, engineering, and math, the program actively enrolls historically marginalized individuals.

With assistance from her three high school mentees, Guzman journeyed to Prospect Park and the Louis Calder Center site to install electrical trapping hats, which are small, battery-powered devices that emit light. Attracted to the glow, moths plummet into a bucket located directly beneath the trap that thwarts their escape. Later, Guzman and her team sorted the moths into distinct species based upon distinctive scales on the insects’ wings. At the Louis Calder Center site, rainwater entered the trapping hat, causing many of the moths to lose their scales. Thus, morphological examination was necessary, which is a process that includes discerning differences in larval mouthparts and respiratory organs, as stated by Niels Kristensen, Malcolm J. Scoble, and Ole Karsholt, in “Lepidoptera Phylogeny and Systematics: The State of Inventorying Moth and Butterfly Diversity.” Overall, twenty-six distinct moth species were identified, in addition to seven samples so badly decomposed that identification was impossible.

Guzman tested her hypothesis using RStudio, a software program that interprets the observed frequency of each moth species and outputs a metric called the Shannon Diversity Index, abbreviated H, for each site. This index explains the commonness of species in a community with a higher index indicative of more diversity, as propounded by scholars Monica Beals, Louis Gross, and Susan Harrell. The Prospect Park Site had an index of $H = 2.3$, while the Louis Calder Center site had an index of $H = 3.1$.

Yet, the Shannon Diversity Index lacks an actual unit of measurement, and so, if “true diversity doubles between two observations, the values obtained by either index do not,” according to Jaime Pinzon, a PhD research associate at the University of Alberta, who also holds, based on the true diversity, that “the only conclusion that you can get from these values is that one is more diverse than the other.” While Guzman was unable to conclude how much more diverse the Louis Calder Center site was, her proposition that this site would have more population diversity was supported by the higher index. Guzman says that one species of moth was observed more frequently than any other. Perhaps this was the result of random error, often inherent in the research process. For instance, perchance one species happened to produce a large number of eggs in the area adjacent to the trapping bucket.

After concluding her study, Guzman gave a keynote lecture as part of Fordham University’s Physics Student Seminar series in November 2016. In her lecture “Comparison of Lepidoptera Species Diversity in Rural and Urban Areas of the New York City Area,” she spoke about her research process and overall findings. Fordham physics professors, as well as students interested in the scientific process and undergraduate research, attended the seminar.

Guzman’s research impacts the science field as much as it does the common person. Her findings enhance the scientific conversation on how the presence of human activity influences the natural environment. Specifically, Guzman’s study supports the notion that human activity has an inverse effect on the diversity of Lepidoptera. Perhaps with this baseline data, future Fordham professors and students can propose solutions to reduce the harm that humans cause to bugs on a daily basis.

Anders Papritz, GSB ‘18, is pursuing a degree in Business Administration with concentrations in Finance and Management. He serves FURJ as a news and lead business staff member and is particularly interested in the study of corporate, social responsibility.
Structured Intervention for Inner-City Youth Exposed to Complex Trauma

Maria Julia Pieraccioni, FCLC ’19

“What human beings do when we see someone that is different is we go on the attack,” asserts Dr. Amelio D’Onofrio, professor of psychology at Fordham University. D’Onofrio led research to study the effects of structured intervention on inner-city youth in New York City, particularly middle school boys, affected by complex trauma.

Over the course of two years between the summers of 2014 and 2016, D’Onofrio worked with his team, comprised mainly of doctoral students, to develop a treatment for dealing with complex psychological trauma in Bronx middle schools. The team worked for ten weeks at a time in different schools to create group and individual sessions that promoted the understanding and recognition of complex trauma. By recognizing trauma, students were encouraged to open up during individual sessions of psychotherapy. The goal of the intervention was to encourage the boys to recognize the trauma they had and continued to experience, and speak about it. The collected results demonstrated that the methods used succeeded in achieving this aim.

D’Onofrio premised his study on his previous findings that inner-city youth constitute a highly at-risk population for both short-term emotional and developmental disruptions as well as long-term, if not permanent, complex trauma. This demographic is statistically more likely to experience some sort of complex trauma in their lifetime, especially in their middle-school years. “Inner-city youth remain a highly underserved population,” D’Onofrio said. “All the kids we screened had had exposures to traumatic environments and qualified for our project.”

D’Onofrio’s research was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Department of Health Services. He also worked with the Fordham Cultivating Awareness and Resilience to Empower Students Program, designed to provide school-based, group psychotherapy interventions for inner-city students at risk for the effects of complex trauma.

The innate difference between complex and acute trauma propelled D’Onofrio’s entire research study: “while the stigma of acute trauma is recognized more prominently by media and popular opinion, complex trauma is often overlooked in young adults” claims D’Onofrio, and “these behavioral responses are glossed over as instances of ‘acting out.’”

The applied method involved a 10-week intervention, called Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools. During interventions, doctoral students held psychotherapy sessions for middle school students at two underserved schools in the Bronx, which were identified through the Fordham Partnership Support Organization in Fordham’s Graduate School of Education. The treatment involved first identifying the environment in which these boys were living as traumatic, then showing the possibility of an alternative reality in which the students were able to take control of their lives, and finally helping the students cope with those aspects of their environment that they could not change.

“We did [this treatment] for two years,” D’Onofrio said. “It was a very powerful experience both for the students being treated and for the doctoral students, exposed to this world, some of whom for the first time.” In this particular research, the team analyzed multiple themes that emerged as a result of the therapy, mainly concerning issues of gender and race, and their associated stereotypes.

In terms of gender, D’Onofrio’s team worked to deconstruct the false belief that masculinity is a public demonstration of fortitude, and that vulnerability cannot be tolerated. D’Onofrio admits that there is a strikingly unique dynamic between middle school boys in inner-cities that is unlike the dynamic of their female counterparts as “many [males] are confronted with the reality that many of their family members were involved in gangs.” Furthermore, D’Onofrio suggested, based on his data, that “gang activity, particularly prominent in inner-city neighborhoods, is an escape from the reality of complex trauma in the household.” The psychological feeling of acceptance that comes from gang participation comes at the cost of public displays of vulnerability. According to D’Onofrio, “there was this sense that you can’t show your vulnerability, and you can’t show your weakness, because that’s taken advantage of, and you become ostracized from the group.” Nevertheless, the team’s concerted effort in deconstructing the macho stereotype proved successful in individual settings and in one-on-one interventions. Significantly, D’Onofrio’s findings suggested that “in the individual screenings that (the boys) had one-on-one with their counselor, they were much more open and emotional because they were able to talk about their fears, what was hurtful to them, what they were struggling with, in a whole different way.” The study also concluded that boys are less likely than girls their same age to admit that they need help, an important finding for future interventions.

The normative assumption of inner-city middle schoolers is that they “have been victimized by a structure of systemic racism in our schools, in our culture, and they have experienced it first-hand.” According to the findings, racism is one of the most common and complex traumatic experiences in inner-city communities. Therefore, the treatment proved initially effective because “the kids had been feeling powerless all along and now they are in a setting where people in power are people of color,” explained D’Onofrio.

According to the findings, one of the most striking results was the change in locus of control. Locus of control is the psychological feeling of being in control of one’s own life. The data show that at the beginning of the treatment these middle school children’s sense of locus of control was lower, as they felt hopeless, victimized, and unable to retain control over their lives. By the end of the group sessions they felt empowered and in control of their lives, of their traumatic situations. “That little piece of data speaks volumes of how much a little bit of treatment can do for these kids,” D’Onofrio concluded hopefully.

Maria Julia Pieraccioni, FCLC ’19, is from Rome, Italy, and this is her first year writing for FURJ. She is a Political Science major and a Public Relations minor, and is interested in the dynamics between governments and their electorates.
Research Articles

A research article reports original research and assesses its contribution to a particular body of knowledge in a field of study. All research articles must contain the student’s own conclusion. For the purpose of FURJ, a research article must be performed at least in part by the student and should demonstrate the student’s own ideas.
Economic Sanctions: Comparing South Africa and Iraq
Corina Minden-Birkenmaier, FCRH ‘17

Both South Africa and Iraq were targets of massive economic sanctions efforts in the 1990s, which included the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as most of the countries in the world. While the sanctions in South Africa helped to liberate the country from the racially oppressive Apartheid government, the sanctions on Iraq did not achieve their goal and led to a massive humanitarian crisis within the country. Using scholarly articles and books written about these two sanctions regimes, this paper will compare the two sanctions efforts and argue that the presence of an opposition effort in South Africa, as well as the absence of one in Iraq, was a critical factor in the difference between the two outcomes.

Introduction
In 1994, the black majority in South Africa voted for the first time, bringing the African National Congress to power. This election represented the culmination of a long and brutal struggle for black liberation from the Apartheid system, which the rest of the world supported through economic sanctions. Though there is still debate regarding how influential they were in the political transformation, the sanctions against South Africa represented international condemnation of the National Party and exerted influence against the human rights violations that the government committed. While South Africans were celebrating their freedom from oppression, the Iraqi people were suffering from one of the worst human rights crises in history. Reeling from the United Nations' retaliation against Iraq's attack on Kuwait, and denied basic human necessities by a comprehensive and rigid UN sanctions regime, Iraqi citizens lacked basic infrastructure, sanitation, electricity, clean water, food, and medicine. Sanctions helped to restore human rights in South Africa, but they destroyed the humanitarian conditions in Iraq. There were many factors that affected the success or failure of these two sanctions efforts, but the differences in the political situations within these two countries played a crucial role. The structure of sanctions assumes either that the people will pressure the government to change its policy or that the government will change policy out of concern for their citizens' welfare. South Africa contained a broad and active opposition to the Apartheid regime that called for the sanctions, and its government was concerned for the welfare of its white majority. Iraq, on the other hand, did not have any opposition or public interest groups, and its government was not very concerned with the welfare of its people. This paper will describe the context, implementation, and effects of the sanctions against South Africa and Iraq and look at the political differences that led to the disparate results between the two.

South Africa
Between 1948 and 1994, the white National Party governing South Africa imposed an apartheid system of race-based segregation and oppression on their country. This system denied black South Africans the right to vote and limited employment and housing options for nonwhite South Africans, keeping them impoverished and away from urban centers. It also imposed unequal education standards for whites and non-whites, only educating the “lower” racial classes enough to take low-wage labor or service jobs. The government mandated physical segregation, outlawed interracial marriage, and provided unequal health and welfare services to the different populations, upholding all of these differences with systematic state violence. The inequality, violence, and human rights violations in South Africa prompted a sanctions regime against the government targeted at political change.

India was the first state to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1946 to protest the racist mistreatment of the South African Indian population. Then, during the period of decolonization in the 1950s, many newly independent African states sanctioned South Africa in solidarity with their black population. However, it was not until the 1960 Sharpeville massacre of protesting black schoolchildren, the following state of emergency and political repression, and the call from the African National Congress and other opposition groups to sanction the National Party, that the world turned its attention to the humanitarian crisis in South Africa. These events ignited an international sanctions campaign against the South African Apartheid government led by the United Nations. By the end of 1986, most governments had some kind of trade restrictions on South Africa, including the United States and other major trade partners.

Internal Debate
Most major black South African organizations advocated for sanctions against their government, including political organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress, trade unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, and religious institutions such as the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishop's Council. The political organizations believed the National Party government to be vulnerable to trade isolation, and advocated for international pressure as a way to supplement their domestic resistance. Because this resistance was sometimes violent or was responded to with violence, many political leaders believed that sanctions could lessen the bloodshed by bringing on political transition more quickly. Similarly, the trade unions held that the white-dominated South African economic system exploited black labor, and foreign investment in the South African economy served to support and legitimize the Apartheid regime. Like the political parties that advocated sanctions, they believed that any economic suffering that sanctions may cause was minor when considering their current and past suffering, and the prospect of future liberation. The religious organizations that supported sanctions did so from the basic premise that the current oppressive regime was unchristian, and that economic sanctions were a nonviolent way to undermine this oppression. All of these groups saw economic sanctions as nonviolent or as a preferable alternative to physical violence, and preferred increased short-term suffering for long-term political improvement to the status quo.

Though the majority of anti-apartheid leaders supported sanctions, there were a few, such as Chief Buthelezi of the Inkatha Party,
Economic Sanctions: Comparing South Africa and Iraq | Corina Minden-Birkenmaier

Alan Paton of the Liberal Party, and Helen Suzeman of the Progressive Party, that believed the costs of sanctions to be too high. Inkatha, which sometimes had disputes with the ANC and opposed the use of violence in the struggle against Apartheid, believed the South African economy to be self-sufficient enough to withstand sanctions. They pointed out that black people would probably suffer most of the effects of sanctions because white people were wealthy enough to insulate themselves from economic hardship, and the government was more likely to help any white people that did have problems rather than the suffering black majority. Instead of harming South Africa's economy, which would ultimately harm the next government, Inkatha wanted to develop it further so more black people would have jobs and their economic and therefore political power would increase.

The debate around sanctions within South Africa demonstrates the benefits of opposition within a target country. Though there was opposition to the sanctions within the anti-apartheid movement, the majority of those suffering under the system thought that sanctions could bring them a better life by supporting their political revolution. Hypothetically, if the sanctions had led to unsustainably worse conditions for black people, the groups advocating for them (the ANC, COSATU, etc.) would have recognized the problem and been able to notify the rest of the world that sanctions were no longer an appropriate tactic. This means that the most disadvantaged in the country had some control over the sanctions and how much sanctions affected their lives, preventing a humanitarian crisis from the deprivation sanctions caused.

Effects of Sanctions
The participants in the debate about sanctions could not have a comprehensive view as to their actual effects, but analysis after the fact such as Manby (1992) provides more perspective regarding the actual effects of the sanctions on South Africa. South Africa was a middle-income, semi-industrialized country, which was dependent on the export of primary products. Its economy was relatively open, as trade consisted of 60 percent of its Gross Domestic Product. Minerals were its main export, especially gold, and it mainly imported value-added products and technology. The country was therefore a good candidate for sanctions because it had high trade openness, a limited number of trade partners, was geographically isolated, and did not have enough skilled labor for import substitution of manufactured products or research and development to keep up with the world's technology. However, South Africa was still able to engage in a large amount of sanctions busting, and made the actual effects on its economy hard to measure because the government stopped publishing economic data. The trade sanctions were also less effective than their potential because they largely excluded gold, one of South Africa's main exports, and the European Community excluded coal, another major export, from their sanctions. The trade sanctions did have some costs, but they were indeterminate.6

Though South Africa was able to bust some of its sanctions, one of the biggest blows to the South African economy came from the higher prices on the black market. South Africa was not able to develop an arms industry that made a high enough volume of arms or weaponry that was technologically advanced enough to make up for the unavailability of foreign arms. Therefore, they had to pay a 20-100 percent markup for weapons on the black market. Similarly, the oil embargo cost the South African economy an extra $2 billion per year, and left them scrambling to find oil. This example suggests that even if countries are able to find alternative trading partners to countries that sanction them, they must do so at a price that can still strain their economy. The South African political structure also contributed to inefficiencies in the economy. The South African government subsidized the use of capital over labor, leading to high unemployment and excluding large segments of the population from contributing to the economy. The National Party devoted a lot of public resources to maintaining political repression and the large bureaucracy required to deal with each race separately. The government's inefficiencies, combined with the pressure trade and financial sanctions put on businesses, led to white business leaders advocating for political reform and negotiation with the ANC in order to reopen the economy and allow for growth. Therefore, the National Party government had internal pressure from the wealthy white population as well as black political parties and protesters.7

Other Factors
The large variety of political, social, and demographic factors that influence the South African transition of power in the 1990s is the main reason that the effectiveness of the sanctions against South Africa was (and still is) the subject of so much debate. However, as Manby (1999) points out, developments in the political atmosphere of South Africa, especially the situation of Afrikaaners, may have helped sanctions be more effective. The National Party arose as a way for the Dutch-descended Afrikaaners to take power from the English and elevate their position from that of farmers and semi-skilled workers. Therefore, at the beginning of its power, Afrikaaners would gain from Apartheid no matter what, and would not have caved in to international pressure to change the government. By the time the sanctions campaign began, the National Party had succeeded in integrating Afrikaaners into the South African elite and they identified with the western democratic tradition. Therefore, Afrikaaners stood to lose both money from the loss of liberal free trade and their cultural connection with the west with international disapproval (which was also signified with sporting and cultural boycotts). Though President Botha initially responded to sanctions with defiance, his successor, F.W. de Klerk, made the calculus that his country could not sustain its present course, and decided to open negotiations in 1990. There was initially political opposition that jeopardized the negotiations, but a 1992 referendum vote reaffirmed white support for the negotiations. de Klerk, supported by South African businesses, managed to convince the country that a vote against negotiations would reinstate sanctions, initiate more protests and violence in the black areas of the country (that white voters were most likely afraid would spread to them), and return South Africa to being an international pariah. Developments outside of South Africa also influenced the government's willingness to negotiate with the ANC. The National Party habitually used anti-communist rhetoric to justify its policies, maintaining that the ANC and other opposition parties were communists and blaming South Africa's problems on “communist agitators.” However, the collapse of the Soviet Union allowed President de Klerk to unban the ANC, the SACP, and other opposition parties because they were no longer considered part of a communist conspiracy against the state. In addition, the negotiated transition of the previously South African-controlled Namibia to an independent democracy showed South Africans that a peaceful negotiation that would protect whites and restore international legitimacy was possible.

The most important element of the transition to democracy, of course, was the efforts of the black resistance in South Africa. Led by political and religious leaders such as Nelson Mandela...
and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the black population staged mass protests that the government met with violence and oppression. The more the economy declined, the more black people protested, which brought more international attention to the violence the government committed against the black population. The government eventually realized that they could never suppress the black movement in their country, and failure to negotiate and hold free elections would eventually lead to a bloody and brutal uprising that would be violent towards whites. Therefore, negotiation was a matter of self-preservation for the National Party and the Afrikaaners, even as it was essential for black people to gain freedom from oppression.

The case of South Africa demonstrates many of the factors that lead to successful sanctions. Though the sanctions against South Africa did not cover every single aspect of its economic activity, they were able to deny them enough resources (especially military) and cost them enough money in finding replacement suppliers to make a difference. The most important factor in the sanctions’ success in improving human rights in South Africa is that they were one element of a coordinated effort to change the government from inside of the country. It is very unlikely that sanctions alone would have succeeded without the internal opposition. Some take this as an indication that sanctions are ineffective because they do not work on their own, but it can also mean that senders should use them as part of a cohesive strategy instead of expecting them to achieve large, sweeping goals on their own. This coordinated effort also shows the importance of supporting internal opposition through sanctions and having a government that will respond to internal pressure. As comparison with the sanctions against Iraq demonstrates, sanctions are a lot less successful when these factors are missing.

Iraq

In August 1990, the UN Security Council voted to impose sanctions against Iraq in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. These sanctions represented an internationally united effort to condemn Iraq’s unprovoked aggression and require the country to withdraw from Kuwait immediately. Other regional organizations supported these sanctions, including the European Union, the League of Arab States, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the Organization of Islamic Conference. The sanctions against Iraq were some of the most severe, comprehensive, and widely supported sanctions in history. They included freezing government assets, prohibiting all trade of goods and services with Iraq, a complete oil and arms embargo, and banning all of Iraq’s financial transactions. The original sanctions measures even banned food imports until April 1991, when the Security Council recognized the humanitarian crisis within the country. The Security Council reinforced these measures with an air and naval blockade, led by the United States with assistance from other countries. The military blockade was especially important in preventing oil shipments in and out of the country. Because Iraq depended on oil exports for much of its income, it fit the profile of a country susceptible to sanctions and the oil embargo was crucial to the sanctions efforts. Iraq was also notably vulnerable to the arms embargo because its military infrastructure was still recovering from the war with Iran and it could not buy weapons of the same quality or price on the black market. Therefore, the unified effort against Iraq and its vulnerability to sanctions suggested a high probability of success.9

Despite the severity of the sanctions, Iraq refused to withdraw from Kuwait. This led to a debate in the UN regarding how long the international community was willing to refrain from further intervention and how long sanctions would take to impact Iraq enough to force its withdrawal. The United States and Great Britain were especially concerned about how long the international sanctions effort would last. In late November 1990, the UN approved the use of military force against Iraq (although delayed until January 15, 1991 to give Iraq a chance to comply). On January 16, 1991, the United States led a military campaign against Iraq that consisted of an extensive air campaign followed by a massive ground war. In the six days that it took the U.S.-led coalition to defeat Iraq, most of Iraq’s military and domestic infrastructure was destroyed, including power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and roads, oil refineries, and airports.10

After defeating Iraq, the UN passed a resolution with extensive requirements of the Iraqi government in order to lift the sanctions. These conditions included recognizing the international border with Kuwait, accepting a demilitarized zone between the two countries with UN peacekeepers, monitoring and destruction of all biological, chemical and ballistic weapons, monitoring and elimination of all nuclear weapons and capabilities, return of Kuwaiti property, war reparations, repatriation of Kuwaiti and third-party nationals, and a pledge against international terrorism. Though Iraq complied with most of these measures, it condemned the resolution as a violation of its national sovereignty. Implementation of the disarmament requirement in the resolution caused the most conflict between Iraq and western leaders. Iraq ostensibly allowed inspectors in the country to find and destroy illegal weapons, but it often obstructed and gave them misinformation, as well as refusing to submit an account of all of its nuclear weapons. Though some countries in the international community supported partially lifting sanctions to reward Iraq for the conditions that it did meet, the United States took an especially hard line against lifting any sanctions without full compliance and vetoed any measure in front of the Security Council to that end. The international community became increasingly divided regarding the sanctions because of the humanitarian crisis they caused in Iraq, but they remained in place until the United States invaded Iraq in 2000.

Humanitarian Crisis

The damage to Iraq’s infrastructure from the Gulf War combined with the sanctions regime caused a humanitarian crisis within Iraq, which 1991 reports from the World Health Organization, the UN, and the UN Children’s Fund all described. Iraq’s real GDP fell from $36.5 billion before the war to $12 billion after, as its main source of foreign currency flows, oil, reduced production by 80 percent, and 90 percent of its imports, as well as 97 percent of its exports, were restricted by the embargo. The destruction of sanitation plants led to raw sewage being dumped into the Tigris River, Iraq’s main source of water, leading to disease outbreaks such as cholera and typhoid for which there was no medicine available. In addition, unemployment and inflation greatly increased, which, combined with the destruction of infrastructure and lack of social safety net, led to a great reduction in quality of life for Iraqis. Food prices were too high for the average family to afford, so most Iraqis depended on the government rationing program, which provided less than half of average daily dietary needs. Studies estimate that up to 600,000 children died in Iraq due to resource restriction from sanctions, and the malnutrition and maternal mortality rates skyrocketed due to the reduced access to food and medicine.11

In August 1991, recognizing the humanitarian crisis in progress in Iraq, the Security Council passed Resolution 706, which allowed for the sale of up to $1.6 billion of oil over a period of six months, with the proceeds to be put in a UN escrow account that would
finance the import of humanitarian goods. Deemed the oil-for-food program, this resolution also dedicated some of the money towards war reparations and to fund UN operations within Iraq. However, Iraq refused to implement the plan because they claimed that it interfered with national sovereignty and internal affairs. Eventually, the UN was able to raise $100 million for the account with voluntary donations from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as transfers of Iraqi frozen assets from the United States. In 1995, the UN once again passed a resolution after extensive negotiation with Iraq that allowed sale of $1 billion in oil per month for humanitarian goods, and gave the Iraqi government control over distribution of those goods as a concession to its national sovereignty. However, the program suffered from bureaucratic delays, lack of transportation infrastructure within Iraq, and tension between the Iraqi government and the UN that prevented it from reaching its potential. It ultimately only supplied around 51 cents per person per day to cover food, water, housing, sanitation, healthcare, education, housing and telecommunications, which demonstrates how little the program actually did to meet Iraqi needs.  

Internal Factors
The international response to Iraq’s aggression was the most unanimous in history, and the high level of compliance with the Security Council allowed for fast, comprehensive sanctions that cost Iraq an enormous amount of money and economic growth. Iraq was also vulnerable to sanctions because of its reliance on oil exports and need to purchase arms to maintain its military power. However, the structure of the Iraqi government was the main factor that prevented the success of sanctions. Because Iraq was a repressive and undemocratic autocracy, it did not have constituent groups within the country that could influence the government to change policy. O’Sullivan (2003) points out that Saddam Hussein, Iraq’s autocratic ruler, was in a good position to retain power because he had recently quashed Kurdish and Shi’ite rebellions, and had convinced the Sunni minority that without him, the Shi’ite majority would mistreat them. He also was not personally affected by sanctions because he had enough black market ties and support within the country to stay in power despite the sanctions. Therefore, the link between the economic damage caused by sanctions and policy change within the country was missing, and the government could ignore its people’s suffering. Hussein instead turned to undermining the sanctions regime by slowly garnering sympathy for his country from the international community. Indeed, O’Sullivan claims that he resisted the oil-for-food program because he saw the program as a way to prolong the trade restrictions against him, and the human rights crisis in his country was useful in his campaign to lift the sanctions. Hussein used this strategy in response to American antagonism and the UN’s (U.S.-driven) unwillingness to negotiate incremental lifting of sanctions for concessions, but it would not have been possible if there had been internal pressure on the government to change policy.  

Conclusion
South Africa and Iraq were both subject to comprehensive sanctions regimes that compromised their economies. In fact, Iraq suffered more under sanctions than South Africa due to dependence on oil, infrastructural damage, and U.S. antagonism, yet refused to grant the concessions that would have lifted the sanctions. Similarly, both the South African and Iraqi governments showed little concern to the well-being of the majority of its citizens. However, South Africa considered itself a democracy and the National Party was concerned with all white citizens, who did feel the effects of sanctions. The sanctions against South Africa were in response to human rights violations, whereas in Iraq they contributed to them. Therefore, it was much easier for the Iraqi government to blame the UN for its citizens’ suffering and access sympathy from its people and the international community, even as it only made halfhearted attempts to relieve it. The absence of a group in Iraq that could hold the government responsible for the wellbeing of its people ensured that the government would put more energy into defying the UN and building up its own power than addressing the crisis in its country. Therefore, when foreign policy makers consider sanctions, they need to pay attention to the link between economic pressure and political change in the target country and refrain from implementing sanctions on a country that will be ineffective and cause a humanitarian crisis.

References
Illegal immigration has been one of the most controversial topics recently, especially with respect to the situation of undocumented minors. In the United States, approximately seven hundred seventy-seven thousand out of 2.4 million school-aged immigrant kids are undocumented and since 2014, one hundred thousand unaccompanied children arrived in the country.1 Besides the difficulties that undocumented children face when fleeing their home countries, they deal with several problems when trying to access services and integrate into their new environment. One of the challenges that undocumented minors experience is enrolling in public primary and secondary education (K–12), which is an extremely important step in their assimilation process into their new communities.2 New York has been one of the states that accepts the most undocumented minors, thereby creating a challenge to incorporate these children into the school system. This research aims to analyze the obstacles posed by this mandate to New York State schools, which have created, in turn, an informal barrier for undocumented minors’ enrollment to public schools in the state during the 2014–2015 school year. The analysis was conducted through a careful examination of news articles, official documents released by the state, and scholarly articles. During the 2014–2015 school year, it was found that schools’ own interest and ignorance of the enrollment procedures could have been key factors that pushed schools across New York State to delay and/or deny undocumented minors’ access to education, leading to numerous legal complaints.

Between 2009 and 2016, there was a significant number of undocumented minors detained in the border between the United States and Mexico. This was particularly true during 2013 and 2014, when the number of unaccompanied minors increased by 90%.3 More than three-quarters of these children fled towns in the Northern Triangle (El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala) primarily due to violence, poverty, and for family reunification.4 Upon arrival to the United States, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security detains undocumented minors and later releases them to communities while they await immigration proceedings.5 Many undocumented minors are eligible to obtain legal immigration status in the United States, but these legal proceedings can take several years. While waiting for the clarification of their immigration status, undocumented minors have the right and the legal obligation to be enrolled in school.6 In the state of New York, every child, above five years old and below ten years of age, has the right to receive public education in the school district where they reside regardless of their immigration status or that of their parents, as stipulated on a federal level in Plyler vs. Doe.7 Nonetheless, several school districts in the state prevented kids from receiving education in 2014 and 2015.

Consequently, the State Education Department (SED) started an investigation in October 2014 that found that the Hempstead School District prevented thirty-four children from enrolling in school. In the same month, the SED started a compliance review of schools’ enrollment procedures, initially focusing on the counties that have received the highest number of unaccompanied minors from Central America in the state: Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland, and Westchester.4 In February 2015, it was found that twenty New York school districts, spread over fourteen counties, were in violation of federal and state law by discouraging, delaying, and/or denying the enrollment process of undocumented minors.10

Federal, State, and Local Responses

After it was found that several New York State districts were denying admission of undocumented children to public schools, there were different responses on the federal, state, and local level. At the federal level, the United States Department of Education released a series of documents in which they (1) reminded school and district officials of children’s right to education, (2) highlighted available programs and funds to address the needs of these children, and (3) outlined the allowed documents that schools can request as proof of residency and age.11

At the state level, the State Education Department proposed an amendment to section 100.2(y) of the Commissioner’s Regulations, which focused on creating a clearer list of allowed enrollment documents, increasing transparency, and the school’s responsibility to notify the SED when denying enrollment.12 Finally, at the local level, fourteen counties accepted to modify their enrollment requirements and to have guidance sessions for enrollment officials as of February 2015.13 Even though the impact of these responses is yet to be determined, they provide a helpful model to evaluate deficiencies in districts’ enrollment procedures.14

Barriers to Enrollment: The Interests and Ignorance of Schools

Even though it is already difficult for immigrants to enter the United States and access services, schools in the state of New York made the process more complicated for families. Schools and districts implemented intentional and unintentional barriers that delay or discourage the enrollment of undocumented minors. Two main possibilities that could have pushed schools to delay and/or deny the children’s enrollment process are schools’ own interests and mere ignorance of the enrollment procedures.

On one hand, schools are concerned that receiving a high number of undocumented minors over such a short period of time will tighten their budgets, damage their funding and reputation, and make it more difficult to compete with nearby districts. Schools worry that spending will increase to meet the needs of undocumented minors, needs such as English instruction, psychological counseling, and free or reduced-price lunch.13 In cities like New York, 70% of the students cannot read, write, or do math at their expected grade level, making parents question if schools would be able to meet the needs of undocumented minors without worsening current conditions. Furthermore, many undocumented children have gaps in their education and arrive in the United States with little to no English. Therefore, it is difficult for them to achieve success in school and to perform well on standardized tests, which could lower schools’ average scores and hurt their funding and reputation.10 To sum up, the interest in maintaining costs and prestige could have been factors that pushed schools to intentionally create a
barrier for undocumented children.

On the other hand, the delay or denial of undocumented minors from schools could be attributed to schools administrators’ mere ignorance of the enrollment procedures. Schools can request documents such as utility bills or rent receipts as proof of residency in the district when children enroll; however, they cannot demand state-issued identity documents, proof of legal status, Social Security numbers, or original birth certificates.17 During the 2014–2015 school year, schools in New York State asked for documents that require proof of legal status. While some of the school officials in charge of student enrollment might have intentionally delayed and/or denied an education due to schools’ interests, it was found that there was a potential lack of clarity in terms of legal enrollment and registration policies. Although district-level officials are aware of the admission procedures, administrators responsible for enrollment in schools prefer to reject different documentation.18 Therefore, when encountering the case of an undocumented minor who does not have the typical documents provided by citizens trying to enroll into a school,19 enrollment officials might think that they cannot enroll the student without the traditional paperwork. The previously mentioned amendment to section 100.2(y) of the Commissioner’s Regulations in New York State attempts to address the lack of clarity in terms of legal enrollment procedures for undocumented children.20 While it is unknown if the denial or delay of admission for undocumented minors was based on mere ignorance of the enrollment procedures or intentionally done due to other reasons, it also created an informal barrier for kids to access to education in New York.

Undocumented Minors and Access to Education

Besides the fact that the delay and/or denial of enrollment of undocumented children to public education violates federal law, it is detrimental for the adaptation process of minors, their futures, and the best interests of the community overall. First, schools represent a safe haven for children and their families to access services and support when arriving to the United States.21 Additionally, education, along with care, is crucial for their long-term adjustment.22 Second, education also plays a key role in the futures of these children by giving them the potential to have a better quality of life than that of their parents who were generally forced to flee their home countries due to economic reasons. Typically, undocumented children live in poverty and do not know English when arriving in the country. Without education, it would be extremely hard for undocumented children to overcome their disadvantaged situation and improve their socio-economic class. Finally, the lack of undocumented minors’ access to education also affects society as a whole, since education prepares children to be economically productive and to benefit and maintain a functioning society.23

Conclusion

Despite the benefits that education can bring to individuals and communities, there are many challenges that undocumented minors face even after being successfully enrolled in schools, such as the lack of resources to succeed in school, to attain a high school diploma, and to access higher education; however, ensuring that all undocumented children can enroll, with no delay, at schools in the United States should be considered the first and crucial step towards their adaptation process and future. Therefore, it is extremely important that federal and state authorities continue to inform school officials of the legal enrollment procedures, and to make sure that all children are enrolled in public schools in the United States regardless of their immigration status. This would prevent cases such as those in the state of New York between 2014 and 2015.

Endnotes


2. Ibid.


6. Ibid.


8. Ibid.

9. The school districts are: Amherst, Carthage, Chenektowaga, Cuba-Rushford, Dryden, Gates Chili, Greenville, Hilton, Homer, Lyme, Manchester-Shortville, Penfield, Pittsford, Spencerport, Sullivan West, Vestal and Williamson Central School District, the Oneida, Port Jervis, and Watertown City.


13. Sakuma, “New York schools will remove illegal obstacles.”


19. The typical documents that citizens provide: Social Security number, original birth certificate, and state-issued identification.

20. See section, “Federal, State, and Local Responses.”


Rebellion in Print: Two Florentine Newspapers’ Campaign for Jewish Emancipation (1846-1848)
Luca Vettori, FCRH ’18

Italian histories of the Risorgimento—the unification of Italy, which took place during the 19th century—have long neglected Florentine Jews, due to the erroneous assumption that their contributions to the movement were unexceptional. However, examination of liberal Florentine newspapers from 1846-1848 reveals a lively debate in which emancipation is sought as a precursor to assimilation. Tracing the effects of these arguments on Jewish identity discloses Florence as a model for Italian Jewish transition from isolated conservatism to passionate nationalism.

Identity Pre 1830

Italian anti-Semitism never attained the vehemence that it wielded in other European countries. Of the various Italian states, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was the most tolerant of its Jewish community. Rome’s Jewish community suffered greatly under papal authority, with half its population indigent in 1861, when most of Italy was unified. They would remain in the squalor of the ghetto until Rome was annexed in 1870. In contrast, the Florence ghetto had been Jewish-owned since 1779 and its doors had been permanently open since 1775.

Although Florence’s conditions were undoubtedly some of the best in the Italian peninsula by the middle of the 18th century, the prior plight of Florentine Jews reflected conditions elsewhere. In the 15th century, Florentine Jews were excluded from most occupations other than pawn brokerage. They were forced to wear the segno, a yellow circle of fabric pinned on the chest or shoulder. In 1571, Cosimo de’ Medici forced Florentine Jews into the ghetto. He tried to frame it as a gesture of goodwill, rather than a punishment. This segregation would have a deep influence on Jewish identity. Thereafter, Florentine Jews identified exclusively with their local community rather than with the city or region at large. They administered their own schools and places of worship. Each ghetto had a Hekdesh, a hybrid hospital and hospice for the destitute. The community grew to be one defined by its isolation, poverty, deep faith, and conservatism.

The conditions of Tuscan Jews markedly improved during the government of Peter Leopold of Hapsburg-Lorraine starting in 1765. Under Peter Leopold, they were allowed onto city councils, attained private ownership of the ghetto, and retained admission to literary and scientific academies, despite attempts to exclude them. Although their legal status under the Grand Duchy, the central Italian monarchy from 1569 to 1859, was largely secure, popular hostility remained a constant source of danger. In 1790, the façade of a synagogue in Livorno (a mere 100km from Florence) was partly destroyed by a mob after building material from a closed church was purchased and installed in it. When the news of the riots reached Florence, a similar mob formed. The imminent violence was averted by the bravery of Archbishop Antonio Martini, who threw himself in front of the ghetto and told the rioting Christians that they would have to step over his dead body. This incident is especially illuminating because historically members of the Italian clergy promoted prejudice against Jews. The Florentine clergy, on the other hand, reflected the more liberal attitude of the Grand Duchy.

Legal improvements paved the way for the explosive effect of the French Revolution on Jewish conditions. The French seized control of Tuscany and declared Jews equal to Christians in the eyes of the law in 1799. The civil rights granted by the French instilled within Tuscan Jews a passion for emancipation. These arguments were picked up by a growing number of Italian newspapers, which campaigned on behalf of emancipation from 1846 onwards. In 1848, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was annexed by Napoleon, who reinstated emancipation. The conditions of Tuscan Jews markedly improved during his rule, and many of them became involved in the Risorgimento movement.

Introduction

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Italian peninsula was divided among myriad states, with the French and the Austro-Hungarians controlling Tuscany and Veneto, respectively. By the end of the century, Italy would be completely unified, from the Alps to Sicily and Sardinia. This process of unification is referred to as the “Risorgimento.” While there are countless histories written on the subject, few mention Italian Jews. Though these omissions can be partly attributed to their minority status in an overwhelmingly Christian country, Jewish participation in the Risorgimento was as fervent as it was essential. Due to high literacy rates and the promise of emancipation, Italian Jews were often active in unification efforts. But the vast political, legal, social and religious disparities between Jewish communities of different regions have made accurate documentation of Jewish activity during this period difficult. Consequently, histories that deal with the greater national movement of the Italian Risorgimento make sweeping statements about the status, identity, and participation of Italian Jews.

Few communities have been more ignored than that of Florence. This disregard is likely due to Florence’s historically milder attitude towards its Jewish community. It can also be attributed to an erroneous belief that the contributions of Florentine Jews during the Risorgimento were unexceptional. Such dismissiveness is undeserved. An analysis of primary sources shows that Florentine Jews participated in secret societies, wrote for clandestine publications, and fought in insurrections alongside their Christian neighbors. In fact, the better status of Jews in Florence led directly to more energetic and effective contributions. But what makes Florence truly worthy of greater attention is that it harbored and nurtured a veritable pro-emancipation propaganda machine that had influence outside of Tuscany as well as in the region.

My research elucidates the outcome of the 1830-48 Florence debate about the possible effects of Jewish emancipation on Jewish identity. I draw upon articles written in Il Sabatino and L’Alba, two left-leaning newspapers, which campaigned on behalf of emancipation from 1846 to 1848. Information drawn from these sources shows that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany can be seen as a model for the movement toward Jewish emancipation in Italy. Its relative historical tolerance of its Jewish community, in contrast to other states such as the Papal States, enabled a debate on emancipation infused with the ideals of the French Revolution that resulted in both emancipation and unification. The national Jewish identity that emerged from this debate is one suffused with ideals of the French revolution but also Italian-nationalism. What is seen first in Florence spread through Italy and became representative of Italian Jewish identity.
Jews a political awareness that would become instrumental in transforming their ideals and rhetoric, and by extension, their participation in the Risorgimento of the next century.26 In the following years, Jews were subjected (alongside their Christian counterparts) to the vacillations of power between Italian and French forces that would continue until 1814, when the Lorraine Grand Dukes returned for one last time. During this period of insecurity, Jews were often blamed disproportionately for the hardships to which the population was subjected. According to the general population, the emancipation the French had delivered to the Jews created an alliance between the Jews and the French conquerors.27

When the French finally left, and the Grand Duchy was once again restored to power in 1814, the Jews of Florence lost the significant civil rights they had gained and returned to their previous status. Since emancipation was not an interest of the Italian intelligentsia or political class, it quickly dissipated with the end of French rule in Italy.28 Despite this setback, the Jews of Florence and Tuscany remained under a much more mild regime than elsewhere in the peninsula.29

By the end of the restoration of the pre-revolution governments, Italian Jews could count on the majority of the public as supporters in pursuing equality, as liberal ideas had become largely accepted.30 The ideals of the French Revolution and their diffusion via French rule had opened Italian eyes to tolerance. At the same time, as the debate over Jewish emancipation entered full swing (1830-1848), Florence and Tuscany became an asylum of sorts, as Jews from the Papal States sought refuge in Florence from Pope Leo XII’s harsh interdictions.31

The favorable legal situation under the Grand Duchy, for both Jews and journalists, provided a platform for French Revolution ideals to be diffused via newspapers. This was a distinct novelty; publications in Lombardy and Piedmont were muzzled by censorship.32 In Tuscany, but especially in its capital, newspapers were free to become effective propaganda machines, fighting for Jewish emancipation, during the years leading up to the First War of Independence in 1848.33

**Propaganda and Schism**

The newspapers in question, Il Sabatino and L‘Alba, campaigned for Jewish emancipation from 1846 to 1848. Passionate calls for emancipation were published monthly—sometimes every few weeks. Many of these articles are written anonymously with a clear Christian perspective. However, some of the articles do highlight Jewish voices. Most notably, an article from January 21, 1848 in L‘Alba featured excerpts from a pamphlet written by Leone Carpi in reaction to the prohibition of Jews from entering the civil guard of Ferrara.34 Careful analysis of these articles reveals a blueprint for Jewish emancipation. The arguments centered on assimilation, which fractured the Jewish community by class and generation.

In an article in Il Sabatino from August 14, 1847, an anonymous author expresses gratitude to the Italian people, especially those of Tuscany, for tempering the “legislative deformities” that plague Italian Jews, and then calls for an end to the “monstrous legislation of the Middle Ages.”35 His passionate demand for Jewish emancipation may appear incompatible with his open distaste for Jewish manners, culture and religion. However, it was the majority opinion in Italy that emancipation would assimilate Jews, thereby ridding the community of its “factionalism, narrow-mindedness, materialism, [and] parasitism.”36

On the 28th of August 1847, Il Sabatino published another article by an anonymous author that also called for Jewish emancipation. This piece is a quintessential example of a pro-emancipation argument, because it repeats traditional negative assumptions about Jewish culture and depicts emancipation as a gateway to assimilation. The author of the August 28th Il Sabatino article argues that the French emancipation was beneficial because it exposed Florentine Jews to “our influence, habits, principles, [and] relationships.”37 The obvious implication is that full emancipation would lead to the collapse of any demarcation between Jews and Christians. This desire for assimilation was so pervasive that it proved attractive even to vehement anti-Semites.38 For example, F.D. Guerrazzi, who lamented the moderate stance of the Tuscan government towards Jews, argued in his autobiography in favor of emancipation in 1833.39 He supported abandoning the interdictions, which he blamed for exacerbating Jews’ natural tendencies. He favored a policy of forced integration, in which Jewish and Christian children would attend public schools together, Jews would be encouraged to live in mixed neighborhoods, and “rigid” rabbinic teachings would be “softened” in order to make way for “progressive assimilation into civil society.”40 The term Guerrazzi uses, “incivilimento” is one that also appears in the August 14 Il Sabatino article in favor of emancipation.41 Its primary meaning is civil enfranchisement, but it also means, “to civilize.” In Guerrazzi’s usage and in Il Sabatino, it is used to denote the current uncivilized status of Jews, and to express a desire for them to assimilate.

Interestingly, this desire to assimilate seems to have been also held by Florentine Jews. Jewish journalist Bianchi-Giovini argued in 1844 that emancipation would cause Jews to “rescind all of their particularities that make them estranged from the rest of society.”42 The publicly expressed political opinions of Italian Jews often fell along the same fault lines as those of Italian Christians: public discussion among Jews accepted traditionally negative Christian evaluations of Jewish culture. A crucial point is that these opinions were almost always aired by the upper classes.43 In fact, the first Jew to write publically about emancipation was Sabatino Sacerdoti in a pamphlet published in 1843. He blamed the delay of emancipation on the Jews themselves, for their “crass ignorance” and attachment to “vile occupations.”44 This argument is in line with that of F.D. Guerrazzi and others of his ilk. Sacerdoti’s pamphlet, however, was not written for this audience. It was written for the “notable wealthy people of the community,” who saw the poverty and Jewishness of the lower classes of the ghetto as obstacles to their full integration into the Italian bourgeoisie.45 In the August 1847 article in Il Sabatino on the conditions of Italian Jews, the author admits as much: The Jews that have associated themselves with the Tuscan family...have received our influence, habits, principles, relationships... especially in the more educated classes, which has removed any demarcation [between them].46

This demonstrates that the main fault lines in the debate about emancipation were financial and cultural. Another Jewish writer, Salvatore Anau, further reinforced Sacerdoti’s opinion in an article he wrote for a Florentine newspaper, “La Patria,” in 1847. He argued that Jews should not be granted equality until they were made worthy via a “civil and moral education.”47 Anau’s argument, more extreme than Sacerdoti’s, is structured around an assault on the lower classes of the ghetto as obstacles to their full integration into the Italian bourgeoisie.48 In the August 1847 article in Il Sabatino, it is used to denote the current uncivilized status of Jews, and to express a desire for them to assimilate.
emancipation. He thought that the path to emancipation was to “make propaganda” and to “be an example of civil courage,” rather than cultural reform.\(^4\) He renounced assimilation as a goal of emancipation, instead exalting respect for divine truths.

The passion of this conflict reveals the local Florentine Jewish identity buckling under the pressure of a growing national consciousness, fueled by the French Revolution ideals that underpinned the debate over emancipation itself. This is further visible in a truly bizarre movement that sprang up suddenly during the debate. In the August 1847 Il Sabatino article, the author argued that emancipation would lead to Jewish conversion: “Let us welcome them today as equals, as brothers in state, in civil society! That one day we will acquire them as brothers in Christ also…”\(^4\) On the eve of 1848 (when the II Sabatino article was published), some Jews were inspired by Pope Pius IX’s liberal reforms to adopt neoguelfismo, a primarily Catholic and liberal movement that sought a confederation of Italian states unified under the authority of the pope.\(^4\) In a letter, Rabbi Samuel David Luzzato explained that the pope had “declared a crusade” and that Jews and Christians alike leave for a holy war “with the sign of the cross on their shirts…with joy and excitement.”\(^4\) At first, his embrace of traditionally Catholic symbols within the context of a holy war could be misconstrued as a prelude to conversion.

However, the “crusade” Luzzato refers to is devoid of religious significance. Rather, the croce [cross] of the crociata [crusade] is transformed from a religious symbol into one for Italian unity.\(^5\) The adoption of the cross by Italian Jews reached its climax with Samuele Salomone Olper, who publicly kissed a crucifix at a rally in Piazza S. Marco in Venice.\(^4\) But Jewish neoguelfismo proved to be a faint hope. It evaporated after Pius IX fled Rome in 1848 and turned abandoned the reform of Jewish interdictions that had won him their support in the first place.\(^5\) However brief, Jewish participation in this intellectual movement provides insight into a peculiar stage of development for Italian Jewish identity. Their willingness to adopt Catholic symbols as national ones belies their desire for identification with the nation.

On December 24, 1847, L’Alba published an article in which it announced a “solemn hour in which all men of every religion and creed… will embrace each other…and no one can delay it…”\(^5\) This opinion is belied by the fact that the Florentine Jewish population was fractured in its support for emancipation. While none of the Jews were opposed to emancipation per se, some harbored serious doubts about its viability.\(^5\)

The oldest generation to participate in the First War of Independence in 1848 was born before the French Revolution. It feared that the insurrections of the Risorgimento would result in defeat, and that could lead to a loss of progress already made.\(^5\) The middle and youngest generations to participate were much more reckless. This generational chasm is best exemplified by a Piedmont rabbi’s response to a book on Jewish history written by the Jewish journalist Aurelio Bianchi-Giovini. It was fiercely in favor of Jewish emancipation. Since it was published in Lombardy, it was summarily censored. In a letter to Bianchi-Giovini, fellow Jewish journalist Giacomo Dina laments that only after agreeing to a pact “as ridiculous as it is silly” in which he “would pledge that the work was for the exclusive use of the Jews and that every subscriber would be warned to make good use of it, and to not pass it into Christian hands,” could he finally publish it.\(^5\) The rabbi implored his younger coreligionists to temper their activity. The book, he writes, is deserving of attention from intellectuals, but it comes at a high price:

Censorship also might have contributed to the rabbi’s muted reaction to the book. However, his caution, contrasted with his correspondent’s zeal, is still sufficiently representative of his generation’s outlook on the matter. This friction is also reflected in the familial conflict of the youngest generation. They viewed the ideals that underpinned the war—fraternity, equality and liberty—as a blueprint for definitive Jewish emancipation.\(^5\) As such, they were often willing to lay down their lives for the cause. Their parents, like the rabbi, were relatively cautious. Often a young battlefield volunteer (seventeen to eighteen years of age at the time of the First War for Independence) was pitted against the desires and fears of his family.\(^5\) The cascading change of opinion within these three pivotal generations, from hesitancy to ideological ardor, is testament to the influence of the French Revolutionary Wars diffused by the debate over emancipation. Close examination of the Florentine papers shows two schisms within the debate. The first united Christians and wealthy Jews against the lower classes of the Jewish community, and the second pitted father against son, mother against daughter. These divisions healed with the unification of Italy.

Formation of a National Identity

Jewish identity post-emancipation was characterized by a shift in emphasis from ethnic and community ties to Italian nationalism. Identification with the local Jewish community took a back seat to Italian citizenship and patriotism.\(^5\) Essentially, Jews were Italianized. At the time, an anonymous rabbi penned an article in the Cronaca Mensile, a Jewish newspaper, in which he lamented that his coreligionists had sacrificed their religion “on the altar of liberty and emancipation.”\(^5\) But Judaism was not abandoned, as some had feared.\(^5\)

Religious references, divine and biblical, can be commonly found throughout Jewish writings of the period.\(^5\) Seemingly mundane, these are often indicative of the significant role Judaism played in forming Italian Jewish identity. Influenced by the language and ideas of the French Revolution that underpinned the Risorgimento, Italian Jews attributed a universal humanitarian mission to Judaism, which was so successful in harmonizing with Italian Jewish identity that it subdud Zionism’s influence in the peninsula. The language responsible for this transformation is sourced from the articles of L’Alba and Il Sabatino. The case of Livorno’s Rabbi Elia Benamozegh best exemplifies the change at hand. In 1847, Benamozegh gave a speech in which he stated:

“We are swearing to make it clear to the world that in the Israelite man to the last beat of the heart…everything is sacred to his apostolate of civility and progress… sacred to the regeneration and Risorgimento of the people.”\(^5\)

Benamozegh’s emphasis on progress is a clear reflection of the values that bore the emancipation debate to fruition. In another 1848 article in L’Alba, an anti-emancipation Piedmont protest by a group of bishops is dismissed as “one of the last efforts of the old world that is dying.”\(^5\) The “old world”—the time of interdictions—was often cast as barbarous, as were openly anti-Semitic sentiments. These were contrasted with the present, which was held to be gentler and rational. Indeed, an 1847 article in L’Alba defines the present as a “time of concord and brotherhood; it is a time of love and reconciliation; it is time to release the chains of others if we do not want to feel their weight.”\(^5\) But what is unique about Benamozegh’s patriotism is its comfortable marriage of his Jewish identity and faith. In a letter written to a friend in 1881, Benamozegh writes:

“We are swearing to make it clear to the world that in the Israelite man to the last beat of the heart…everything is...
sacred to his apostolate of civility and progress... sacred to the regeneration and Risorgimento of the people. 61

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Even if in Italy there existed anti-Semitism, I would still be the same Italian, even more so because I am an Israelite, because for me Judaism is a humanitarian mission that obligates its followers to promote justice in the world, especially among nations.64

Once more, Benamozegh's call for a humanitarian mission echoes the emancipation debate in Florence. In an 1847 article from Il Sabatino, emancipation is demanded in the name of "justice...[and] of general progress." 65 Benamozegh's adoption of this rhetoric and ideology represents an anomaly in European Jewish history.

As Zionism transformed Jewish identity in Europe, Italian Jews would split from their coreligionists—it would take until the 1920s for Zionism to become truly fervent.66 In Europe as a whole, Jewish identity was rapidly changing with the adoption of Zionism. One such example is Joseph Marcou-Baruch, a French volunteer soldier in the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. A vigorous Zionist, Marcou-Baruch defined "liberty" as the creation of a Jewish nation-state. This was inspired by his disillusionment with the prospect of Jewish assimilation in Europe.67 Although he shares in Benamozegh's vision of a Jewish universal mission, there is a clear split between the manifestations of the idea envisioned. Benamozegh was a staunch patriot who lived through his emancipation and saw his country united. Marcou-Baruch, a French Jew born in 1872 in Constantinople, experienced a very different national culture than that of Benamozegh.68

As a volunteer with the Greek army, Marcou-Baruch came into contact with Italian volunteers who had very little understanding of Zionism, if at all.69 He was shocked by their attachment to Italy, and that Jewishness coexisted comfortably with their nationality. This is because Marcou-Baruch saw his mission as being innately linked to the future existence of a Jewish nation-state. The Italian Jews viewed themselves as Italians of Jewish heritage and faith. In fact, the Italian reaction to Zionism was to reaffirm the nationality of Italian Jews.70 One of the few Jews he met on his travels who was not ashamed of his heritage was an Italian Jew. 71 Thus, Italian Jewish identity as described by Benamozegh survived him and became, at least in terms of these Italian liberals, a reality.

Looking back at the articles published in Florentine newspapers, clearly read by its citizens at large, one can see how these calls for assimilation and, above all, a unified Italy, resulted in the split between Italian Jews and those from European countries.

Conclusion

The Grand Duchy provided the perfect environment for a campaign to be waged for Jewish emancipation. These favorable conditions allowed radical newspapers such as Il Sabatino and L'Alba to flourish. The articles written during their campaign for emancipation reveal that assimilation, demanded by Christians and wealthy Jews alike, was held up as a triumph for liberty and progress. These calls split the community along class and generational lines, but the call for unification proved stronger than internal divisions. Jewish neoguelfismo demonstrated the strength of Jewish desire for national identification. What emerges from this shattered community is an Italian nationality in harmony with a vision of Judaism, both shaped by French Revolutionary ideals.

Endnotes

5. Ibid., 56.
11. Ibid., 12.
12. Ibid., 28.
16. F.D. Guerra razzi, Note autobiografiche, (Florence Le Monnier, 1899), 91-92.
32. Canepa, "Considerazioni sulla seconda emancipazione e le sue conseguenze," 45-46.
33. Guerra razzi, "Note autobiografiche," xi-xii.
34. Guerra razzi, "Note autobiografiche," 88-89.
38. Ibid., 71.
39. Ibid., 72.
41. Canepa, “Considerazioni sulla seconda emancipazione e le sue conseguenze,” 73.
42. Ibid., 73-74.
43. Ibid., 78.
47. Ibid., 84.
54. Ibid., 15-16.
56. Ibid., 223.
58. The name of the rabbi is not mentioned in the article. Bruno di Porto, La Stam pa periodica ebraica di Livorno (Leghorn: Belforte Editore Libraio, 1993), 45.
60. Voghera, “Primavera dei popoli’ ed Emancipazione ebraica,” 84.
68. Ibid., 16.
69. Ibid., 29.
71. Marcou-Baruch, Joseph Marcou-Baruch: un ebreo garibaldino, 60.
Handwriting analysis and the identification of people based on individualistic typing patterns are of particular interest in the field of biometrics. Smartwatches are relatively cheap and commercially available, making them an ideal candidate for implementation into already existing security protocols. The accelerometer and gyroscope sensors in modern smartwatches provide a novel platform for mobile biometrics. Wrist movements while performing transcription tasks can be analyzed using these sensors to map variables which describe a person's unique writing/typing patterns. In this study, we show it is possible to accurately identify individuals performing transcription tasks (i.e. handwriting sentences, typing on a keyboard, etc.) using only a smartwatch. The development smartwatch-based transcription biometrics represents a novel method for user identification.

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Introduction
Providing proof of identity in our modern society is becoming increasingly common. It's likely that the majority of people living in a technologically advanced society are asked to authenticate their identity on a daily basis. Such situations are so ordinary they are not given a second thought; entering a digit-based PIN to draw cash from a bank, providing a photo ID at security checkpoints in an airport, or even accessing online accounts with simple alpha-numerical passwords. The purpose of each of these procedures is to provide enough evidence to support a claimed identity. The global increase of automated information systems makes this process of authentication and identification more relevant than ever. Furthermore, because so much information is now available online, classical security measures are becoming inadequate as sophisticated methods are developed to steal security information. A better security system is one based on recognizable physical or physiological features, unique to individuals.

The discipline of biometrics concerns itself with measuring unique physical or behavioral characteristics of human beings. There are two main categories of biometrics, static and dynamic. Static features are ones that reflect points of identity that don't vary over time and are stable, such as fingerprints. Dynamic features represent unique patterns and how such patterns are executed with respect to time. People develop behaviors, as well as physical features, that exhibit unique characteristics. Behavioral traits have some physiological basis, but also reflect the psychological profile of a person. Unique behavioral traits, such as the amplitude of our voice, the way in which we sign our signatures, or even the way we type on a keyboard, are dynamic features and represent the gold-standard for biometrically profiling individuals.

The study described in this paper uses a smartwatch to collect tri-axial sensor data from people performing various transcription tasks, such as typing and writing. Signature and handwriting analysis is a well-known practice, especially in forensics. The complexity of human hand-eye coordination make a person’s handwriting, and in particular signatures, highly individualistic. Additionally, it’s been suggested that the same variables that make a signature a unique human identifier also are exhibited in keyboard typing patterns. [1] The purpose of this study was to test the feasibility of using accelerometer and gyroscope sensors in a smartwatch to extract data features from people performing transcription tasks, in an effort to use said features to build simple classifier models. In testing the constructed models, it’s possible to identify a person based on their unique handwriting and keystroke typing patterns.

Background
The potential for using biometrics for identity verification is clear and its implementation in our society can already be considered widespread. Many high-end smartphones already have integrated biometric protocols, such as finger print scanners on modern iPhones and Iris scanner on the new Galaxy Note 7’s. Using smartwatches as a tool for biometric authentication is attractive for a number of reasons. They are relatively cheap, and are becoming as ubiquitous as smartphones. The small form factor and the fact that they are multi-functional tools make them an ideal solution for a non-invasive authentication system. Imagine a government office that handles extremely sensitive data and could benefit from a continuous biometric authentication system. All employees can be given a smartwatch that can continuously authenticate its user while performing all tasks, such as signing papers, typing up reports, or even just walking. In a previous study from our lab, smartwatches were shown to be effective for gait-based identification and authentication. [2] Relatively accurate results were achieved using simple descriptive statistics generated from non-overlapping 10 second ‘windows’ of data. Using the accelerometer data from gait measurements, the best authentication model achieved an accuracy of 98.3%. The results indicate that smartwatches can be used for biometric identification, using dynamic features.

There are numerous studies that have tested biometric authentication systems based on both static and dynamic signature features. A few of studies have used pen-like devices, equipped with accelerometer and gyroscope sensors, to record participant signatures and handwriting, and then use the data to accurately identify people based on the collected sensor data [3,4,5]. The researchers in [3] recorded the acceleration and angular momentum of 300 signatures from 20 participants and were able to achieve 88.5% overall accuracy ratio using a simple nearest neighbor method. The other study extracted statistical features based on dynamic (e.g. writing time, pen down time, min/max velocity in X or Y direction) but also on static (e.g. aspect ratio, intersections of the writing trace with itself or helper lines) characteristics of the sampled handwritten data. [4] The users were asked to write down a 5-digit numerical PIN, chosen by the researchers. The actual device used to collect the data was not mentioned. The study described in [5] used an accelerometer-based pen device and its associated automatic recognition algorithm for 3D online handwritten digit recognition. A total of 1000 digits with a set of 10 numerals from 10 users were used to validate the effectiveness of the proposed pen device and algorithm. The overall user-dependent recognition rate was 90.6%. All of these studies used custom pen apparatuses designed for the purpose of handwriting analysis. The advantage of using a smartwatch is that they are commercially available and can be easily implemented in an already existing authentication protocol. Biometric testing is often suggested to best compliment security systems as a secondary or confirmatory check in a broader-based protocol for establishing or validating individual identity [6].
Another well-researched area of biometrics is the use of keystroke dynamics for user identification and authentication. Keystroke dynamics refers to the unique features that can be derived by the patterns of people typing on a keyboard; the latencies between successive keystrokes, keystroke durations, finger placement and applied pressure. All of these measurements can be used to construct a unique profile. Many attempts have been made to utilize these features for user identification. [1,7,8,9] All of these publications show that keystroke rhythms are good unique identifiers. A study from 1999 collected keystroke data from 63 people over a period of 11 months. [7] Participants ran experiments from their own machines and the collected data was “free-text,” meaning they were allowed to type whatever string of letters they wanted. The features generated were based on data collected directly from keyboards. The accuracy of their classifiers, constructed from the full data set, ranged from 83.22% to 92.14%, depending on which classification algorithm was used to build the model. The authors observed that while recognition based on free-text may be more desirable, free-text recognition was observed to vary greatly under operational conditions. Ultimately, they suggest the use of a structured text, instead of allowing the participants to freely type what they wanted, for use of an authentication system. None of the current research on keystroke dynamics utilizes accelerometer or gyroscope sensors to extract typing pattern data. Using smartwatches as a method for extracting unique typing patterns is a novel approach in biometric user identification. The keystroke identification experiments, described later in this paper, do not utilize the classical keystroke dynamics as features (i.e. latencies, applied pressure, etc.). Rather, simple descriptive statistics derived from sampled accelerometer and gyroscope sensors, are used as features for the examples fed into conventional classifier induction programs.

Methodology

This section will describe the procedure for collecting data, how the data was processed to extract useful features, and the experimental design for running the identification experiments.

Data Collection

A total of five different transcription tasks were designed for the participants to perform while wearing a smartwatch on their wrists: (1) writing their personal signature, (2) writing a short sentence prompt with 39 letters on paper, (3) writing a slightly longer sentence prompt with 58 letters, (4) writing two numerical strings with 10 numbers on each line, and (5) typing a sentence with 105 characters (125 with spaces) on a keyboard. See table one for exact prompts. The sentence prompts and numerical strings remained the same, for every participant, throughout the data collection phase. This was done to be sure correct user identification was achieved on the basis of unique neurophysiological variables while performing the experiments, and not differences in the content of what was being recorded. Otherwise differentiation between users would be trivial. Before beginning the study, we obtained approval from Fordham University’s Institutional Review Board. This was done to gain approval for “experimenting” on human subjects, regardless of there being virtually no risk of injury while performing the tasks.

A total of twenty-four people contributed to our data set. Each participant was asked to strap an LG G-Watch to the wrist they use to write with. The smartwatch was paired with a Samsung Galaxy S4, which runs a custom application to run the data collection process. The first task each person performed was the writing of their personal signatures. A researcher would initiate the data collection on the paired phone, the participant would wait 5 seconds – there is a delay between initiating the app and when the sensors in the watch actu-

ally start sampling data – and then write their signature once. The participants are told when to start transcribing by the smartwatch and the data collection terminated once they stop writing or typing. This process was repeated 9 more times, so that in total 10 signatures were recorded. Each person provided 10 samples of task 2, 3, and 4. The only exception was with the keyboard task. Each participant only recorded 5 examples of the typed sentence prompt.

Each “example”, written by participants, was sampled by the gyroscope and accelerometer sensors at 20Hz. Each sensor generates values for the x, y, and z axes and appends a timestamp to the values.

Table 1: The prompts each participant was recorded transcribing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task ID</th>
<th>Prompt 1</th>
<th>Prompt 2</th>
<th>Prompt 3 (numerical report)</th>
<th>Keyboard Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“One good thing about Fordham is [pupil’s name]”</td>
<td>“You cannot escape the possibility of tomorrow by evading it today”</td>
<td>23 45 64 83 10 13 64 90 45 33</td>
<td>“Fordham is comprised of the constituent colleges, four of which are single sex and six of which are for coeducation.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feature Extraction

The raw sensor data needed to be transformed in order for the classifier induction algorithms to build the identification models. An approach similar to the one in [2] was used to extract features from the raw data. However, a sliding window method was not implemented because the tasks being recorded were not repetitive in nature and each sampled occurrence of a task would serve as a single example. Once the data was pulled off the phone, each example taken from each task was already partitioned into separate files. Each sensor generated its own file. Therefore, for the signature task, the watch would provide a total of 20 files -- 10 accelerometer and 10 gyroscope files. Perl scripts were developed to take each file containing the time stamped axis values, and generate a set of simple descriptive statistics for each provided example. The accelerometer and gyroscope features were generated independently, but using the same feature encoding schemes. All features except for one are based on the sensor values for a single axis, but 3 versions of each feature were generated corresponding to the 3 axes associated with the sensor data. 16 features were generated for each sensor, therefore a total of 32.

- Average[3]: Average sensor value (each axis)
- Standard Deviation[3]: Standard deviation (each axis)
- Average Absolute Difference[3]: Average absolute difference between the values and the mean of these values (each axis)
- The Positive Peak[3]: Peak positive value in one example (each axis)
- The Negative Peak[3]: Peak negative value in one example (each axis)
- Average Resultant Acceleration/Angular Acceleration[1]: For each of the sensor samples in one recorded example, take the square root of the sum of the squares of the x, y, and z axis values, and then average them.

Each example is appended with a numerical ID value that uniquely identifies each participant. This ID field serves as the class value for the identification task.
Data Set
A total of 24 people participated in the experiment. As described in the Data Collection section, each person provided 10 examples for each task, with the exception of the keyboard typing task.

There are three main categories by which the data was partitioned: Accelerometer, Gyroscope, and Merged features. The "merged" data sets are just concatenations of the accelerometer and gyroscope data sets. Essentially, each example used to train and test the identification models contains both the gyroscope and accelerometer features, all 32 of them.

In each category, there are 5 separate data sets which contain the examples for each task performed by each participant. Therefore, there are a total of 15 (3 categories x 5 tasks) data sets used to run the identification experiments.

Experiments

The WEKA data mining suite was used to implement the classifier induction algorithms. WEKA is freely available and has a large number of tools for preprocessing data, constructing classifier models, and aggregation methods. [11] This study utilized two of WEKA’s algorithms: Multilayer Perceptron (MLP) and Naïve Bayes (NB). These algorithms were chosen because they can be generated and evaluated quickly. This suits real time biometric identification.

The identification task is to identify a user from the entire pool of participants based on the samples collected from each task. Each participant contributed 10 examples for each writing tasks and 5 examples for the typing task. During the training of the classifiers, 7 examples for each task, from each participant, was randomly sampled from the data sets. For the keyboard tasks, only 3 examples were randomly sampled. Therefore, the remaining 3 examples for the writing tasks (2 for the typing) were used to test and evaluate the identification models. A single predictive model was generated and evaluated for each task in each category, using both algorithms. The class variable, which is what the classifiers are trying to predict, is the User ID. There are 24 distinct class values.

Results

The models are evaluated by using them to predict the designated test examples. Each writing task model was given a total of 72 (3 test examples x 24 users) examples to try and classify correctly. The keyboard typing models received 48 test examples to classify. Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the raw accuracy results for each sensor (and the merged sensor data) and both algorithms used.

The overall accuracy is simply the total number of correct predictions made by each task specific model. For example, Table 1 indicates that using the MLP algorithm to predict users, based on their typing pattern, yields an accuracy of 93.75%. This translates to 45 test examples being classified correctly out of 48 total. The results show that the accelerometer sensor was more informative given the overall higher accuracies achieved over the gyroscope. The best results were achieved when using both the gyroscope and accelerometer features together (refer to Table 2). Figure one below better represents these results. Furthermore, the MLP models proved to be superior over the Naïve Bayes. Of interest is the difference between the Prompt 1 and Prompt 2 results. Perfect accuracy was achieved when identifying participants based on their provided Prompt 2 examples. It seems that the slightly extra amount of characters in that second prompt allowed for just the right amount of data needed to more accurately differentiate between every participant.

Figure One: Bar graph showing raw accuracy of classifier built using the “merged” data set.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was the come up with an effective method for biometric identification based on transcription tasks. These tasks were devised to be representative of short phrases that may be used as personal security PINS in a broader based authentication protocol. The results of the identification experiments prove that using smartwatch to capture the data from wrist movement is sufficient to identify people. Although using such system would not necessarily be sufficient as a single means for identification, the results are strong enough for this method to be part of a biometrics system that utilizes multiple identification/authentication mechanisms.

Of particular interest is the keyboard typing identification experiments. As stated in the Related Works section, many studies have been done using keystroke dynamics as a biometric for identification and authentication. All of them collected the data using keyboards and extracted complex features to map users to specific typing
patterns. The results from our study show that the simple descriptive statistics generated from the smartwatch sensor data is extremely informative for the identification tasks. This is true despite the fact that only 5 typing examples were recorded for each user. It's probable that if more were taken, the accuracy would have been significantly improved. Which brings up another inherent advantage of these types of biometric systems. Over repeated input of the "security phrase", the new data can be integrated into the data set so that the classifiers continuously learn and become more robust.

There are many ways we'd like to expand this work. Only simple features were generated from the raw sensor data. It may be possible to develop more sophisticated features to describe the profile of peoples handwriting in a more expressive manner. One limitation of the study was that the data collected for each user was collected in a single sitting. It would be more realistic for this type of experiment to collect training and testing data on separate days. A reasonable biometric security system should be able to function over an extended period of time and in varying conditions.

References


The Effeminate and Subversive Jewish Male Body: Fin-de-Siècle Anti-Semitism within Central and Eastern Europe

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From medical to political discourse, the European perception of the sexual deviant is one that has always been inclusive of the societal “other,” including—but not limited to—prostitutes, hermaphrodites, and, in fin-de-siècle context, Jewish men. Much of the anti-Semitism that was pervasive during this era was distinctly misogynistic and homophobic, which in turn visualized the Jew as either grossly effeminate, savagely virile, or anatomically perverted. Anti-Semitic ideas during this period are significant because they served to subordinate Jewish men at all costs during a period of political tension and academic discourse revolving around sexuality and race. Yet nuances that transcend political discourse also exist, such as Freud’s perpetuation of Jewish “otherness” which was scientifically inaccurate and the disturbing trial of the Jewish “Jack the Reaper.” Ultimately, the fin-de-siècle period within Central and Eastern Europe shaped a grotesque perception of Jewish masculinity, interpreting the body of the Jewish man as a degenerate entity and vehicle for crime.

Introduction

The fin-de-siècle period within Central and Eastern Europe is an era that consisted of extreme, multifaceted tensions. In 1879, just before the period’s beginning, Wilhemm Marr created the Antisemitic League—and by the 1890s, homosexuality was increasingly aligned with Jewish men, as Magnus Hirschfield became increasingly scrutinized during the Eulenburg Scandal. This is not simply homophobia or merely a coincidence; rather, it is indicative of the way that Jewish men began to be branded as “sexual deviants” throughout this time period. The movement to target Jewish men as sexual deviants and thus as morally and nationally corrosive was not a new anti-Semitic movement; but rather, it was one that was virulently intensified in an age where academic scholarship regarding sexuality began to rise with scholars such as Sigmund Freud along with anti-Semitic intellectual movements strengthened by scholars such as Otto Weininger. Anti-Semitism was being reworked into homophobic and misogynistic discourse because of the conservative intellectual backlash, which was a response to subversive intellectual discourse that sought to deepen studies of sexuality. Jewish men, in particular, were considered the catalysts of such subversive discourse and thus were labeled as hysterical abnormal beings. They were also considered quintessentially effeminate and passive as Weininger, a “renowned” Austrian philosopher, repeatedly associated Jewishness with that which is female.

Anti-Semitism, within the confines of this historical context, became increasingly intertwined with gender and sexuality in a way it had not before: it became overtly misogynistic and homophobic, challenging Jewish masculinity by examining the Jewish male body as one that is inherently wrought with disorder, which signified femininity and degeneracy. During the fin-de-siècle period, the Jewish male body was not just targeted by a homophobic and misogynistic anti-Semitism—the Jewish male body was branded as the ultimate vehicle for sexual deviance, becoming known as something that was as criminal as it was unattractive throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Male Menstruation

The idea that Jewish men were feminine and thus unattractive by nature originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the motif of male menstruation, which was resuscitated during the fin-de-siècle period. Daniel Boyarin notes how fourteenth century Italian astrologer Cecchi d’Ascoli writes that “After the death of Christ all Jewish men, like women, suffer menstruation” as if it was a religious portent of doom. During the early modern period, the mythical blood libels that occurred throughout Europe were believed to have happened in an effort “to stop haemorrhages and the copious menstruation that affected both Jewish women and men.” Consuming the blood of a Christian child was not just done in order to ease male menstruation—it was also an attempt to purify a damaged, irregular Jewish body: “This version of the blood accusation ties the meaning of the form of the circumcised genitalia to the Jew’s diseased nature.”

Even though Jewish male menstruation first came about through Christian anti-Semitism that vilified Jews as cursed people, it became a part of a believed pathological phenomenon, manifesting itself within the feminization of the Jewish male body.

These beliefs were foundational in constructing a new type of effeminate Jewish man during the fin-de-siècle period, but were still rooted in the traditional anti-Semitic notion that Jews are racially impure: “The most distinctive innovation of the German anti-Semitic movement in the 1880’s was its utilization of the concept - hardly new, but generally neglected - of racialism. The Jewish Question could not be resolved because it was ‘in the blood.’” The circumcised genitalia developed into a symbol for psychological maladies throughout these decades and perpetuated the trope of impurity, as professionals “discovered” medical credibility for Jewish degeneracy as hysteria replaced menstruation in the anti-Semitic ethos of Jewish manhood. Circumcision exemplified this impurity, which became the focal point of being targeted as the “other.”

The supposedly damaged and bleeding penis, the supposed indicator of Jewish male sexuality that was deemed inherently feminine, was both at odds with patriarchal structures of power that controlled societal sexual norms and a catalyst for hysteria. Anti-Semite’s Catechism, published in 1887 as the foremost literature in German anti-Semitism of that year, states that “The Jew has a different sexuality than the Teuton; he will and cannot understand it. And if he attempts to understand it, then the destruction of the German soul can result.” Maurice Fishberg, an American Jewish doctor of the 1890s, reinforces the idea that Jewish male sexuality was innately different within the population of Polish Jews in Warsaw, which was “almost exclusively the inexhaustible source for the supply of specimens of hysterical humanity, particularly the hysteria of the male, for all the clinics of Europe.” Circumcision was considered an ethnic as opposed to a religious ritual that feminized the male body and ingrained biological differences, thus causing hysteria and other reportedly feminine
maladies. Although the evidence backing this notion had no medical credibility, it was heavily endorsed by medical professionals such as Fishberg, and permeated day to day life.

Effeminacy, Sexuality, and Inferiority

Since the Jewish male penis was considered abnormal because of circumcision, it became linked to sexually deviant practices and continued to directly subordinate Jewish male masculinity through speech. In Vienna during the late nineteenth century, the clitoris was colloquially referred to as “the Jew” while female masturbation was referred to as “playing with the Jew.” This arose primarily because of Freud’s extensive analysis on the clitoris and his presence in Vienna, but culminated in the notion that a “genuine” male sexuality cannot be feminine or Jewish. This reinforced the notion that Jews were, by nature, sexually deviant as they were linked to masturbation which was generally considered a sexual transgression during this time. Although these specific phrases align male Jews with femininity because the clitoris is a part of the female genitalia, there is a more profound insinuation of how Jews are biologically “different,” which thus enables them to be deviant.

To be a Jewish man was not just to be aligned with femininity—it was to be an othered individual that defied heteronormativity (social expectations of heterosexual behavior) and caused social maladies. Yet, efforts to categorize male Jews within a spectrum of deviant sexuality were not quite as concrete:

Nowhere have both these properties of the Jew giving a shape to otherness and calling such constructions into question been more evident than in images of sexual transgression, especially in the later nineteenth century, when entirely new classifications of sexual deviance were elaborated: the degenerate, the pervert, the homosexual. For as Sander Gilman and others have argued, these powerful but unstable models of deviance were built on that shifting figure of all-purpose alterity [of] the Jew.

Tropes, such as the aforementioned male Jew as the clitoris, primarily served the purpose of othering the Jew as opposed to concretizing the Jewish male as a woman. Although it appears that much of this discourse serves to make the Jewish male equivalent to the socially lesser woman, it was more intended to make the Jew a freak that possessed distinctly feminine qualities (i.e. not having completely “masculine” genitals because of circumcision), thus subordinating the Jew beneath the Aryan man. Sander L. Gilman, one of the foremost scholars on Jewish masculinity during the fin-de-siècle period, iterates this notion by deciphering the male Jew as, above all, a sexual other: “He is constructed as a ‘third sex’. He is thus separate and distinct from either the internal representation of masculinity and femininity” and brings up an important point about how “The Jew becomes an exclusionary category. The (male) Jew defines what the Aryan is not.” Moreover, these notions about Jewish sexuality were politically charged. This was not about just culturally othering the Jew, but making sexuality and deviance inextricably tied to race.

Jews were racialized as non-Germans more than ever before; however, the issue itself was far more complex than being one that was just negative. Because Jews were often othered before the twentieth century, phenomena such as male menstruation were believed as a means of making sense of why Jews were always perceived as inherently different. This was what caused so many Jews to postulate and endorse such claims of sexual and racial difference because there was so much scientific literature about hermaphroditism arising at the end of the nineteenth century. Freud emerged as one of the most controversial figures who contributed to these types of beliefs that were not necessarily anti-Semitic, but rather, made Jews seem more deviant than they actually were because of their ethnicity which could possibly influence their othered sexuality.

Freud, an Austrian Jew and alleged sexual deviant, was one of the leading figures who was caught in the maelstrom of historical occurrences that arose in the 1890s. This tumultuous era was layered with “the racialization/gendering of anti-Semitism, the fin de siècle production of sexualities, including the ‘homosexual,’ and the sharp increase in contemporary Christian homophobic discourse (the ‘Christian Values’ movement).” As Freud wrote more about the Oedipus complex and how it was inherently homoerotic, he had unwillingly begun to place “himself into the very categories that the anti-Semitic discourse of the nineteenth century would put him in: feminized, pathetic, queer—Jewish.” Additionally, Freud’s professional and emotional relationship with his contemporary, Wilhelm Fliess, only complicated matters. Fliess’s medical practices proved to be inaccurate, as he assumed that the olfactory functions of the body were directly connected to reproductive organs. Because the Jew was considered a sexual anomaly, Fliess postulated that there must have been a connection between the infamous, hooked Jewish nose and the menstruating, Jewish penis.

Freud’s personal alleged hysteria was a result of heteronormative patriarchy forcing him to repress his bisexuality—even though there are various debates about the extent of Freud and Fliess’s exchanges, many scholars believe that they may have had a sexual relationship. Freud’s increasingly vocal beliefs about everyone’s innate desire to be penetrated as a result of the Oedipus complex may have been associated with him trying to justify his own “deviance.” He and Fliess alone could not possibly have been the only people to ever have homosexual desires, everyone else had to have them as well. Moreover, Freud’s own delusions were most certainly a product of patriarchal anti-Semitic pressures. Freud then began to represent the Jew because he embodied, created, and perpetuated so many of these stereotypes even though he originally intended to do more research on sexuality, which was considered extremely subversive. He knew that Jews were different and struggled to articulate why in an indirectly anti-Semitic way in the midst of a looming homophobic political climate that violently erupted at the debut of the twentieth century.

Sex, Perversion, and Murder: Scandals and Crimes

In Germany, the Eulenburg Scandal of the early twentieth century became the source of homophobic panic, a call to arms to nationally preserve masculinity, which the Jews did not possess. The discovery of a dead man wearing a tutu set off a storm of accusations within the German aristocracy and government that fueled a disdain for the leading figures who was caught in the maelstrom of historical occurrences that arose in the 1890s. This tumultuous era was layered with “the racialization/gendering of anti-Semitism, the fin de siècle production of sexualities, including the ‘homosexual,’ and the sharp increase in contemporary Christian homophobic discourse (the ‘Christian Values’ movement).” As Freud wrote more about the Oedipus complex and how it was inherently homoerotic, he had unwillingly begun to place “himself into the very categories that the anti-Semitic discourse of the nineteenth century would put him in: feminized, pathetic, queer—Jewish.” Additionally, Freud’s professional and emotional relationship with his contemporary, Wilhelm Fliess, only complicated matters. Fliess’s medical practices proved to be inaccurate, as he assumed that the olfactory functions of the body were directly connected to reproductive organs. Because the Jew was considered a sexual anomaly, Fliess postulated that there must have been a connection between the infamous, hooked Jewish nose and the menstruating, Jewish penis.

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During the Eulenburg Scandal, the antisemitic press perceived connections between homosexual and Jewish international organizations, just as it had previously between the supposedly Jewish and socialist internationals. The Neue Bayerische Landeszeitung wrote that it could not be a coincidence that the ‘organs of the Alliance Israelite’ continuously called for an abolition of the legal penalizing homosexuality. This was an entirely false assumption, but would nevertheless leave a lasting impression on anti-Semites.
Jewish economic mobility and metropolitan savoir-faire made them suspect to tolerating homosexuality. The frazzled state of politics during the Eulenburg Scandal viewed homosexuality as "cosmopolitan" and in direct opposition with "the homosociality of modern citizenship, one of the most important characteristics of the modern nation state." This described homosociality is masculinity as a result of nationalism, and as time went on during the trials, Jews and homosexuals were perceived as double agents who could potentially favor internationals because of their respective roots in Palestine and non-conforming behaviors.

As empire and nationalism began to dominate the German military's conscience, expelling Jews and homosexuals seemed to be the only solution to advance goals of making Germany powerful. Norman Domeier states what had caused a mass hysteria in the populous, writing that "The media became increasingly critical of the German army, calling for it to be 'mercilessly' cleansed of homosexuals in order to render it fit for war once more. The anti-Semitic press demanded that the scandal be used to purge all Jewish officers from the army as well."

The anti-Semitic scrutiny of Jews was no longer a part of bizarre medical studies to investigate why their ambiguity—it evolved into a full-fledged persecution that would grow into a directly volatile wave of anti-Semitism that further reinforced the notion that Jews were not German and laid an inkling that homosexuality was not German either. Traditional and conservative movements during this period were aligned with allegedly fundamental German values which reinforced masculinity, whereas liberalism and modernity were associated with Jews and homosexuals. This was not only a social conflict that further deepened the notion of an unattractive, weak Jewish effeminacy, but also developed into something that was far worse. Jews were not just non-Germans who were sexually and racially different—they were traitors to the German state and should be viewed as political and societal threats. Jews were now urgently considered ethnic and moral dissidents because of this prolonged feminization, as the Jew became analogous with criminal behavior.

Criminality became apparent as a physical motif that went beyond Jewish "ugliness" and became part of the narrative that Jewish men, as the "other," are dangerous and can corrode a nation. Texts by Cesare Lombroso, an Italian criminologist, underscored the belief that Jews had a "specific, measurable gait," much like criminals do. Gilman analyzes the implications of Jewish criminal accusations during this era, stating that conceptions of the Jew revolved around the beliefs that "the asymmetrical, the misshapen, the ugly...mark both the Jew and the criminal. The beautiful can never be truly criminal." In the context of this period, that which was ugly was always linked to the "other" who typically committed sexual crimes. For example, women who were prostitutes during fin-de-siècle Czech Republic were othered because of their capacity to destroy the patriarchal nation:

All the women who engage in prostitution are irrevocably 'lost'; but while some disappear into the chaos and decay of the city, others, carrying syphilis, a disease emblematic of uncontrolled sexuality and moral decline, return to infect, hence undermine, the Czech 'nation.'

Although this does not directly refer to Jewish men, prostitutes carrying syphilis were crudely considered analogous to circumcised Jewish men (in context) because they were perceived as othered threats that could enable the nation's corruption as a result of their sexual deviance.

One part of this ugliness that was associated with the fact that Jewish men did not just look like criminals: they committed grave sexual crimes. According to Gilman, the crimes were first rooted in purported Jewish incest and further exemplified Jewish sexual deviance. But Gilman also notes how the incest narrative became much darker, vilifying Jewish men as inherently insane rapists:

"Child abuse cases in late-nineteenth-century literature usually had a female child victim (Christian) and a male child abuser (Jewish) who reenacted the sexual fantasy of the Jewish rapist/murder and his victims that dominated the discussion of Jack the Ripper during this period. Child murder and sibling incest came to be linked in the forensic science of the period as twin signs of the madness of the Jews. It was considered a sexual madness, whether focused on the body of the Christian and death or on the body of the Jew and immoral reproduction."

This excerpt is telling because it shows how religion still plays a crucial role in shaping gender norms during the fin-de-siècle period and in shaping anti-Semitic notions. Morality still revolved around Christianity in Central and Eastern European countries even though anti-Semitism was, for the most part, directed toward ethnicity. Yet in the scope of this type of profound moral transgression, Jewish men were considered to be insidious past the point of redemption. Because of their "innate deviance" and "lack of Christian morality," they were no longer othered; they were considered serious national threats who continued to embody archaic aspects of the blood libel. In other words, Jewish men were not merely considered sexual deviants—they were considered savages who were capable of the most grotesque and disturbing horrors. This emergence of anti-Semitic rhetoric surrounding Jewish sexual deviance had one of its most iconic moments in a judicial hearing that specifically created an image of the Jewish man as an evil sexual predator and international menace.

In 1887, Israel Lipski, a Polish Jew, was convicted of pouring nitric acid down a pregnant woman's throat. Lipski was allegedly found hiding under the woman's bed while she was dead and naked on the floor alongside him. Courts in London determined that Lipski was guilty and should be hanged, despite the defense arguing that he was unjustly convicted because he was an Eastern European Jew. The sensationalism surrounding the murder and the trial made Lipski infamously known as the "Jewish Jack the Ripper" even though he was executed before the actual "Ripper" murders. Anti-Semitic newspapers in Germany alleged that Lipski was a part of a large scale international conspiracy that was headed by the Jews, and the disturbing nature of Lipski's crime perpetuated the stereotype that Jews, outsiders compared to other non-Jewish European citizens, are arguably the most perverse sexual criminals. In this specific time period, sexual perversion was almost always deemed a part of the social outsider's narrative by European society. Those on the margins, such as Jews, women, homosexuals, Gypsies, and individuals who were not able bodied were typically considered more prone to deviant sexual behavior. This not only amplified the fervor surrounding Lipsky's trial; but rather, became a part of exclusionary rhetoric that severely targeted Jews. The implications of this trial among all the other anti-Semitic tropes and occurrences that were previously discussed effectively illustrate the insidious goal of fin-de-siècle anti-Semitism: to make the Jewish man inextricably connected to sexual deviance that is so abominable that it transgresses morality, destroys cultural paradigms of sexuality and gender, and, in this distinct case, murders the lives of the innocent.

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Anti-Semitic Dehumanization Framed within Misogyny and Homophobia

The notion that all Jewish men were rapists who carnally partook in unspeakable immoral behaviors was one of the most historically unique products of anti-Semitism during the fin-de-siècle period because it was so politically and academically charged. Cases throughout Central and Eastern Europe have exemplified this notion and worked to victimize Jewish men as psychologically defunct yet willing to participate in such disturbing sexually deviant behaviors. This was done in an effort to relegate Jewish men to an even lower class in European society. Anti-Semitism during this era did not have the goal of propagating the notion that Jewish men were like women, homosexuals, hermaphrodites, or prostitutes—it had the goal of placing Jewish men beneath those subordinated social groups in order to concretize their status as insidious sexual deviants and threats to national security. Jewish men, in this context, crossed the ultimate line and were thus branded as evil. This was the result of “othering” male Jews and their sexuality, which was triggered by Freud’s discourse and the society that opposed him. Regardless of circumstance, Jewish men were considered beneath traditional ideals of moral soundness and sexual decency as sexual inquietude arose alongside nationalist political and racist cultural movements. Anti-Semitic discourse during this era did more than just disenfranchise and vilify Jewish men in both homophobic and misogynistic ways: it created a hegemonic power dynamic that significantly dehumanized male Jews as freaks who impulsively acted as savages, existing as portents of societal chaos within an increasingly conservative Europe.

Endnotes

1. In the scope of this paper, the region of Central and Eastern Europe includes Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, and the Czech Republic.

2. “Fin-de-Siècle” is typically defined as the period spanning from 1880–1920, according to the majority of sources that are cited in this paper.


4. Anderson provides a well-rounded summation Weininger’s beliefs that “The Jew is...full of ambiguity, possibilities, and multiplicity, qualities which disturb him. The Jew and the woman as ideas of uncontrollable desire and potential are the objects against which Weininger defines and delimits his notion of solitary manhodd” (440).


7. Jewish men were typically considered the perpetrators of the blood libels.


10. Ibid. 145


12. Ibid.

13. Unheroic Conduct, 211.


15. Gilman notes that “The image of the clitoris as a truncated penis...reflects the popular fin-de-siècle Viennese view of the relationship between the body of the male Jew and the body of the woman...This pejorative synthesis of both bodies because of their defective sexual organs reflects the fin-de-siècle Viennese definition of the male as neither female nor Jewish” (149).


20. Freedman reinforces this notion by stating that “the link between the Jew and the sexual other had been forged in the imaginative literature of Europe and England long before [the nineteenth century] for instance, in medieval mystery plays, which emphasized the Jew’s sexual raveness and extrahuman powers” (91).


22. Unheroic Conduct, 208.

23. Ibid.


26. Ibid.


28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. The Case of Sigmund Freud, 170

31. Ibid.


34. Ibid. (157–158)


36. A tangential but useful example of this anti-Semitic behavior is reported in distinctly Christian boycotts: “In the rapidly industrializing urban centers of the Kingdom of Poland, the largest part of partitioned Poland then under Russian rule, the new politics of antisemitism, after several decades of ideological and socioeconomic evolution, loudly announced its appearance in 1912 in the form of a nationalist-led Christian boycott of Jewish-owned shops and trade in Warsaw” (277)

37. The Case of Sigmund Freud, 175

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid. “From the standpoint of the normative perspective of the European middle class, it is natural that the Jew and the prostitute, Jack and his victims, must be in conflict and that the one “opens up” the other, since both are seen as “dangers” to the economy, fiscal and sexual, of the state.” (176)
What does it mean to be American and is it possible to have one cohesive American identity? This paper grapples with that two-part question and ultimately the broader concept of American Identity, through the examination of two artworks in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collection: *Statue of a Marble Kourois Youth* and *Kouros*. In looking at *Statue of a Marble Kourois Youth* as an ancient model of harmony and balance, I analyze Kourois’s stylistic and conceptual embrace and ultimate subversion of those established ideals. Kourois’s stylistic and conceptual traits are examined in relation to the experiences of the artist, Isamu Noguchi, in 1945 Japanese-American internment camps, and a comparison between American and Ancient Greece societies is made. Ultimately this paper asserts that, despite the desire to be a unified American, much like *Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth* expresses a cohesive Greek, it is impossible in Isamu Noguchi’s 1945 America.

The Greek's canon of proportions is a fairly consistent system of male body proportions that spans the course of two centuries and was maintained throughout the creation of every known Kouros statue. Kouros statues have been subject to multiple formal and statistical analyses, which calculated their proportions individually and made comparisons among them. While regional variations among Kouroi occur (figure 3), all of the early Greek statues maintain “slightly wide shoulders (except the Melos Kouros), very narrow waists, narrow hips, and vertical dimensions from knee to sternum that are quite close to those of the average man.” Despite employing the same set of mathematical proportions, stylistic variations make each of the Kouroi appear unique to social trends and events in their time. Figure 3, for example, shows the stylistic differences that occurred between the Kouroi statues at different times in their construction. Even though they follow the canon of proportions, the Anavyos Kouros stresses a different body type idealized in a later time period in Ancient Greece. Where the Anavyos Kouros stresses a perfectly rendered muscular body to express the ideal, the *Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth* focuses on a more abstract spiritual experience beyond physical manifestations. The *Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth* appears less realistic and much more stylized than its counterpart, a direct reflection of spiritual and societal harmony and balance. Apart from the unusually large size of his head, on which there are no further studies, the *Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth* adheres to the Greek canon of proportions exactly. The adherence to this canon is important because it is generally understood that Kouroi statues are a visual symbol of the understanding that the ideal could be expressed through technique and refinement of the male body. Additionally the statue was carved from one piece of solid marble, accentuating its structural uniformity and demonstrating the Ancient Greek’s technical ability to sculpt a full-standing, stable figure.

Stylistically organized geometric patterns on the *Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth* further emphasize a larger structural order throughout and a physical manifestation of harmony and balance. The figure is a longhaired young man standing in a ridged frontal pose, with his arms hanging down along either side of his body. His left leg projects forward from his body, in a slight step forward (figure 4). He stands strong and firm, as one whole, cohesive body with little move-
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ment throughout. He appears fixed and immobile, yet, as a freestanding statue, delicately balanced. He is completely nude, except for a band going through his hair and another around his neck, in order to show off his perfectly rendered body (figures 5 and 6). There has been some attempt at delineating different parts and sections of the body with carved lines that show some muscles, for example the pectorals on his chest, the bones in his knees, and the shoulder blades (figure 7). The statue overall is represented ideistically rather than naturalistically, which can be seen more closely in the detailed carving of the facial features, hair, and overall style of the body. The face is a long oval, with unnaturally large expressive eyes and the organization of his hair was painstakingly carved in a geometric form. These physical characteristics would have been further accentuated when he was painted. The overall treatment of line quality throughout his body and geometric stylization speaks to an ideализation of the body rather than an attempt at naturalism. These choices set the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth apart from other Kouroi statues because, while it adheres to the canon of proportions, a stylistic canon did not exist from 580 BCE to 590 BCE in Ancient Greece. Therefore, stylistic conventions were left to the sculptor. Stylistically and conceptually "the ideal was not realism as we understand it, for naturalistic art was unknown in the ancient world of Solon’s time. It was rather a simplified conception of the human figure, a solid, harmonious structure, in which essentials were emphasized and generalized into beautiful patterns.”

In stepping away from the traditional art historical narrative, which emphasizes naturalism as an end goal, the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth can be looked at individually as a means to express a conceptual idealization, rather than an attempt at naturalistically rendering an ‘ideal’ masculine form. The Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth maintains a recognizable human form, yet features geometrically abstracted elements as a result of this attempt to capture harmony, balance, and order, either in this life or the afterlife. The geometric abstraction employed in Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth is merely the beginning of a technique that would reemerge over time in different modes and manners, and takes form nearly two thousand years later in Isamu Noguchi’s abstract sculpture, Kouros.

Kouros is a larger-than-life freestanding sculptural amalgamation of interconnecting forms. It abstractly hints at structures characteristic of the body, for example the round section at the top appears like a head that moves into a neck and the left half of what could be the figure’s shoulder. However, without its title, the sculpture is almost unrecognizable as human. Instead, one notices the balance created by a large piece of curved marble and is balanced on the right side by smaller and thinner interconnecting pieces that end in the structure of a small round pole. Kouros fluctuates in size and form moving from rounded and full to attenuated and elongated shapes. The center is open and devoid of form, however, as if Kouros has been gutted. What remains is a skeletal suggestion of a larger-than-life human figure. Noguchi’s own assertion of his sculptural principles further emphasizes the formal goals he achieved in Kouros: “The essence of sculpture is for me the perception of space, the continuum of our existence. All dimensions are but measures of it, as in the relative perspective of our vision lie volume, line, point, giving shape, distance, proportion.” In his forms Noguchi asserts an off-balance, as the weight is not distributed evenly throughout like its Ancient Greek counterparts. The balance achieved in Kouros most notably is not done so as one cohesive unit. Noguchi includes hollowed out holes, juxtaposed by thick marble slabs that let light pass through and stark shadows to be cast, respectively. He likewise allows for space to exist between forms emphasizing the interconnected parts of the work. Noguchi applies these principles further in Kouros to incorporate physical movement and time. Kouros’s ability to be disassembled speaks to an internally driven fractured identity among the work itself, as an inability to exist as a cohesive unit, and the work’s capability to move or migrate. The need for movement stems from Noguchi’s idea that “Movement, light, and time itself are also qualities of space. Space is otherwise inconceivable. These are the essences of sculpture and as our concepts of them change so must our sculpture change.”

Noguchi uses time, space, and movement as formal structures that express a conceptually disparate cultural need and ultimate inability to unify, differing from the structure and context of the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth and Ancient Greek society. In essence, Noguchi’s Kouros subverts the ideals of harmony and balance exuded in Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth in order to visually convey instability in America and its cultural values.

Along with a particular focus on form and movement, Noguchi chose a material that reflects the grandeur associated with Ancient Greek and American societies. The employment of pink Georgia marble as an expensive material along with the smooth surface speaks to the skill, specificity, and wealth associated with Ancient Greek Kouros statues and Ancient Greek society with an added American twist. The clean unpainted surface of the marble shows off the quality of the stone, similar in hue to that of human flesh, and acts as a reminder of time, as paint on Greek statues has often been worn away while the marble remains. The everlasting materiality of the marble speaks to the steadfast cultural impact Ancient Greece has had on America. The consistently rounded forms that appear in Kouros are calligraphic, indicative of Noguchi’s personal fusion between Japanese sculpture and writing styles, and Western art historical traditions. Through abstraction Noguchi subtly plays on cultural traditions from the East and West, all the while calling into question his own lived experiences. Where the Statue of Marble Kouros Youth is centered on the principals of balance and rigid unity, Noguchi’s Kouros is driven by an off-balanced, mobile, and disjointed reality. This difference in conceptual ideals is a product of Ancient Greece and America’s palpable cultural and societal realities. The Statue of a Marble Kouros Youth was created during a time of expansion and unification, economic equaling, and an overall fruitful society; while Noguchi’s Kouros was sculpted during a time of global war-torn chaos.

In Noguchi’s 1945 America, the Second World War came to an end, but for many people around the world this did not result in an immediate termination of imminent danger. Furthermore, the war would have lasting social effects for years to come. In particular the dropping of the atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the overall fear of the ‘other’, would have adverse effects on the Japanese-Americans living in the United States. Japanese-Americans were sent to live in internment camps under government control. Noguchi voluntarily lived among them, after designing an art program that was supposed to “demonstrate that such environments could be designed to make them attractive to live in.” Eventually, despite government demands, he ended up abandoning the project. However, it is believed that Noguchi’s program aided in the survival of Japanese culture and customs in America during the internment.

It was during this period of self-induced internment that Noguchi was directly confronted by the hybrid nature of his own background, which is reflected in his writing:

When people ask me why I, a Eurasian sculptor from New York, have come so far into the Arizona desert to be locked up with the evacuated Japanese from the west coast, I sometimes wonder myself. I reply that because of my peculiar background I felt this war
very keenly and wished to serve the cause of democracy in the best way that seemed open to me. At other times I say that I felt sympathetic for the plight of the American-born Japanese, the Nisei, or else that relocation offered a pressage [sic] of inevitable social change on which I wished to take part. All of this is true. But I might also have said that a haunting sense of unreality, of not quite belonging, which had always bothered me made me seek for an answer among the Nisei.16

As reflected in his manuscript, I Become a Nisei, Noguchi became more aware of a double consciousness, during this time more than ever, identifying as both an American and a Nisei. Throughout his lifetime, Noguchi struggled to negotiate a unified identity, showing "a different face to everyone […] He was a man bursting with contradictory impulses."17 These contradictions showed through in his artwork and in his politically charged actions. Noguchi ultimately states that ethnic and cultural hybridity should be the basis of American democracy because, in his case, and in many other cases, being both American and Japanese cannot be exclusive to one another. He ultimately believes that America’s future as a “nation of all nationalities,” lies in the acceptance and embodiment of this idea of cultural hybridity.18 Despite Noguchi’s desire to live in an accepting and hybridized America, however, this is not his reality. In fully accepting one part of his identity, Noguchi is denying the other half of himself. Kouros, therefore, acts simultaneously an embodiment of Noguchi’s desires to live cohesively as a hybrid American and his inability to do so. This internal battle to accept both parts of his cultural background served as Noguchi’s inspiration for the creation of Kouros in 1945.

When Noguchi was invited to participate in Fourteen Americans, he was asked to consider the concept of the American identity, and its meaning. He drew inspiration from many sources, including but not limited to the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth, which he would have experienced at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.19 In creating Kouros, Noguchi asserts a subtle, but undeniable connection between Ancient Greece and America. Sublimation of Ancient Greek culture is implicit in America through concepts of democracy and an established democratic political system; and in Washington DC’s building schema, more specifically the Capitol Building and the Lincoln Memorial, which utilize the colonnade and raised porch structures of the Parthenon (figures 8, 9, and 10). Whether it is in the political and cultural or architectural structure of the country, America has made attempts to align itself with Ancient Greek models. These implicit connections are the basis to understanding why Noguchi equates the Kouros model with Western identity. America’s connection to Ancient Greece as a model stems from an attempt to embody Greek ideals of balance, harmony, and order as expressed in the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth. However Noguchi subverts these ideals in his rendering of Kouros, asserting that as a Japanese-American the Greek ideals culturally embodied in America are impossible to fully attain as a result of his split identity.

For Noguchi, Kouros is a visual understanding of what it means to accept one’s dual nature as an American. The sculpture formally and conceptually embodies qualities from Eastern and Western art practices. However, there is no true way these elements can come together as a complete whole, despite the idea that they appear to do so cohesively; rather, they must be assembled together in order to create a universal man. This likewise speaks to the off-balance quality of the sculptural forms, as it comes together cohesively and can stand freely, but is not uniform in its distribution of form, shape, and weight like its Ancient Greek models. Where the Statue of a Kouros Youth is steadfast in the asserted ideals of its tradition and sturdy build, Noguchi’s Kouros is prepared to mobilize and calls into question its cultural reality. Kouros’s ability to move speaks directly to Noguchi’s experience in the internment camps and, on a broader scale, to the movement involved in migrating to America, as every immigrant has done.

Kouros is one of many responses to the concept of American identity. These fundamental ideas of a fragmentation, mobility, and this sense of feeling off-balance continue to plague and shape Americans and the American experience today. The realities Noguchi experienced led him to question his own identity, place, and power in America, and the overall representational functionality of the democratic system. Kouros, as it stands, is the struggle to define what it means to truly be American. As a conglomerate of different background and beliefs, everyone has their own interpretations and lived experiences. Noguchi offers one type of American identity, as a Japanese-American male living in post-World War II America. This sculpture exists as a record of that experience; or, more simply, it acts as one microcosm to the much larger macrocosm of cultural experiences in America. In understanding Noguchi’s proposed assertion of his own cultural identity, Kouros begs us to consider our own identities and the ways in which we fit into, or fail to fit into, American society at large. Despite facing a shift in cultural meaning over time, the questions Noguchi’s Kouros elicits remain the same: What do Americans look like? How do we, as Americans, define ourselves culturally? Are we an amalgamation of cultures from around the world or do our colonialist western roots define us? How do I fit into this larger American identity?

Figure 5
Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
more in keeping with earlier statues from Ancient Greece. Of a Kouros Youth, in contrast, appears much more stylized, which was a different body type idealized later on in Ancient Greece. The Statue they follow the same canon of proportions, the Anavyos Kouros stress Kouroi statues at different times in their construction. Even though This image shows the stylistic differences that occurred between the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth and Anavyos Kouros.

Figure 1 (top left)
Kourois by Isamu Noguchi.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 7 (top right)
Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth.
Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 3
Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth and Anavyos Kouros.
Courtesy of Khan Academy.
This image shows the stylistic differences that occurred between the Kouros statues at different times in their construction. Even though they follow the same canon of proportions, the Anavyos Kouros stresses a different body type idealized later on in Ancient Greece. The Statue of a Kouros Youth, in contrast, appears much more stylized, which was more in keeping with earlier statues from Ancient Greece.

Figure 9 (left)
Lincoln Memorial.
Courtesy of Keith Stanley.

Figure 8 (right)
United States of America Capitol Building.
Courtesy of Keith Stanley.

Figure 10 (left)
Parthenon.
Courtesy of Encyclopedia Britannica.

Endnotes
1. Fourteen Americans was originally exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art under the curatorial direction of Dorothy C. Miller. The exhibition ran from September 10 to December 8, 1946. The fourteen artists included were David Aronson, Ben L. Culwell, Ashile Gorky, David Hare, Loren MacIver, Robert Motherwell, Isamu Noguchi, I. Rice Perlreia, Alton Pickens, C.S. Price, Theodore J. Roszak, Honoré Sharrer, Saul Steinberg, and Mark Tohey. Despite the number of artists and efforts to present work that spanned across cultural barriers, no women were exhibited. Fourteen Americans was part of a series of exhibitions, created in dialogue with one another about America and what it means to be an American, likewise curated by Dorothy C. Miller. The exhibition subsequently traveled to Vassar College, the Society of the Four Arts, Cincinnati Modern Art School, San Francisco Museum of Art, and Louisiana State University Museum of Art after its debut at the Museum of Modern Art. Kouros, among fifteen other works by Isamu Noguchi, was selected to be part of the exhibition and was later purchased from the artist by the Metropolitan Museum of Art as part of their collection. Museum of Modern Art, “Fourteen Americans,” Ed. by Dorothy C. Miller, New York, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1946, www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3196.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
10. In a report following its acquisition, Gisela M. A. and Irma A. Richter consider a possible era in which the Marble Statue of a Kouros Youth was created. They posit that the statue must have been created earlier rather than later because they see the timeline of Greek art as “a development from schematization to naturalism, from stylized forms to the shapes of nature,” an idea with which I disagree. Rather, the stylization choices are the sculptor’s expression of a conceptual ideal. Gisela M. A. Richter and Irma A. Richter, “The Archaic “Apollo” in the Metropolitan Museum,” Metropolitan Museum Studies 5, no. 1 (1934): 24, doi:10.2307/1522816.
12. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
In the Room: Elephants as Complex and Uncooperative Tools of the Western Literary Tradition

Margaret Fisher, FCLC ’17

In the following essay, one portion of a larger exploration of elephants as literary agents and symbols, I argue that the desire to conquer and resolve the elephant both as a creature and as a symbol drives its representation in Western literature and culture. Specifically, the elephant becomes a tool of twentieth Century British colonialist rhetoric that aims to portray white Western man as the pinnacle not only of human culture but of nature itself. I do so through an examination of Rudyard Kipling’s “Toomai of the Elephants”, exploring it not simply as a child’s narrative but as an endorsement of a problematic hierarchy of race and species. I then briefly examine the complex sexual characterization of elephant within Kipling’s “Toomai” and the poetry of D.H. Lawrence, and how this characterization further reveals man’s preoccupation with conquering an animal that has become symbolically intertwined with his own existential anxieties.

Introduction: The Elephant as a Unique Physical and Symbolic Challenge

Animals are frequently called upon to serve as representations, projections, and extensions of the human spirit. For evidence, one need only turn to their manifold appearances in popular culture: the patronus charm in J.K. Rowling’s massively popular Harry Potter series, the many animal-themed Marvel and DC superheroes, the anthropomorphized bears, elephants, cats, and dogs featured in countless children’s books and shows. Animals, in their difference and likeness to ourselves, become vehicles through which we negotiate the physical and abstract limits of the human self. Such limits have come into question in recent years as contemporary animal science has revealed many surprising similarities between human beings and our animal counterparts. Additionally, within the realm of literary theory and criticism, we have been repeatedly challenged over the last fifty years to rethink the strict categorizations of man and animal through the writings of theorists such as Deleuze and Guattari, who argue that the physical and metaphorical boundaries between organisms are not impermeable. However, it is not simply the assumed separations between organisms and entities that Deleuze and Guattari contest.1

The lasting power of their notion, “becoming-animal,” lies also in its assertion of a horizontal exchange between species that challenges the privileged position humans claim to occupy in the universe. How can we be both distinctly and self-importantly human if we are constantly capable of “becoming-cat” or “becoming-horse”—if the qualities that define us can no longer be reliably identified? As diverting as it might be to imagine fluid boundaries between the human and non-human, certain animal “becomings” appear to produce more anxiety than others. For example, “becoming-elephant,” to conceive of the human united with or embodied in any way by an elephant form (loosely applying Deleuze and Guattari’s theory), provokes a strange response from the collective human imagination. Beyond the gently anthropomorphized elephant characters found in children’s books and shows, literary or cultural unions of human and elephant tend to be religious in nature (as in Buddhism or Hinduism), or else characterized by grotesque mutation. Within the Hindu religious tradition, an elephant head graces the shoulders of Gane- sha, the highly revered and worshipped deity.2 Images of Ganesha’s adorned head rising above a devoted crowd contrast jarringly with the haunting representation of the deformed Joseph Merrick in the 1980 film, The Elephant Man,3 directed by David Lynch, and with photographs of patients suffering from elephantiasis, a mutative disease named for its horrifying symptoms: human body parts warped to elephantine proportions.4 Within the human imagination, a joining of human and elephant evokes both deity and deformation, extreme characterizations and associations born from the difficulty we face in grasping the elephant as a symbolic and physical animal.

To understand is partly to conquer, and elephants elude physical and symbolic attempts to manage them. Physically, the difficulty lies in the animal’s size and nature. One must step back to view an elephant fully (they visually overwhelm the close observer but in direct proximity their intelligence and strength they become dangerous.5 Due in part to this physical difficulty, elephants have become complex symbols: we have chosen them to be non-speaking condemnations of our own silence, metaphorical bodies that demand words and address. To call out the “elephant in the room” is to acknowledge the impossibility of disregarding a sensitive tension. Through this popular expression we mark elephants as un-ignoreable, but we also select them as metaphorical companions in the act that strikes the sensitive meeting place of the physical and abstract hemispheres of human life: sex. The act of sex connects us to the animal kingdom, making manifest our uncontrollable desires—instincts rooted in the biological call to reproduction and survival. The elephant, as an embodiment of this complex meeting point of physical and non-physical, confronts human anxiety surrounding the unresolved truth of our innermost nature. Physically challenging and symbolically elusive, the elephant entices human imagination to conquer and resolve its inherent difficulty.

Much has already been written on the elephant as a religious symbol within Indian and Asian cultures.6 The white elephant of Thailand, specifically, has been the subject of many explorations into the animal’s symbolism as a physical manifestation of purity and holiness.7 There have also been many attempts to analyze the elephant as a symbol specifically within the Buddhist and Hindu traditions and, though much less has been written on the elephant’s role in Western religion, recent scholarship has attempted to trace its representation and significance within Christianity.8 Extensive work has also been done to elucidate the political and cultural role of the elephant throughout the history of Asian and African nations, particularly Thailand (a country whose national symbol is the elephant itself).9 Recently, the elephant has also become the focus of many conservation studies, as the animal’s rapid decline in the wild raises international concerns about the future of the species.10 Despite these explorations of the elephant as an animal, religious symbol, and historical agent, more remains to be said about them as powerful literary symbols within the Western tradition. In his epilogue to the 1993 issue of Arctic, responding to two separate articles discussing animal symbolism and environmental consequence, sociologist John Peterson equates the elephant with the whale in its power to move and challenge the human imagination.11

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In doing so, he implies that the elephant is the terrestrial counterpart of Melville's white whale, the untamable literary beast that, in its mystery, embodies the elusive and perhaps ungraspable truth of life. I share Peterson's belief that the elephant and the whale hold similarly enigmatic significances for human narrative and culture and I support his claim that an animal's representation and symbolic use affect its ecological reality within a given cultural context. One larger goal of this research, still very much in progress, is to explore these ideas further.

In the following essay, one portion of a larger examination of elephants as literary agents and symbols, I argue that the desire to conquer and resolve the elephant both as a creature and as a symbol drives its representation in Western literature and culture. Specifically, as a physically powerful and non-Western animal, the elephant becomes a tool of twentieth Century British colonialist rhetoric which aims to portray white Western man as the pinnacle not only of human culture but of nature itself. I do so through an examination of Rudyard Kipling's "Toomai of the Elephants," originally a chapter of his famous work, The Jungle Book, exploring it not simply as a child's narrative but as a vehicle for the diffusion of rhetoric that endorses a problematic hierarchy of race and species. I then briefly examine the erroneous sexual characterization of the elephant within Western literature using Kipling's "Toomai" and the poetry of D.H. Lawrence, noting the ways in which this characterization further reveals man's preoccupation with conquering an animal that has become symbolically intertwined with his own existential anxieties.

**Toomai the Elephant Boy: Tracing Colonial Attitudes within a Child's Narrative**

Rudyard Kipling, though he remains a beloved storyteller, supported and promoted colonialist attitudes in and through his writing. His infamous poem, "The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands" remains a lasting and troubling reminder of the distinctly racist rhetoric that drove the British Empire's colonial agenda during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "Toomai of the Elephants," a brief chapter in his larger work, The Jungle Book, is a particularly fascinating and subtle example of this rhetoric, often overlooked because of its characterization as a simple child's story. The narrative, a twelve-page detour in a collection of stories focusing on the young boy Mowgli, inspired a feature-length, British film distributed by United Artists in 1937, Elephant Boy, starring the then-unknown Indian actor Sabu. When considered in conjunction with Kipling's source text, and acknowledging the British Empire's attempts to stabilize their influence in Asia and specifically India during the twentieth century, the film becomes inherently political. While the film's intended 1930s audience would likely recognize some of these political aims, less obvious would be the writer and director's attempts to establish and assert a hierarchy of dominance not only among men of different races (women are entirely absent from the film and source text) but among species, placing white man at the pinnacle of humankind and the pinnacle of all nature.

Importantly, director and writer rely upon elephants to convey this message, an animal native to the lands Western man was attempting to subjugate at the time, and an animal that challenges, with its strength and intelligence, man's authority as a superior creature. Due to the religious associations of the elephant within Indian and Asian cultures, the elephant becomes an especially poignant vehicle through which to convey the white man's domination of "lesser" races and species. Throughout The Jungle Book, Kipling characterizes his elephants as having a deity or demigod-like quality, but never places them entirely above his human protagonist. In the original text of The Jungle Book as well as in its film adaptations (excepting the 1967 Disney animated version but including the 2016 live-action remake), the elephants of the jungle demand a level of reverence from all other animals, even from the "man-cub" Mowgli. Despite the 2016 film's quiet rejection of Kipling's original colonial attitudes (the "might makes right" philosophy endorsed by the antagonist is ultimately discredited), Mowgli's position as privileged outsider endures and reinforces the speciesist tendencies also inherent in Kipling's source material. Bagheera, Mowgli's friend and caretaker (incidentally, a panther), reminds him in the 2016 film that he is not "of the jungle" because the elephants did not create him. The elephant demi-gods of the jungle are responsible for the rivers, trees, mountains, and all the creatures therein, "but," he says to Mowgli, "they did not make you. That is why you must go." Throughout the rest of the film, Mowgli gradually assumes godlike status as man through his interactions with the elephants. Using his ingenuity and creativity, he rescues a baby elephant from a mud pit; near the film's end he is seen riding it. Despite his ability to live in cautious harmony with the animals, Mowgli comes to be understood by all as equal with, or superior to, the jungle's gods, establishing (or reinforcing) for a modern audience the privileged position of man above other animals.

A close reading of "Toomai of the Elephants" and an analysis of the film it inspired, though only a small story among Kipling's many works, assists us in tracing this enduring hierarchical theme and the racially charged rhetoric that accompanied it. Within the narrative, the submission of the elephant to man, despite its holy and mystical significance as a species, becomes a primary focus. The elephants are described both by Little Toomai (later to become Toomai of the Elephants), Big Toomai (his father), and the other Indian hunters as "lords." They are both godlike and "devils," whose ways "are beyond the wit of any man, black or white, to fathom." Yet, man is their "master," and Little Toomai and his father both take pride in believing that their elephant Kala Nag, a great beast who fears nothing else, fears them. But if, as human men, they stand above Kala Nag in power, they stand decidedly below Peterson, a white man and famed local elephant hunter, within the hierarchy of race. From Peterson's introduction in the text, Kipling sets him apart. His language, refined and stilted in comparison to the colloquial tone of Toomai and his father, indicates to the reader that he is powerful and educated, in control of his words and expressions, a master of language and therefore master of the story's other characters. Kipling also emphasizes Little Toomai's reverence for Peterson, who the boy recognizes as superior to his father, a "hero" and the "greatest white man in the world" who knows "more about the ways of elephants than any living man."

The film adaptation of Toomai's story, Elephant Boy, highlights Toomai's admiration for Peterson further, making Peterson his pseudo-father- figure and the only man truly sympathetic to Toomai when his father dies (a notable deviation from Kipling's text). The film suggests that Toomai is a pure spirit among a harsh, uncaring race of men, who spurn Toomai when he is orphaned and then attempt to kill Kala Nag for disobedience. Kala Nag's rebellion and escape from the camp (eventually leading Toomai to experience the "dancing" ritual of the wild elephants) is partially an act of mourning for his father, a "hero" and the "greatest white man in the world" who knows "more about the ways of elephants than any living man."

The film's intended 1930s audience would likely recognize some of these political aims, less obvious would be the writer and director's attempts to establish and assert a hierarchy of dominance not only among men of different races (women are entirely absent from the film and source text) but among species, placing white man at the pinnacle of humankind and the pinnacle of all nature.
Kipling's source text. The film, made during the 1930s at a time when the British Empire was attempting to maintain political control in Asia and India, expands and develops Kipling's underlying colonialist themes in the climax and resolution of the story. Kala Nag and Toomai, the narrative's heroes, become loyal to Peterson and what he represents, having decidedly rejected and "risen above" the harsh and limited understanding of their native culture, though they eventually earn its acceptance and praise. Kala Nag's participation in Peterson's hunt is not only a triumph of colonialist attitudes from a racial perspective (Kala Nag aligns himself with the "nobler" race) but it is also a triumph of white man over nature in its entirety: even the mighty elephant hero does the bidding of Western man, betraying his own "lesser" species in the process.

Domination Through Mischaracterization: Denying and Suppressing the Elephant's Behavioral Reality
As in Kipling's source material, Toomai becomes an elephant hunter at the film's end not because of his role in the elephant's capture, but because he saw the elephants "dance." This dancing is portrayed as a ritual performance that only those in harmony with nature can witness; in truth, the dance is a synchronized stomping performed by the elephants to flatten space in the rough jungle brush. The boy therefore becomes a "true hunter" because he witnesses a private moment in nature, because he experiences that which he was not meant to see. Importantly, in the film and text, he watches the elephants "dancing" from a hiding place, crouching down in the bushes like a peeping tom or concealed by darkness on Kala Nag's back. Though the other hunters believe Toomai's has been "chosen" by the elephants, the animals themselves are largely unaware of his presence throughout the "dance". The violence, terror, and noise of the film's subsequent capture scene therefore serves as the climax not only of the hunt but of Toomai's violation and invasion of the elephants' private lives in a dark and secret moment. If we view the eventual capture of the elephants within the film adaptation as an assault on nature's purity and tranquility (an easier task for a modern audience than for 1930's Britain), Toomai's experience with the elephants becomes fraught with sexual symbolism—it marks the loss of his innocence and the end of his childhood. Fittingly, before his encounter with the elephants, Toomai is only considered a boy by his native culture. After his encounter, he has become a man in the eyes of his people. While such sexual analogy is only truly implicit in the film, traces can be identified in the original text of "Toomai of the Elephants." Such moments within the text appear to support the underlying specieist rhetoric. Kipling's story even opens on an un-contextualized monologue of rebellion from Kala Nag, offering the reader a single, enigmatic glimpse into the elephant's consciousness. However, within both film and short story the wild elephants are depicted as fundamentally shy or mysterious (the ritual "dance" is private) and as prey of the hunt. The film and text do not "snatch" or "tear," but instead waits for the female to "return his affection is to assert that elephants, even as they experience sexual motivations. Kipling's preoccupation with conquering the elephant's wild spirit and the screenwriter's decision to emphasize this struggle in the film, in lieu of representing the animal as fundamentally docile and tame, is in keeping with a colonialist agenda and the desired effect each hoped to have on their respective readers and viewers. The screenwriters of The Elephant Boy especially portray the protagonist elephant as inherently wild, mischievous, and potentially violent (just as the film portrays Indian culture as inherently merciless), and then emphasize the elephant's reform and return to obedience through cooperation with and submission to the white man's agenda.

Kala Nag is allowed choice moments of aggression in The Elephant Boy and minor moments of disobedience in "Toomai of the Elephants" that complicate the underlying specieist rhetoric. Kipling's story opens on an un-contextualized monologue of rebellion from Kala Nag, offering the reader a single, enigmatic glimpse into the elephant's consciousness. However, within both film and short story the wild elephants are depicted as fundamentally shy or mysterious (the ritual "dance" is private) and as prey of the hunt. The wild elephants are entirely victims, and their capture is depicted as inevitable and effortless. These characterizations in both representations of Kipling's tale reflect the standard Western portrayal of elephants as dudical, modest, and submissive.

This standard portrayal is best represented by D.H. Lawrence's poem "The Elephant is Slow to Mate," a playful yet influential discussion of elephant sexuality. Per Lawrence, elephants show "no haste" in progressing to sex when they find a mate, for "the sympathy in their vast shy hearts" lessens their drive to aggressive copulation. Instead, they "hide their fire," as Kala Nag hides his longing for rebellion, contentedly biding their time, before mating "in secret at last," engaging in sex only when privacy and modesty are possible. Importantly, Lawrence claims that elephants "do not snatch" or "tear," and the final image of the poem is that of two pools flowing slowly towards one another, eventually touching "in flood." What Lawrence describes is not only modesty on the part of the male elephant, but the presence of mutual consent and desire within the elephant mating process. The female elephant, though only explicitly mentioned once, silently moves through the poem with the male: "they loiter along the river-beds" and "wake together" after a night of platonic rest. The poem's end therefore suggests that her consent and desire for the male is of equal importance with his desire for her. To insist that the male elephant does not "snatch" or "tear," but instead waits for the female to return his affection is to assert that elephants, even as they experience deep passion, do not act on the urge to violence or rape.

This characterization of the elephant as gentle, wise, and incorruptible is largely fantasy, and prevents us from accepting the new narrative that behavioral science has begun to provide. G.A. Bradshaw, a leading expert and researcher in elephant social behavior, spent many years studying the interactions among groups of African elephants that had been exposed to poachers in their early lives. In her work, Elephants on the Edge: What Animals Teach Us about Humanity, she argues that certain kinds of trauma, such as the loss of
of family members to poachers and preservationists alike, stay with young elephants throughout the rest of their lives, affecting their ability to live socially. Particularly troubling in Bradshaw’s research is her account of young male elephant aggression post-trauma: the murder and attempted rape of rhinoceroses; gruesome “gored bodies” left strewn and the bull’s attempts to “copulate with their victims” after killing them. Bradshaw also describes the increasingly aggressive, assault-like tendencies of traumatized male elephants towards elder female elephants and younger potential mates, highly unusual behavior in healthy males. Despite such graphic and troubling reports, many continue to view the elephant through the lens of D.H. Lawrence, as mild-mannered gentle giants with long memories and modest temperaments, immune to or hardly affected by the violence we inflict upon them to assure our comfortable position atop the hierarchy of species.

**Conclusion: Human Story, Animal Consequence**

In the previous sections, I have attempted to demonstrate how the symbolic elephant has acted as an imperfect tool of British colonial and speciesist rhetoric within nineteenth and twentieth century writing and film. Despite this usage, elephants continue to represent a unique challenge for storytellers of the Western tradition. Even within such a highly controlled account as the story of Toomai, the personality and agency of Kala Nag emerge within the narrative regardless of medium, while insight into elephant behavior (specifically behavior that results from violent human interference) exposes the falseness of traditional representations of the animal. But why then do misrepresentations of the elephant still hold significance? Why do misleading narratives and erroneous symbolic usages continue to thrive within Western literary culture?

I believe the heart of our struggle with the elephant as animal and symbol lies partly in our desire to use them as tools without consequence. As a natural presence, capable of entering the realm of deity in our imagination, to wield the elephant is to wield control. To win the allegiance of the elephant, to dominate and command it, asserts the power and superiority of a race and species in the hierarchy of being. To achieve control, we beat into submission an intelligence and force that challenges our own; because they appear modest, we believe they will forgive and remain mild despite their long and complex memories. Consequence is inevitable, and we will soon confront the elephant that takes up such space in our carefully constructed reality. As both abstraction and physical threat, the elephant embodies the unknowable and uncontrollable force of nature as an intelligence that we cannot fully grasp, but one that must be constantly clipped and pushed back to prevent our world from being overgrown and overrun. It is an effort we cannot sustain, but one that will continue, for if we can tame the unignorable, perhaps we are not entirely at its mercy.

**Endnotes**


17. Ibid., 6.


21. Ibid., 2.


“Savage, Hero, or Whore?”

How Linguistic Choice Prevents HIV

Alexander Partridge, FCLC ’16

Savage, hero, and whore are three words used to discuss PrEP: A once-daily pill which prevents HIV infection. Though the drug works the same everywhere, the language used to describe it varies tremendously. Each society sees the drug through their own unique linguistic and cultural lenses, and tailoring language to best be communicated through those lenses is critical. This thesis will explore media and advocacy group discourse surrounding PrEP in two countries: The United States—where PrEP has been authorized for HIV prevention since 2012—and France, where the drug was not authorized for such use until 2016. By identifying traits of discourse and their consequences, I will show how specific linguistic choice must be taken into account to expedite widespread social approval. Recommendations from the findings will be made for an improved PrEP discourse in the two countries, which can ultimately mean fewer new infections.

Introduction

For any given stimulus, language is the framework people work from to comprehend and categorize all that is known to exist in the world. This matters a great deal in the case of PrEP: A drug which could protect millions of people from HIV infection if discourse is shaped in a way that is best understood. Language use is inevitably linked to the culture one is coming from, which is why it is necessary to establish a nuanced understanding of the cultural, as well as linguistic, contexts in which PrEP discourse transpires.

This thesis will explore how people in France and the United States see the HIV prevention drug PrEP through their own unique linguistic and cultural lenses. Language presents constraints and opportunities in PrEP discourse, and by identifying these linguistic particulars and their role in public discourse, messages can be tailored to expedite widespread social approval. The independent variable is semantic and pragmatic linguistic aspects of media and advocacy group discourse surrounding PrEP in France and the United States. The dependent variable is how discourse leads to misunderstanding of the drug.

To test my thesis, I will apply linguistic and cultural theoretical information to conduct documentary analysis of American and French discourse surrounding PrEP. By delving into the semantic and pragmatic linguistic features of observed PrEP discourse, I will prove that language must be better tailored to effectively address each cultural context in order to expedite widespread social approval.

Historiography/Literature Review

This section provides a brief historical background on HIV/AIDS treatment and the emergence of PrEP. The concepts of collectivism and individualism in the American and French contexts and their linguistic implications will be explored, as well as discussion of linguistic terminology and theoretical concepts. An overview of historical background, cultural context, and linguistic nuances is necessary for an effective case-study, argumentation, and fruitful discussion.

Thanks to advancements in medicine, HIV-positive people can live long and healthy lives, but they nonetheless have to take several pills a day to stay healthy. Truvada is one of the most commonly used drugs to treat HIV infection, but must be taken in combination with other drugs to be effective. In the United States, Truvada was first approved by the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) as a component of therapy for HIV-positive people in 2004, and then approved as a pre-exposure prophylaxis or “PrEP” in 2012 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2014). Pre-exposure prophylaxis means that the drug works to prevent HIV if taken regularly before exposure. PrEP was approved for use in the European Union in 2016 (European Medicines Agency [EMA], 2016).

Two aspects of structural linguistics which will be referred to in this thesis are semantics and pragmatics. Semantics is the study of word-meaning (Oxford, 2017). Pragmatics encompasses the context of language, and depends on various factors such as culture or time period (Oxford, 2017). Language can be just as confusing and damaging as it is helpful, and an acquired linguistic mastery is necessary so that PrEP discourse can continue in a way which best serves as a force for good.

Measuring Cultural Values

Though the United States and France are both Western, industrialized nations with many similarities, they can seem worlds apart in terms of their values. These countries have their own unique histories and national identities that have been centuries in the making. Given that language and culture are so intertwined, it is worthwhile to immerse oneself in the cultural backgrounds of these countries. One notable researcher of culture is Geert Hofstede, whose extensive work will help contextualize observed linguistic expression more effectively. With a team of researchers, Hofstede came up with the cultural dimensions theory by measuring the characteristics of any given culture in numerous areas—ranging from high to low—to determine how values are influenced by culture (Hofstede, 2001). The two dimensions which will be discussed to provide greater context of these two societies are individualism versus collectivism and masculinity versus femininity.

The fundamental issue addressed by the individualism versus collectivism dimension is the degree to which a society is interdependent (Hofstede, 2001). The higher on Hofstede’s scale, the more individualist the society. Though the United States and France are both individualistic cultures, Hofstede notes that they do not value individualism to the same degree or in all of the same ways. The United States ranks 91 on the individualism scale, while France ranks 71 (Hofstede, 2001). In the United States, according to Hofstede, the expectation is that people look after themselves and their immediate families only, and should not rely too much on outside support (Hofstede, 2001). In contrast, France has a strong history of fraternité (brotherhood), which is even part of the national motto: “Liberté, égalité, fraternité.” This concept of national brotherhood promotes a sense of shared humanity, a fundamental common bond that makes it possible for liberty and equality to exist (Bulin, 2016). In the case of PrEP as a new HIV prevention tool, individualist and collectivist cultural char-
acteristics influence language use between individuals and surrounding discourse by society as a whole.

In the cultural dimension of masculinity versus femininity, a high score is considered masculine and indicates that the society is driven by competition and success, with success defined as winning or being best-in-the-field (Hofstede, 2001). A low score is considered feminine, meaning that the dominant values in society are caring for others and quality of life (Hofstede, 2001). The United States has a masculine score of 62, leaning more in the direction of competitive and eager to win, while France has a feminine score of 42 (Hofstede, 2001).

The French phrase joie de vivre could not explain France's lower feminine score any better with so few words: quality of life and spending time with others takes precedence over being the best at something. Unless, of course, that something is living a happy and relaxing life. A noteworthy bias of this cultural dimension is that uniqueness and superiority are linked to being masculine. Hofstede's language reflects long-established sexism, but the thorough explanation of each cultural dimension adds useful contextualization to evaluating PrEP discourse.

CASE STUDY & ARGUMENTATION
American Hero, French Fraternité

In 2015, the New York City advocacy group Housing Works Community Healthcare started a campaign called PrEP Heroes. The goal of PrEP Heroes is to raise awareness about the HIV prevention drug and encourage more gay men to take it. Housing Works Community Healthcare placed ads in New York City bar restrooms (mainly in neighborhoods such as Chelsea and Hell's Kitchen) where there are very large gay populations. These ads depict gay men who take PrEP as superheroes, and in each photo the men wear all types of masks, headwear, make-up, and costumes inspired by everything from comic books to Greek mythology.

The website tells the story of these heroes just as a comic book—or the campaign name itself for that matter—would suggest: Think your day is busy? Think again. PrEP Heroes are on duty 24/7, fighting aggressive viruses, negative stigmas, and uninformed stereotypes in an effort to change the face of HIV. Their bodies are symbols of strength, shielding the rest of us from deadly threats that lurk around every dark corner. Working around the clock to protect themselves and others through a daily preventative treatment, these heroes are committed to stopping the transmission of HIV, forever changing the fate of hundreds—and history as we know it—with a single empowered choice (Housing Works, 2015).

This PrEP Heroes narrative is a prime example of the American desire to fight and succeed. From “symbols of strength” to “deadly threats that lurk around every corner,” the website is full of dramatic rhetoric. Lurk connotes sneakiness for the purpose of attack, and corner provides an imagined edge where the next turn is that of uncertainty and danger. Americans love risk-taking and rising up against all odds to win—both are common themes in U.S. discourse. This is how the United States of America was born: A group of colonists wanted to break apart from the British empire, and they did just that. Americans were the underdogs, and many thought it was laughable that they would attempt to fight against the gargantuan British monarchy. Hundreds of years after the Revolution, politicians running for office are eager to divulge how they rose above adversity to become educated and successful adults.

Being faced with challenging circumstances can in many ways turn out to be extremely beneficial, for it presents the opportunity to prove how determined one is. It also humanizes, making people more relatable for having struggled. If one is born with a silver spoon for instance, it takes away from the compelling, competitive narrative of the American Dream. After all, success for Americans is defined by the winner or best-in-the-field (Hofstede, 2001). One cannot win if they are already born with the prize.

The message “forever changing the fate of hundreds” is full of interesting semantic and pragmatic signification. The word fate connotes a supernatural force in events that take place. Rather than using health or well-being, PrEP Heroes chooses to say fate because the word fits into its superhero narrative. Fate is normally considered beyond anybody's control, but the message here is that PrEP puts exceptional power into human hands. Combined with forever, PrEP Heroes conveys a message that choosing to take this pill is so powerful that it goes beyond mortal temporality. Who says every other sexual partner will also be on PrEP? It is highly unlikely that every other person will also be taking the drug. Saying that a “single empowered choice” will result in “changing the fate of hundreds” shows an effort to inspire through romanticizing a simple, daily pill-taking routine.

PrEP Heroes goes on to say that those who adhere to the drug are “armed with a unique coat of armor and superpowers” and that they “have turned their HIV-negative status into a positive force for good” (Housing Works, 2015). Coat of armor is an example of a tool for disease prevention compared to a tool for fighting a battle. By having a coat of armor this suggests a battle is to be fought, and ideally won. Clearly, many Americans react positively to the battle narrative, which highlights awareness and interest in a given cause. Here, the battle is not so much having to remember to take a pill everyday, but instead change negative attitudes and incorrect messages surrounding the drug and gay sexual health.

In light of these PrEP Hero observations and the American cultural context in which they are found, is important to note that popular discourse of a given society is often created by the dominant group. In many Western, industrialized nations, dominance boils down to three common traits: male, white, and heterosexual. The creator of the cultural dimensions theory, Geert Hofstede, was a white male who measured cultural values on a scale branding the winner or best-in-the-field as masculine. Femininity, on the contrary, has historically seen its place as being subservient, as it does in Hofstede's scale. Simply because the popular narrative of winning implies masculinity and
dominance, this does not mean it is representative of society as a whole. Popular discourse, albeit flawed, is the framework through which so many people comprehend complex concepts and situate themselves in the world.

PrEP discourse that includes stronger language of a more competitive, fighting spirit (like the discourse utilized by PrEP Heroes) could result in increased engagement by U.S. civil society. Unfortunately, out of sight, out of mind is often the case in a country that focuses so much on the individual and caring for immediate family. For people who may not be related to or know someone who is gay or openly gay, HIV can seem like a scary but faraway issue that does not concern them. Gay men are more affected by HIV than most other groups, but increasing awareness to all members of society would boost feelings of empathy and heightened concern. PrEP Heroes is a reflection of American individualism and determination—although an exaggerated one—and more messages like theirs could get the ball rolling faster to expedite widespread social approval.

On the French side of PrEP discursive affairs is a message with a more collectivistic push. This is quite apparent with the French advocacy group Nous sommes PrEP—which translates to We are PrEP—formed by participants of the French PrEP study Ipergay who wanted to get the drug approved in France (Nous sommes PrEP, 2015). The AIDES advocacy group reiterates this French idea of collectivism on its website, where at the bottom of an image it says: “New Prevention: Are we PrEP?” (AIDES, 2015). Use of the word we in advocacy group language, most notably its incorporation in an advocacy group name, shows a collectivist fraternité mentality. In France, disease prevention is not my concern or your concern: It is our concern. American and French narratives thus display an interesting contrast in terms of the role of the individual in the group. Additionally, differing cultural conceptions of morality and inherent semantic linguistic characteristics are to explain for another interesting phenomenon in the United States and France: PrEP supporters use words which carry negative semantic meaning to discuss or even promote the drug.

Reappropriation & Damaging Semantics

In November 2012, David Duran wrote an Op-Ed in the Huffington Post titled “Truvada Whores?” to criticize men who use PrEP as a replacement for condoms. Duran said it seems that “a good number of those running to get the prescription are gay men who prefer to engage in unsafe practices” (Duran, 2012). What the author fails to acknowledge is that the new modern concept of safe has changed. There are many other sexually transmitted infections out there, but most of them can be treated and will go away. Safety for many sexually active gay men means steering clear of HIV, which would stick with them for life.

In response to this article and the overall negative stigma associated with PrEP usage, some gay men attempted to turn a negative into a positive. These PrEP users began calling themselves “Truvada whores” like a badge of honor. “Truvada whores” was not the first attempt of a marginalized group to take a negative word and make it positive. Re-appropriation “is current in certain parts of Third Wave feminism,”—a contemporary feminism movement introduced in the early 1990s— “where the connotations of sexist words such as ‘spin-sters,’ ‘bitch,’ and ‘cunt’ are changed into positive terms” (Botz-Bornstein, 2015, p. 30). This has become normalized and widely observable in popular American culture, where women often call each other bitch. From song lyrics to fashion merchandise, the empowered bitch narrative circulates through every corner of the country. This is commonly done with the intention of spreading a positive, empowering message, promoting bonds between women and a strengthened idea of femininity in society as a whole. Britney Spears’s famous song lyric, “It’s Britney, bitch” resonates with many, while offending few.

“Truvada whore” became a hashtag, a t-shirt, as well as the title of many online articles and blog posts published to proclaim PrEP pride (Zeboski, 2014). It is important to note that the semantic meaning of whore is not limited to just a person who has sex for financial gain. The noun whore also means a “venal or unscrupulous person” (Merriam-Webster, 2017). In addition to connoting sex work—already a highly disapproved occupation in the United States—the meaning of whore extends to attack the honesty and morality of a person. The act of having sex for money is not necessarily inherently bad if there is honesty and mutual consent, but it remains nonetheless an occupational pariah in American society. Hence negative perceptions of this type of work, over time, are why the word whore has an inherently negative meaning. Whore is like a rotten apple in the word family, with a semantic meaning so negative that the context in which it is found cannot save it from itself.

In France, a very different—but arguably almost as damaging—word was employed to discuss PrEP use. While French approval of PrEP took years longer to become a reality, some people managed to acquire the drug illegally. Since PrEP is the same drug used in combination with other pills to treat HIV-positive patients, it could be prescribed throughout Europe for that purpose before 2016. HIV-positive patients found ways to get an extra supply of Truvada and sell it to HIV-negative people. As described by the French advocacy group AIDES, PrEP obtained through illegal means was called PrEP sauvage, literally meaning savage PrEP (Charpentier, Brancourt, Sordet, & Lafourgerie, 2014, p. 40). In French, the word sauvage has a multitude of significations. The word can be used as a noun or an adjective and literally means savage, connoting that something is wild or untamed. Savage is also used to describe actions carried out outside of the law, so if someone decides to go camping in an authorized area it would be called “camping sauvage” (Larousse, 2015).

Why not use the literal non-autorisé (unauthorized) rather than sauvage? The word sauvage is an inherent part of French linguistic expression, and although the context here suggested unauthorized use, it nonetheless connoted something much worse. Illegal or not, having this word attached to the effort to acquire an HIV-prevention drug is a damaging narrative, turning the fight to protect oneself against a fatal disease into a savage act. In the United States before PrEP was authorized, nobody called the drug a “savage pill.” But this is what occurred in France—a testament to the degree to which language shapes perceived reality. Both words, whore in the United States and sauvage in France, carry irreparably negative semantic meanings. It is worthwhile to note that the American PrEP narrative centers around morality, whereas the French narrative centers around legality. In American PrEP discourse, the word whore describes perceived bad behavior, attacking the morality of the person. In French PrEP discourse, contrastingly, the word sauvage described bad behavior in the sense that it is outside the confines of the law.

Supporters of the “Truvada whore” movement are passionately trying to empower PrEP users by turning an insult into a battle cry, but in doing so with the same disparaging word they are committing a self-defeating act. In the case of a drug meant to prevent the most feared and stigmatized sexually transmitted disease of them all, combined with the disproportionately large percent of its potential beneficiaries being gay, the last thing needed is a label connoting reckless sex practices and questionable morality. Much of American civil society has hardly come to terms with gay sex, including
The term sauvage, which means "savage" or "wild" in French, has been used in a PrEP campaign by the French AIDS advocacy group AIDES to draw attention to the risks of HIV transmission. However, the use of the term sauvage in this context has been controversial. AIDES itself acknowledged that the term’s double semantic meaning, which includes a connotation of unauthorized, could potentially cause the audience to associate it with certain negative connotations.

In a study focused on unauthorized PrEP in France, the AIDES advocacy group included a graphic depicting a pill-shaped creature with hair, spots, and even a tail. Above the pill-shaped creature was a wooden sign that read, "attention prep sauvage!" and a caption of "GRRR...!!" to the right. This image illustrates how an alternate meaning of a word can deeply influence associated thoughts and imagined surroundings. In English, the terms black market or unauthorized are used and widely understood, but do not provoke the same reaction.

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AIDES is not necessarily at fault for its word choice, for it is bound to a French-language narrative, but what sauvage connotes nonetheless reinforces negative attitudes towards gay sex and HIV prevention. It is of utmost importance to carefully question the use of words that have such flexible meanings, for they can undermine the intended message.

Three years after the emergence of “Truvada whores,” there are still very few Americans deciding to take PrEP. In the United States as of November 2015, at least 1.2 million people were at an especially high risk of acquiring HIV, yet only about 21,000 people took the prevention drug (Szabo, 2015). This statistic is alarming and unacceptable: Not even 1% of a high-risk population would adhere to an extremely effective drug. This statistic shows that not enough people are getting the message, or not the right message. Words that inspire, such as hero, should be used more often than words that alienate, like whore. In addition, sauvage should have been replaced with non-autorisée: A word that also means outside the confines of the law, but without the harsh, dehumanizing connotation.

CONCLUSION

From newspaper article titles, to the re-appropriation of disparaging words in everyday spoken language, to hashtags—linguistic choice carries real consequences. The ramifications of inadequate, lacking discourse are that people are still needlessly getting infected every day. Far too many of us are misinformed about this highly effective preventive medicine, and we do not take action as a result. Included are those not as at-risk for contracting the virus, who continue to sit by on the sidelines—indifferent or ignorant—surrounded by a PrEP narrative that does not suffice.

Engaging in a cross-national discussion of how discourse is shaped by specific societies can help all groups realize their fullest potential in spreading the most effective message. By identifying traits of discourse and their consequences, I have validated my thesis that specific linguistic choice must be taken into account to expedite widespread social approval.

While the PrEP Heroes campaign effectively conveys its individualist battle message to an American audience, the French advocacy group AIDES inadvertently dehumanized those who were acquiring a "savage" drug. The extent to which language shapes perceived reality should not be overlooked. Paying greater attention to word meaning and context in the future will result in a more compelling, less disparaging discourse surrounding PrEP and gay sexual health. And, despite all of the good intentions, re-appropriation of the word whose further alienates the gay community and is damaging to the cause. A person who pays more attention to their sexual health and risks is somebody I would call a hero, not a whore.

Endnotes


BEFORE THE FIRES

AN ORAL HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE IN THE BRONX FROM THE 1930s TO THE 1960s

Mark Naison  Bob Gumns
Since the mid-1900s, the Bronx has often been vilified for its urban decay, poverty, and high concentration of immigrants and people of color. When outsiders – even residents of other New York boroughs – think of the Bronx, they picture gang violence, drugs, and “welfare queens.” While these stereotypes are not entirely untrue, they fail to illustrate the whole picture of the Bronx’s rich, tumultuous history. The hard times the borough is infamous for did not stem from the nature of the people living in the Bronx, but rather from strategic disinvestment that eventually tore apart the community. As a result, many Bronx natives are ashamed of their home and feel pressured to leave. Before the Fires makes a powerful case for Bronxites to instead feel proud of their home because the borough is where diversity thrived to form strong, resilient communities unlike anywhere else.

Before the Fires, a collection of interviews performed as part of the Bronx African American History Project (BAAHP), ensures “that the contributions of people of African descent, whether they are from the American South, the Caribbean, or Africa, to the development of Bronx communities are recorded, publicized and understood.”1 By interviewing Bronxites about their personal experiences during a time of rapid racial and socioeconomic change, Mark Naison, a professor of African American Studies at Fordham University from Brooklyn, and Bob Gumbs, a researcher with the BAAHP who was raised in the South Bronx, reclaim the Bronx’s history. Instead of focusing on what went wrong in the mid-twentieth century, the interviewees in Before the Fires show the Bronx in its years of relative peace and coexistence prior to the major escalation of violence, arson, and drug problems that the Bronx is infamous for. Before the Fires shows a borough that is resilient, diverse, and historically relevant, not a place where residents should want to leave and disassociate with out of embarrassment.

Far too often the Bronx’s history has been recorded by outsiders. Before the Fires, however, reclaims that history for those who lived through them in order to empower Bronx residents both past and present. The history is not depicted in relation to the “[neighborhood’s] social pathology… relating to the types of personalities which slums produce,” as claimed by Daniel Moynihan, former U.S. Senator from New York and advisor to President Richard Nixon, but instead as robust communities that were later the victims of elected officials’ strategic, planned destruction and intentional neglect.2 The theme that stands out in every narrative throughout Before the Fires is that the Bronx and its residents were never inherently bad, but were instead the victims of redlining practices that denied people and businesses loans and strategic disinvestment in schools and public services.

Before corruption destroyed the Bronx, its diverse community flourished. People of different ethnic backgrounds exchanged customs and coexisted peacefully. Crime rates were so low that front doors were left unlocked. Adolescents had access to school-sponsored music and sports programs, which kept them off the stoop and gave them something to strive for. For example, Howie Evans, who got his start as an athlete at Morris High School—well-known for championing diversity— was encouraged to pursue a college educa-

Reviewed by Stephanie Galbraith, FCRH ’20

The wide audience that President Trump reaches through his tweets demonstrates why many claim that technology enables a closer connection between politicians and their constituents. However, others see Facebook overrun with political posts and believe that technology is in reality weakening what counts as political engagement and making it easier for people to isolate themselves from opposing points of view, consequently, becoming more vulnerable to believing fake news.

In Using Technology, Building Democracy: Digital Campaigning and the Construction of Citizenship, Jessica Baldwin-Philippi, assistant professor of new media at Fordham University, asserts that technology is causing a beneficial transformation in democracy by changing not only how campaigns convey their message but the content of the messages. She effectively defends this claim by combining her personal experience working for campaigns with studies of other campaigns conducted through interviews and their online materials. Even though the majority of her assessments are thorough, she leaves her audience wanting more analysis of how the effects of technology could vary throughout the electorate.

A demonstration of her thoroughness, Baldwin-Philippi begins by ensuring that her audience fully understands the connection between political campaigns and democracy that she relies on for the remainder of her book. Since most Americans interact with democracy through political campaigns, campaigns have the capability to shape citizenship whether it is intentional or a byproduct of trying to earn more votes. Additionally, she clarifies that, since politics and campaigns are constantly evolving, the definition of citizenship and political engagement must also be. This brings Baldwin-Philippi to her discussion of the most prevalent new technology used by campaigns: microsites, political blogs, and social media. In order to demonstrate the unique characteristics of each type of media, Baldwin-Philippi provides many examples from actual campaigns. Unfortunately, this shows how outdated the technology from less than a decade ago, especially social media, has already become. However, her research has not lost its relevance due to her focus on the effect of new technology on campaigns and citizenship not just the appearance of the technology.

Although all aspects of a campaign essentially have the same goal of spreading the message to citizens in order to engage them, whether it be through votes, volunteers, or advertisements, Baldwin-Philippi explains that each form of media employs a different method and, therefore, has a different effect on the citizens it is targeting. The prevalence of fact checking by microsites and political blogs creates "skeptical citizens" by forcing them to not simply consume information but to engage with it and consider its accuracy. On the other hand, campaigns who use social media aim to engage citizens by having them share content posted by the campaign so it is able to reach a wider audience. Baldwin-Philippi explains how this results in many people bringing politics into relationships that in the past would not have been politicized. However, since the content on campaigns’ social media often does not directly address important campaign topics but focuses instead on humanizing the candidate, many say that it is making voters less informed about the candidates and relevant issues. Baldwin-Philippi acknowledges another opposing point of view that argues simply sharing content online does not constitute political engagement and is actually resulting in less citizens who are truly politically active. She refutes this claim by suggesting that just because new technology has made political engagement easier does not mean it is less valuable, and online activity often evolves into offline actions as well. The many opposing sides detract from the strength of Baldwin-Philippi’s own position but, in the end, it is clear that she believes in the ability of technology to engage more citizens in democracy even if this engagement appears different than in the past.

During her analysis, the strength of Baldwin-Philippi’s claims about the effects of technology on citizenship leaves the reader wishing for further explanation on how this varies among different demographics. Living in the 21st century, all are aware that people interact with technology on different levels with the biggest factor being age. As millennials consume new media at higher rates while baby boomers continue to watch television as their main source for news, is this resulting in the development of two different kinds of citizens? Likewise, if those of higher socioeconomic status have greater access to new technology, which Baldwin-Philippi claims can result in more informed and engaged citizens, is this creating a divide between citizens based on wealth? Or is the new broader reach of technology allowing more audiences to be engaged in politics regardless of demographics? These questions deserve more attention from Baldwin-Philippi in order to better understand the effects of new technology on the creation of citizens.

The assessments she does make continue to ring true not only with technologies introduced after her research but with current campaigns as well. For this reason, this book is a worthwhile read for all citizens whether they plan on working on future political campaigns or simply engaging with them as a voter. Although many parts of the book could read like a manual for campaign staff, Baldwin-Philippi goes beyond describing what tactics are most effective to explaining the desired effect on citizens. Therefore, those who have read her book will be better equipped to process political information and meaningfully engage with campaigns without the possibility of being confused by their persuasive techniques. Being an engaged, educated citizen is now more important than ever with the growing prevalence of fake news and the majority of correspondence between politicians and citizens accomplished through digital media.
USING TECHNOLOGY, BUILDING DEMOCRACY

Digital Campaigning and the Emergence of Citizenship

Jessica D anvers-Freeman