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HUMANITIES

Contracts, Compatibility, and Justice

Socrates in Plato's 'Apology' and 'Crito'

Alyson Chin

In Plato's *Crito*, Socrates asks his interlocutor, "And do we abide by the things we agreed to — if they are just — or not?" (Plato, *Crito* 108, 50a), raising the question of the nature of Socrates's contracts with his relations. Alongside his more obvious contract with Athenian laws as outlined in *Crito*, a side-by-side analysis of *Crito* and *Apology* may reveal two additional implicit agreements: a contract with the individual and with the god at Delphi. Here, I will attempt to show that what lies at the heart of Socrates's philosophical life, as accounted by Plato in *Crito* and *Apology*, is a desire to reach harmony with his relations, which he can only achieve by fulfilling his agreements. I will highlight these contracts, analyze their compatibility, and finally point to their implications for understanding Socrates's framework of justice.

Socrates's understanding of justice is most clearly conveyed in *Crito*, where he develops an argument for why he must stay in prison and accept the death sentence rather than escape to avoid death. He begins by establishing that one must never do injustice nor retaliate with injustice because to live justly is to live well and nobly (Plato, *Crito* 106, 48b). To develop this claim, he personifies Athenian laws with whom he engages in a hypothetical dialogue to illustrate why he has an undying obligation to heed to them. He does this primarily by having the laws describe two modes of injustice that come from disobedience: the injustice when the wrongdoer "does not obey us who begat him, nor us who nurtured him" and the injustice when he breaks the agreement he made with the laws by "neither obey[ing] nor persuad[ing]" them (Plato, *Crito* 110, 51e). The former injustice implies that it is wrong to disobey one's benefactor, and the latter is premised on the idea that Socrates, by staying in Athens, has implicitly agreed to be governed by Athenian laws (Plato, *Crito* 110, 52c).

Disobedience, by escaping prison, would provoke the law into saying: "By this deed that you are attempting, what do you think you're doing, if not destroying us laws and the whole city?" (Plato, *Crito* 108, 50a-b). Socrates is illustrating that such a contract between the state and individual promotes harmony between the entities insofar that the agreement is heeded to. As an individual who consented, implicitly, to this contract by living in the state, he has a responsibility to obey the stipulations of the state to uphold his end of the contract. Importantly, in distinguishing the alternative of persuasion, Socrates makes clear that such obedience is not dangerous passivity or complete subjugation of personal reason and volition, as one might draw from 51b. The laws would respond, according to Socrates, by saying we "do not order him crudely to do whatever we bid" but rather permit him the alternative to persuade us if we "do something ignobly" (Plato, *Crito* 108, 52a). Of course, one can fail to persuade the state as Socrates does, but then he must abide by the state's decree thereafter. Ultimately, Socrates seems to be suggesting that it is an injustice to disobey an agreement and that some level of living justly is contingent on abiding by one's agreements, even if he must agree to something unjust.

The obey-or-persuade dictum that Soc-

rates interprets from his contract with Athenian laws also forms the basis for his contract with the individual and might suggest his unifying principle of justice. This contract is evident in *Crito*, where Socrates demonstrates his obligation to his friend Crito and explains why his concern is for the individual and not the many. While Crito is concerned primarily of the dangerous potential of 'the many' (Plato, *Crito* 101, 44b-c), Socrates reminds Crito that Socrates is not concerned about the many as much as the individual because the many cannot produce the greatest evil nor the greatest good, "for they aren't capable of making someone either prudent or imprudent, but do whatever they happen to do by chance" (Plato, *Crito* 102, 44d). The many, as a collective entity, lack the faculty to reason correctly and make sound judgments, an ability only an individual can possess (Plato, *Crito* 105, 47a-b). Thus, a just agreement can most easily be achieved between individuals rather than with the many, and this is the premise for Socrates's contract with individuals like Crito. He tells his friend, "For I regard it as important to act after persuading you, not while you are unwilling" (Plato, *Crito* 107, 48e).

Consistent with the idea of justice from Socrates's contract with the law, his contract with the individual is inherently reciprocal because the individual can choose to agree or to appeal using reason if a disagreement does arise. Again, central to Socrates's contracts appears to be a basis in reason and the need to reach harmony by agreement. If he cannot use his reason adequately to persuade Crito that escaping is unjust, he cannot be justified to proceed. Then, the logical consistency and unity of Socrates's contract with the law and with the individual serve to validate the universal principle he suggests that we follow, that we "abide by the things we agreed to" (Plato, *Crito* 108, 50a). At some level, Socrates's concept of justice appears to be fundamentally linked to the fulfillment of agreements even if they are implicit. If one chooses not to abide by an agreement, he can use his reason to persuade the other party. If he fails, he should comply and obey because one ought to keep one's agreements. I will refer to this as Socrates's unifying justice principle.

Importantly, Socrates's contract with the individual originates from a larger contract with the god at Delphi, as we understand from the *Apology*: Socrates's attempt to philosophize and persuade individuals to care for their virtues is not merely the "greatest benefaction" to Athenians (Plato, *Apology* 90, 36c) but ultimately obedience and service to the god (30e, 33c). Since one contract is derived from the other, they are inherently compatible. Ultimately, however, Socrates hoped that the court would see that he could abide by his contract with the state in obeying his agreement with the god (Plato, *Apology* 80, 28d-29a); as it is, his "whole care is to commit no unjust or impious deed" (Plato, *Apology* 85, 32d). Yet while his duty to the individual is compatible with his contract with the laws, and his duty to the individual is compatible with his duty to the god, his obedience to the god and contract with the laws seem to be at odds. In *Crito*, he establishes that one must always obey the laws of his state (Plato, *Crito* 110, 51b-e), but in *Apology*, he seems to suggest that he would disobey the state if ordered to stop philosophizing because to the obey the god is the better thing to do. "I, men of Athens, salute and love you, but I will obey the god rather than you; and as long as I breathe and am able to, I will certainly not

stop philosophizing" (Plato, *Apology* 81, 29d). If the statement is not merely a warning but a stipulation, then it appears that Socrates would be determined to do injustice unto the state in this instance. This would then seem to undermine Socrates's principle that it is wrong to do injustice to one's benefactors and unjust to not abide by his agreements with them, necessarily showing a divergence in the compatibility of his contracts. Are these two principles reconcilable?

One answer might be that the nature of the god according to Socrates necessitates an exception to his principle, and thus the unifying justice principle is not unifying in all cases. After pondering the god at Delphi's claim that Socrates is the wisest, he reasons: "surely he is not saying something false, at least; for that is not sanctioned for him" (Plato, *Apology* 60, 21b). This implies that his contract with the god demands obedience because it is in the god's nature to be truthful and therefore cannot be subject to any more reason beyond the initial reasoning that led him to obey. Therefore, persuasion here is both futile and unwarranted. His contracts with Athenian laws and individuals, which do rely on reasoning to either obedience or persuasion, necessarily identify the contract with the god to be of a different type, if not also superior, as the god cannot be disputed. If this is sufficient reasoning to suggest that two of Socrates's contracts cannot be completely compatible, the unifying principle of justice is invalidated in the case where his contract with the state demands that he disobey his contract with the god, or vice versa. Here, the two contracts cannot be upheld concurrently, and the divine agreement takes precedence.

Ultimately, the complexity of Socrates's character and life can be traced back to his attempt to follow a divinely inspired vocation within the confines of Athenian laws. Implicit agreements with private individuals, the state, and the god at Delphi, as I have interpreted from *Crito* and *Apology*, surface an important facet of Socrates's understanding of justice: that it is just to abide by what one has agreed to. However, his trial in *Apology* brings to light an instance of incompatibility between his contracts with the god and the state, which undermines this principle. Yet, Socrates's speech at the end of *Crito* seems to resolve this issue as he shows that it is possible for him to abide by all his agreements at what is arguably the most important and meaningful time to do so. In choosing death before exile (Plato, *Crito* 111, 52d), Socrates finds a way to avoid transgressing an agreement at the expense of another. By escaping and going into exile, he would have disobeyed the state's order for his death sentence and the god's, as he was set upon the city of Athens by a divine force to "awaken and persuade" the city and her people (Plato, *Apology* 82, 30e). While Plato shows a lapse in Socrates's justice principle in *Apology*, whether intentional on Plato's part or not, Plato at least seems to elevate the importance of Socrates having achieved harmony with his relations through the fulfillment of his agreements at the eve of death. Importantly, Plato ends the dialogue with Socrates having convinced Crito and saying, "Let us act in this way, since this way the god is leading" (*Crito* 114, 54e). Socrates shows himself to the very end to have lived his life with the assurance that he has used his reason to uphold his contracts with his relations.

Native Sons

Baldwin and Ellison on Being Black in America

Kyle Dorshorst

In his article "Wright, Ellison, Baldwin – Exorcising the Demon", author Jerry Bryant describes how three Black writers – Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and James Baldwin – played an integral role in the literary examination of racial life in mid-twentieth century America. With Wright's seminal novel *Native Son* setting the stage for this new era of African American letters, Bryant declares that "Ellison and Baldwin mark the next stage of the revolution. Their novels suggest the growing sophistication and assertiveness of black writers and the black people out of whom they grow" (Bryant 179). Acknowledging the stylistic differences between these two writers, Bryant says that "beneath their differences they indicate the surfacing of the black culture's complexity, a greater self-awareness, and a more intense determination to embrace their blackness as a high value and as a means for changing the face of America" (Bryant 180). In their works, James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison present two differing conceptions of the African American consciousness: Baldwin writes of the tension that comes from feeling like an interloper caught between two worlds, while Ellison presents a feeling of overwhelming invisibility. In both cases, though, each author makes the case that the Black experience in America is absolutely fundamental to, and inseparable from, the American experience as a whole.

A prolific essayist, James Baldwin provides in his writings a deeply personal insight into his life and the experiences that shaped his worldview. In the "Autobiographical Notes," which serve as an introduction to his essay collection *Notes of a Native Son*, James Baldwin writes about feeling out of place as a Black man living in America. As he says, "the most crucial time in my own development came when I was forced to recognize that I was a kind of bastard of the West; when I followed the line of my past I did not find myself in Europe but in Africa". Referencing the cultural and geographic landscape of Western civilization, ranging from the works of Shakespeare to the streets of Paris, he says that "these were not really my creations, they did not contain my history; I might search in them in vain forever for any reflection of myself. I was an interloper; this was not my heritage" (Baldwin 7). Yet, at the same time, due to the legacy of slavery which had torn his ancestors away from Africa, he says, "I had no other heritage [besides that of the West] which I could possibly hope to use" (Baldwin 8). Feeling "unfitted for the jungle or the tribe", Baldwin writes that, therefore, "I would have to appropriate these white centuries, I would have to make them mine––I would have to accept my special attitude, my special place in this scheme––otherwise I would have no place in *any* scheme" (Baldwin 8). Baldwin decides that the only possible response to his lack of a sense of belonging is to take and embrace his place at the center of the Western society in which he finds himself, despite its hostility to his very existence. The same forces which were responsible for severing him from his ancestral home––and therefore causing his inner turmoil––refused to accept him as an equal within the Jim Crow social order. Yet, he refuses to allow this to erase his knowledge

of his own humanity.

Baldwin undertakes the task of forging his idea of African American identity throughout *Notes of a Native Son*. In the essay "Many Thousands Gone", Baldwin writes, "the story of the Negro in America is the story of America, or, more precisely, it is the story of Americans" (Baldwin 19). In a similar vein, Baldwin also writes, "Negroes are Americans and their destiny is the country's destiny. They have no other experience besides their experience on this continent and it is an experience which cannot be rejected, which yet remains to be embraced" (Baldwin 32). While Baldwin describes his personal choice to embrace his own innate American-ness, he acknowledges that the challenges of Black life in America make it difficult for others to do the same. As a conclusion to this essay, Baldwin denounces the idea that the only way for Black Americans to gain acceptance is to abandon their distinct identity in favor of a more general view of what American society would expect of them. He says that "this assumption once accepted, the Negro in America can only acquiesce in the obliteration of his own personality, the distortion and debasement of his own experience, surrendering to those forces which reduce the person to anonymity and which make themselves manifest daily all over the darkening world" (Baldwin 34). Baldwin's call to rebel against this idea, as well as all other forces in American society which aim to oppress and marginalize Black Americans, evokes similar themes contained in Ralph Ellison's magnum opus, *Invisible Man*. That novel depicts a Black man fighting against the societal pressures that Baldwin mentions here, embracing the notion of Black invisibility yet reclaiming his individual identity in the process.

Regarding Ralph Ellison and *Invisible Man*, Baldwin wrote in the aforementioned "Autobiographical Notes" that "Mr. Ellison… is the first Negro novelist I have ever read to utilize in language, and brilliantly, some of the ambiguity and irony of Negro life" (Baldwin 9). Ellison does this through the eyes of an unnamed Narrator, who serves as a cipher for college-educated African American men of this era. From the very first page of the book's prologue, the Narrator asserts, "I am an invisible man" (Ellison 3). He is shown living a solitary existence deep underground, although it is not immediately clear what led him to that point. Instead, he only says, "I myself, after existing some twenty years, did not become alive until I discovered my invisibility" (Ellison 7). The journey of how the Narrator discovered this invisibility, then, becomes the subject of the novel. Following the prologue the narrative goes back in time roughly twenty years, depicting the Narrator's youth growing up in the American South. There, he receives cryptic advice from his dying grandfather, advice which is referenced several times throughout the novel. He tells him, "'Live with your head in the lion's mouth. I want you to overcome 'em with yeses, undermine 'em with grins, agree 'em to death and destruction, let 'em swoller you till they vomit or bust wide open'" (Ellison 16). Speaking about the situation of African Americans living in a society dominated by white Americans and the racist policies of Jim Crow, the Narrator's grandfather attempts to equip him with the necessary tools to navigate this treacherous existence.

Upon leaving his childhood home

and attending university, the Narrator encounters a societal structure which continually puts his grandfather's advice to the test. Witnessing the deference he exhibits towards a wealthy white benefactor, a Black military veteran gives a pronouncement which outlines the tensions underpinning the novel. He says of the Narrator,

> Already he's learned to repress not only his emotions but his humanity. He's invisible, a walking personification of the Negative, the most perfect achievement of your dreams, sir! The mechanical man! … He believes in that great false wisdom taught slaves and pragmatists alike, that white is right. I can tell you *his* destiny. He'll do your bidding, and for that his blindness is his chief asset. (Ellison 94-5)

Here, Ellison lays the seeds for a major idea which will run throughout the book, which is the relationship between blindness and invisibility. At this stage, the Narrator's invisibility is implied by others but not recognized by himself, and for that reason he is blind. Later on, as the veil is lifted and he slowly discovers the truth of his own invisibility, this same blindness will instead be attributed to others who fail to see this essential truth.

As the novel progresses, taking the Narrator from his Southern university up to Harlem–– the center of African American life in the North––he continues to question who he is and what his place in the world should be. He eventually joins the shadowy and mysterious Brotherhood, a group with vaguely Marxist characteristics whose attention he attracts after an impassioned speech at the scene of an eviction. Upon joining this organization, he receives a new name (which is not revealed to the reader, reinforcing the sense of invisibility and anonymity) as well as a newfound sense of purpose. The Narrator becomes able to "see the possibility of achieving something greater and more important than I'd ever dreamed… For the first time, lying there in the dark, I could glimpse the possibility of being more than a member of a race" (Ellison 355). With this statement, Ellison poses the question of whether or not one can truly move beyond race, a position espoused by the ostensible color-blindness of the Brotherhood. In their interactions with the Narrator, they continually negate the significance of his race, instead embracing class struggle as the force which will unify the working peoples of America. While initially portrayed as a model of toleration, the Brotherhood's abstract ideology and obsession with a scientific view of history and societal progress (rather than concern for the individual) will later be revealed as further evidence of Black invisibility in the eyes of those who claim to be on their side.

Over time, the Narrator's stature steadily grows within the Brotherhood and around Harlem, reaching what one could call his 'peak visibility' as he conducts interviews with local magazines and is constantly recognized by people on the street. As he puts it, "my new name was getting around." Yet, the Narrator also notices a growing gulf between who he was before and who he is now. He describes

> becoming aware that there were two of me: the old self that slept a few hours a night and dreamed sometimes of my grandfather and Bledsoe and Brockway and Mary, the self that flew without wings and plunged from great heights; and the new public self that spoke

> for the Brotherhood and was becoming so much more important than the other that I seemed to run a foot race against myself. (Ellison 379-80)

Embracing his new role as a highly successful community activist, the Narrator wrestles with maintaining his original identity. His increased prominence also breeds resentment within the Brotherhood, an organization with whom he becomes disillusioned. The Narrator realizes that the Brotherhood's stance of racial tolerance was actually a position of complete racial apathy, caring only for the advancement of their own goals and not for the betterment of the Black residents of Harlem as the Narrator had thought. Upon confronting the group for their lies and abandonment, their blindness to Black plight is revealed through the symbolism of leader Brother Jack's glass eye––there for appearances, but ultimately a façade. Realizing the depth of their betrayal, the Narrator thinks to himself, "so that is the meaning of discipline, I thought, sacrifice… yes, and blindness; he doesn't see me. He doesn't even see me" (Ellison 475). Rather than finding the real sense of purpose that he had been seeking within the Brotherhood, the Narrator instead sees that he was a pawn to be used and discarded. As he says, "Outside the Brotherhood we [Blacks] were outside history; but inside of it they didn't see us" (Ellison 499).

With the split from the Brotherhood serving as a crucial turning point for the Narrator's character, Ellison dives into a full exploration of the concept of Black invisibility that had been an undercurrent to the novel up to this point. In a long soliloquy of thought, the Narrator reflects,

> well I *was* and yet I was invisible, that was the fundamental contradiction. I was and yet I was unseen… and now all past humiliations become previous parts of my experience, and for the first time… I began to accept my past… images of past humiliations flickered through my head and I saw that they were more than separate experiences. They were me; they defined me. I was my experiences and my experiences were me. (Ellison 507)

This embrace of his lived experience is an act of rebellion against the forces of debasement which James Baldwin explores in his essays, an active choice not to 'surrender to those forces which reduce the person to anonymity'. The Narrator's disillusionment with the blind Brotherhood is on full display, and he resents the unknowing part that he played in helping to advance their objectives. Embracing his newfound sense of self, he resolves to take action:

> I was simply a material, a natural resource to be used… except I now recognized my invisibility. So I'd accept it, explore it, rine and heart… I didn't know what my grandfather had meant, but I was ready to test his advice. I'd overcome them with yeses, undermine them with grins, I'd agree them to death and destruction. (Ellison 508)

Returning to Harlem, the Narrator discovers scenes of violent looting, the result of growing tensions within the community. While there, a figure referred to as Ras the Destroyer, who serves as the Narrator's bellicose foil, calls for the Narrator to be hanged for his previous association with the white-dominated Brotherhood. This reference to hanging evokes the history of lynching in this country, and its clear association with white mob violence perpetrated against African Americans.

The Narrator, incredulous at this turn of events, reflects,

> I was invisible, and hanging would not bring me to visibility… and that I, a little black man with an assumed name should die because a big black man in his hatred and confusion over the nature of a reality that seemed controlled solely by white men whom I knew to be as blind as he, was just too much, too outrageously absurd. And I knew that it was better to live out one's own absurdity than to die for that of others. (Ellison 559)

With this new perspective, he leaves the scene, turning his back on both the Brotherhood and the residents of Harlem. His worldview shaken, he resolves to go underground, declaring, "the end was in the beginning", bringing the narrative back to the circumstances of the prologue (Ellison 571).

The epilogue of *Invisible Man* features further reflection by the Narrator on his experiences. He declares, "I'm an invisible man and it placed me in a hole––or showed me the hole I was in, if you will––and I reluctantly accepted the fact". He continues, "So after years of trying to adopt the opinions of others I finally rebelled. I am an *invisible* man. Thus I have come a long way and returned and boomeranged a long way from the point in society toward which I originally aspired" (Ellison 572-73). Faced with continual setbacks at every turn due to his race, he embraces a pessimistic view of whether or not one can ever escape their origins, as he had previously tried to do. However, with this realization, he clarifies that "I'm invisible, not blind" (Ellison 576). His experiences have taught him the central importance of understanding one's own identity if they are to take their place in society. These identities, though, are not meant to divide, but rather to imbue each with the capacity for compassion. The answer is not the Brotherhood's blindness, but rather the Narrator's newfound sight. With his eyes now open to the truth, he resolves to emerge, saying, "I'm shaking off the old skin and I'll leave it here in the hole. I'm coming out, no less invisible without it, but coming out nevertheless… there's a possibility that even an invisible man has a socially responsible role to play" (Ellison 581). It was only by recognizing the common humanity that he shares with others that the Narrator was able to understand himself.

Through his continuous references to invisibility, Ellison underscores the fact that despite Black Americans' integral place in the fabric of the United States, their struggles and desires are too often overlooked by those who hold power within society. James Baldwin echoes this idea of exclusion during a debate that he had with the conservative intellectual William F. Buckley at the Cambridge Union in 1965, which was published under the title "The American Dream and the American Negro". He says of living as a Black man in America, "It comes as a great shock to discover that the country which is your birthplace and to which you owe your life and identity has not, in its whole system of reality, evolved any place for you" (Baldwin 715). Baldwin decries the denial of full participation in civic life given to Blacks in America, the result of systemic factors built up over years of racist attitudes that many in his day still shared. As a result of this exclusion, Baldwin argues, the promise of America cannot be realized. Until

the American Dream is attainable for all its citizens, it cannot be seen to truly exist. As he concludes,

> until the moment comes when we, the Americans, are able to accept the fact that my ancestors are both black and white, that on that continent we are trying to forge a new identity, that we need each other, that I am not a ward of America… I am one of the people who built the country––until this moment comes there is scarcely any hope for the American dream. If the people are denied participation in it, by their very presence they will wreck it. (Baldwin 718-19)

Taken together, Baldwin and Ellison both situate their work within the broader American tradition in order to emphasize the centrality of Black people to the story of America. In Michael Nowlin's article "Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, and the Liberal Imagination", the author emphasizes that these writers viewed their work as fundamentally American. Nowlin describes how Ellison, receiving a National Book Award for *Invisible Man* in 1953, in "his acceptance address declared that America was his country and his culture as well… making the presence of African Americans a vital component of the culture of the country" (Nowlin 121-22). He continues, "Ellison and the early Baldwin represented African Americans, in effect, as exceptionally positioned…to know that racial politics––and their uncertain outcome––are what Americans, in returning to themselves, must inevitably return to confront" (Nowlin 129). Indeed, America continues to struggle with the legacy of racial politics. The modern carceral state has created a new generation of 'invisible men' in America's prisons, with African American men disproportionately represented in the prison population of the United States. As they become separated and segregated from the rest of society, bearing that scar on their record even after they are released, which in turn makes it difficult to find steady employment and rebuild their lives, one is reminded of Baldwin's identification of forces in America which deny the essential humanity of its Black citizens. Instances of contemporary activism, most notably the Black Lives Matter movement, aim to reassert that humanity in the face of widespread injustice within the law-enforcement system specifically and in society at large. The protests which swept across the nation over the summer of 2020 drew attention to this important issue, but far more remains to be done.

As explored by both Baldwin and Ellison, the race question has been an integral aspect of America since its very beginning––casting a shadow over all else, to reference the epigraph that Ellison includes from Melville's *Benito Cereno*. Yet, as a vital component of the American identity, it is a topic which must be explored. As the Narrator of *Invisible Man* says,

> Knowing now who I was and where I was and knowing too that I had no longer to run for or from the Jacks and the Emersons and the Bledsoes and the Nortons, but only from their confusion, impatience, and refusal to recognize the beautiful absurdity of their American identity and mine. (Ellison 559)

By embracing and recognizing this 'beautiful absurdity of their American identity', Baldwin and Ellison made invaluable contributions to American society. Their important work is continued today, with modern writers like

Nikole Hannah-Jones reexamining the legacy of American slavery in her '1619 Project' with the *New York Times*. They and others place the Black experience at the forefront of the American story, recalling Baldwin's statement in his essay "Many Thousands Gone" that "it is an experience which cannot be rejected, which yet remains to be embraced" (Baldwin 7). James Baldwin's words still ring true today, yet the aforementioned examples of burgeoning social change bestow a measure of hope that America is closer to embracing that truth than ever before. In doing so, through building on the work done by those who have come before, we can serve to bring the nation closer to its founding ideals by affirming the value and humanity of all her native sons.

An Argument for Reading *Moby Dick* Queerly

Madeline Foley

I intend to make an argument for reading *Moby Dick* queerly, primarily focusing on Leo Bersani's essay "Is the Rectum a Grave?" and Eve Sedgwick's *The Epistemology of the Closet*. This project will operate dually: within the content of the text itself, and then withdrawing to treat the text as an experience in relation to the reader.

I cannot argue as to why I can read *Moby Dick* with queer theory without peering into the text itself. These texts have approximately a century of technological, cultural, and philosophical distance between them. However, all three explore issues of meaning and meaninglessness, the construction and dissolution of the self, sex, violence, and death. Furthermore, the opening chapters of *Moby Dick* reads like a homosexual erotica from its own era, giving the reader a clue as to what sort of form and content might be unfolding in the remainder of the text. After spending days agonizing over the character and characteristics of his unknown future bedmate, the protagonist Ishmael falls into bed with Queequeg and Melville—through Ishmael—describes them as a "cosy, loving pair," as happy as a married couple on honeymoon. Immediately after, Ishmael temporarily suspends his moral commitments to Christianity in order to "worship" Queequeg's "wood."[1] Over the next few chapters, Ishmael embarks on a journey into an almost-entirely homosocial sphere, where his fellow shipmates are introduced as affectionate pairs of harpooneers and headsmen;[2] these echo common gay stereotypes of "tops" and "bottoms"—the descriptions of the harpooneers show them as physically "gigantic," stolid figures who, of course, wield the phallic object on behalf of the partnership. The aim of the men of the ship is to go whaling; the same aim, framed another way, is to penetrate the object of their desire and procure sperm. I do not believe I am unfair in utilizing this descriptive parallel of a pun. As the story progresses, Melville utilizes images and phrases that leave the reader wondering, "Surely, he can't have meant *that*?" Chapter 94, in which Queequeg and Ishmael ecstatically bathe together in sperm, is one such moment. Another is Chapter 35's detailed catalogue on the size of the "masts" of seemingly every great man who ever lived. Yet another is the moment in which Ahab's prosthetic leg slips and jabs upwards towards his crotch, leaving the reader to wonder whether Ahab was castrated.[3] Such moments of wondering what actually is happening, or if the pun was intentional, are frequent throughout the text. Melville offers sexual innuendo at every turn, but always with plausible deniability.

Scholarship already exists that both justifies and illustrates a queer reading of *Moby Dick*. Eve Sedgwick in her *Epistemology of the Closet* treats *Billy Budd*, another of Melville's works, as a quintessential example of queer epistemologies. For Sedgwick, queer epistemology is concerned with the "closet". Knowledge is often kept hidden as an open secret because danger would arise if the se-

1 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 10.

2 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 27.

3 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 106.

cret were to be confirmed. A queer epistemology, or a queer way of knowing, is a "centuries-old code by which the-articulated-denial-of-articulability always had the possibility of meaning two things"[4]—a game of sharing hints which will be received rightly by some audiences without ever straight-forwardly defining one's self. To even define homosexuality—to name a text or a person as "gay" with certainty—is to behave heterosexually:

> "Accession to heterosexual entitlement has, for these modern centuries, always been on the ground of a cultivated and compulsory denial of the unknowability, of the arbitrariness and self-contradictoriness, of homo/heterosexual definition."[5]

This "triumphant interpretive formula," the attempt to make transparent the meaning between signifiers and subjects; the public and the private; out-of-the-closet and within it, is that which "animates and perpetuates the mechanism of homophobic male self-ignorance and violence and manipulability."[6] I argue that reading this particular "triumphant interpretive formula" of meaning-making as violence is of great importance for *Moby Dick*.

Sedgwick complicates her picture of speech acts and meaning-making, writing:

> "'Closetedness' itself is a performance initiated as such by the speech act of silence—not a particular silence, but a silence that accrues particularity by fits and starts, in relation to the discourse that surrounds and differentially constitutes it."[7]

When Ahab's prosthetic leg breaks, Melville writes, "As touching all Ahab's deeper part, every revelation partook more of significant darkness than of explanatory light. But, in the end, it all came out; this one matter did, at least."[8] The contradiction in the statements is notable: did it all come out, or only this matter? And to what does the narrator actually refer? Whatever it is, it is the "secret" explanation for why Ahab had "hidden himself away" in the depths of a kind of closet within the Pequod.

As Melville constructs his narrative, the reader is repeatedly left wondering what was *not* said; he utilizes a peculiar kind of speech act— that is, the type of speech act constituted by intentional silence— which can only be filled by the reader's imagination. What *did* Queequeg and Ishmael fill their afternoons with atop the crow's nest? Was the weaving scene really about weaving? At any point, is there a crossover between sperm *oil* and what may just be called sperm? However, Sedgwick writes that the act of actually coming out "may have nothing to do with the acquisition of new information." Thus, I do not intend to read *Moby Dick* as simply "about homosexuality," but queerly—the difference being, of course, that reading *Moby Dick* as "about homosexuality" is to assign a stable content of meaning to it, while reading *Moby Dick* queerly is to approach the text with a

4 Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 204.
5 Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 204.
6 Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 204.
7 Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 3.
8 Ch. 106.

queer hermeneutic—after encountering certain homosexual-sounding innuendo, incoherencies, codes, and clues which indicate the text's focus on unknowability itself.

Forcing *Moby Dick* to "come out" would not actually add any new information, in no small part because the reader already has what she needs to know in order to begin a queer reading: a reading concerned with ironic and incomplete ways of knowing, a reading concerned with themes of "bodies and pleasures," sex and death. Would Melville saying, "Yes, it is about gay sex," improve the novel? I argue that it would do grave harm to the value of the text.[9] To prove this, in a slightly ironic and provisionary sense, I will read *Moby Dick* with "Is the Rectum a Grave?" to argue that the text is an *example* of sex, and its value is specifically the "value of powerlessness," which Phallocentrism denies.[10] According to Leo Bersani, a text, insofar as it provokes in the reader a "drama of disorientation and tentative empowerment,"[11] serves the same function and provokes the same response in the reader as homosexual penetration serves for the masculinized ideal subject.

To illustrate this point I will now turn to articulate Bersani's argument about sex writ broadly before returning to its relation to language and epistemology. Bersani argues that the rectum is where the masculinized ideal subject goes to die. He means this on two levels: the level of the Western ideal, and the level of the speaking "subject" articulated in psychoanalysis. In ancient Athenian culture, the penetrating partner in male-male sex has been understood to be virtuous and manly, while the penetrated partner has been understood to be powerless and womanly. Bersani writes that Americans saw in AIDS-positive children the "seductive and intolerable image of a grown man, legs high in the air, unable to refuse the suicidal ecstasy of being a woman."[12] A man "being a woman" is suicidal, he argues, because this act is "the grave in which the masculine ideal of proud subjectivity is buried."[13]

Echoing Hegel, Bersani argues that "posit[ing]" "persons,"[14] or stable Selves, becomes a violent war in the attempt to assert power relations: it is "the self that swells with excitement at the idea of being on top."[15] But rather than the psychoanalytic reading of sex as primarily "self-hyperbole" or the "phallicizing of the ego," Bersani wants to point to an alternate possibility. He notes "it is *possible* to think of the sexual as, precisely, moving between a hyperbolic sense of self and a lost of all consciousness of self"[16] (emphasis mine). He does not mean "gentleness, or non-ag-

9 Sedgwick writes, similarly, on Esther: "I am convinced, however, that part of the point of the story is that the reifying effect of periphrasis and pretension on this particular meaning is, if anything, more damaging than (though not separable from) its obliterative effect. To have succeeded—which was not to be taken for granted—in cracking the centuries-old code by which the-articulated-denial-of-articulability always had the possibility of meaning two things, of meaning either (heterosexual) 'nothing' or 'homosexual meaning,' would also always have been to assume one's place in a discourse in which there was homosexual meaning, in which all homosexual meaning meant a single thing. To crack a code and enjoy the reassuring exhilarations of knowingness is to buy into the specific formula 'We Know What That Means.'" Eve Sedgwick, *The Epistemology of the Closet*, 203.

10 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 217.

11 Sedgwick on *Billy Budd*. Eve Sedgwick, *The Epistemology of the Closet*, 98.

12 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 212.

13 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 222.

14 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 218.

15 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 218.

16 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 218.

gressiveness," or "passivity," but "a more radical disintegration and humiliation of the self." The potential for such *jouissance* in sex is terrifying—even Freud was reluctant to posit it—because it "removes the sexual from the intersubjective."[17]

In psychoanalysis, but specifically for Lacan—whom Bersani does not name but is illuminating here—the intersubjective is the realm of language. A subject can normally communicate with other subjects using signifiers like speech act. The self-dissolution Bersani describes is an experience at a "certain threshold of intensity," at which, when "reached," "the organization of the self is momentarily disturbed" and the subject loses both any claim that his experience is "his" and his ability to use language in the same way.[18]

Bersani moves on to the strange bedfellows of Foucault, MacKinnon, and Dworkin, who all argue that the powerlessness of bottoming—used here to mean the reception of penetration—must be avoided. Bersani locates their aversion to powerlessness in not only their recommendations but in their abstractions, and therefore avoidance of, the reality of what one might call the text of the sex act. He writes, "The penis has been sanitized and sublimated into the phallus as the original signifier;" and "S&M becomes a parody of fascism";[19] among other abstractions. The violence towards gay men and women is *also* related to a certain "aversion-displacement": a "displaced misogyny," a "hatred of what is projected as 'passive' and therefore female."[20] Both displacements have their source in a "certain agreement about what sex should be." This abstraction from the materiality, or text, of sex is both an attempted escape from the dissolution of the subject and a complicity in that oppressive violence which physically murders people who have sex in ways they ought not.[21] Thus, the act of assigning final, abstracted meaning to materiality is a heterosexual, penetrative, violent act, which stems from an aversion to powerlessness and a rejection of—or fear of—the dissolution of the Self.

Instead of abstracting his own final meaning from sex, Bersani begins offering an anatomical reading of the sexual act. Then, as Ishmael does when he withdraws from his allegorical and philosophical reflections, he hastily reminds the reader that he does not intend to "propose an essentialist view of sexuality."[22] This hermeneutic is the same queer hermeneutic of the possibility of reading the same speech acts two ways, allowing the text to retain its incoherence, which Sedgwick details and in which *Moby Dick* illustrates. Bersani—and one might imagine Ishmael doing the same, hence my selective elisions—offers a "reflection on the fantastic potential of the [...] body," "the fantasies engendered by its [...] anatomy and the specific moves it makes" which is "not the same thing as an a priori, ideologically motivated, and prescriptive description of the essence of sexuality" or, for our purposes, whales.[23]

17 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 217.
18 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 217.
19 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 220.
20 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 221.
21 Grace Jantzen's description of Lacan's Phallocentric approach to language is helpful here: she writes that for Lacan, language—imagined to be a stable, final assignation of meaning—aims at "becoming god-like in mastery and knowledge and exerting [the Self's] domination over all (m)others." See Grace Jantzen, *Becoming Divine: Towards a Feminist Philosophy of Religion*.
22 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 216.
23 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 216.

Here, I would like to make several notes. First, the reader, like a person having sex, experiences a real "failure to control and manipulate the world beyond the self."[24] Any allegorical meaning implied as well as the fact of the literal text of *Moby Dick* remain outside of— even while both are interpreted by— the reader. Bersani proposes that gay sex, inasmuch as its "sexual equipment appears to invite [a certain reading] by analogy,"[25] dissolves the mastering self which lays claim to a firm grasp of language and meaning. Similarly, Sedgwick writes that any claim that "We Know What That Means" is a lie.

I argue first that both the text of Moby Dick *and* its content, the "equipment" used in whaling, are analogous to the anatomical source for Bersani's reading of sex. Both "invite" analogy, can be read multiple ways, but have a certain irreducible reality to them. At the level of the plot, it is impossible to avoid the actual necessity of a harpoon to kill a whale, and one cannot avoid the phallus, whether biological or otherwise, if one is having penetrative sex. The text and each type of Phallus—the literal phallus and the harpoon—are images chosen in part because of their unavoidable closeness to power, penetration, and violence, but also because they must physically retain a certain shape in order to accomplish their tasks.

Second, I argue that the attempt to assign a certain meaning to *Moby Dick* parallels Ahab's futile attempt to find and kill Moby Dick. This operates on two levels. The text produces what Bersani would call a "phantasmatic" potential for analogy, but—and this is crucial—does not allow an "a priori, ideologically motivated, and prescriptive description of the essence of *Moby Dick*. Certain sections of *Moby Dick* explicitly forbid allegory:

> "So ignorant are most landsmen of some of the plainest and most palpable wonders of the world, that without some hints touching the plain facts, historical and otherwise, of the fishery, they might scout at Moby Dick as a monstrous fable, or still worse and more detestable, a hideous and intolerable allegory."[26]

Simultaneously, the text also invites allegory, describing the whale as a physical instantiation of the form of whiteness—"a dumb blankness, full of meaning," which "to analyse it, would seem impossible," and "yet in some dim, random way," Ishmael feels compelling to "explain" it, "else all these chapters might be naught."[27] He acknowledges the impossibility of fully describing the whale, stating that he aims to "prov[e] [former] pictures of the whale all wrong,"[28] and then offers a catalogue of types of whales. His reflection on the futility of this attempt is as follows:

> "For all these reasons, then, any way you may look at it, you must needs conclude that the great Leviathan is that one creature in the world which must remain unpainted to the last. True, one portrait may hit the mark much nearer than another, but none can hit it with any very considerable degree of exactness. So there is no earthly way of finding out

24 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 216.
25 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 218.
26 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 45.
27 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 42.
28 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 55.

> precisely what the whale really looks like. And the only mode in which you can derive even a tolerable idea of his living contour, is by going a whaling yourself; but by so doing, you run no small risk of being eternally stove and sunk by him."[29]

An example of a person who ran afoul of that risk is Ahab, symbolically castrated in both senses of the phrase by Moby Dick.[30] If one reads Ahab as avenging his own loss of Phallus—his agent of mastery of signification—which was "reaped" away, calling to mind the Grim Reaper, the reader should note that he dies in the attempt. To die operates at the level of the plot as a material fact. When read with Bersani, this death invites the analogy, though not a final analogy, of the death of the reader, inasmuch as the reader is someone who attempts to penetrate and master a text through the assignment of a final meaning.
Sedgwick writes of *Billy Budd* that the reader is,

> "invented as a subject in relation to the 'world' of the novel by an act of interpellation that is efficacious to the degree that it is contradictory, appealing to the reader on the basis of an assumed sharing of cognitive authority whose ground is hollowed out in the very act of the appeal. The reader is both threatened with and incited to violence at the same time as knowledge. This is also the rhetorical structure of a pivotal moment of the plot of *Billy Budd*."

Where she uses *Billy Budd,* I posit the same parallel between readership and the death of Ahab in *Moby Dick*. The abstraction which Ahab transfers and isolates in the figure of the whale results in physical violence; the reader embarks upon a symbolic violence when he undertakes a penetrative leap of meaning to say to *Moby Dick*, "We Know What That Means," and reduce its speech which can—and must—be understood in multiple ways, to some final definition.

The attempt at such violence cannot succeed. *Moby Dick* and Moby Dick successfully avoid, in the end, being killed. When Ahab's attempt to avenge the loss of his wholeness becomes violent, he resists the dissolution of his Self by seeking to kill that which symbolically castrated him. When the reader attempts to pin down—or harpoon, like Ahab—the meaning of the text, the reader utilizes violent heterosexual logic. The reader has attempted to avoid, through his own aversion, the value of *Moby Dick* which is the same value that Bersani assigns to sexuality: *"To demean the seriousness of efforts to redeem it."*[31] *Moby Dick*, through its contradicting resistance to and participation in allegory and analogizing, does violence from the start to any attempt at a whole composition of a construction of meaning, thus demeaning and rendering the reader powerless. *Moby*

29 Herman Melville, Moby Dick: Or, the Whale (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), ch. 55.

30 "Symbolically castrated" first in the layperson sense: the text details the failure of his prosthetic but on the matter of castration only says that it "all but pierced his groin"; secondly, "symbolically castrated" in the psychoanalytic sense of, upon entrance into the relational, losing one's original access to the fulfillment of meaning, causing one's whole life to be devoted to the relentless pursuit of such fulfillment of meaning. Melville describes Moby Dick, for Ahab, as the site of "transfer[ence]" of that "intangible malignity which has been from the beginning" in "all deep men." Though, of course, "It is not probable that this monomania in him took its instant rise at the precise time of his bodily dismemberment"-- as, for Lacan and Freud, the symbolic castration did not necessarily factually occur in time but was an accumulation of excessive stimuli during child development and the gradual constitution of the Self—for Ahab, "torn body and gashed soul bled into one another; and so interfusing, made him mad."

31 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 222.

Dick does violence to the masterful reader, the Self which is premised on its "extraordinary willingness to kill in order to protect the seriousness of [its] statements."[32] This parallels Moby Dick, who does violence to both Ahab and the seriousness of Ahab's self-identity. The two Moby Dicks render both Ahab and the reader literally and symbolically powerless—they kill the attempted killer.

But Sedgwick writes, and I note, that the reader is "*threatened* with and *incited* to" violence and knowledge, but he is never *forced* into them. Bersani suggests that we celebrate the rectum's potential to be a *nonviolent* dissolution of the self. After all, the reader who must die is the reader who attempts to kill. If we are able to read *Moby Dick* at all, perhaps we ought to look for a nonviolent approach to the text. Where else to look but, as before, within the text—at the lone survivor of Moby Dick? The survivor of the text floats away on the coffin of his harpooneer to tell the story—a story of half-truths and plausibly-deniable innuendo. To retain one's ability to read *Moby Dick*, one must not attempt violence, the completion of meaning, or even the retention of whole selfhood, because the reader, like Ahab, cannot and will not win the war without destroying the text.[33] Instead, I argue that the nonviolent reading is the queer reading: an engagement of love which dissolves one's own attempts at coherence and mastery. Such love is the love of Ishmael, who spends an entire book discussing and endlessly describing whaling, full of laughter and incompleteness. He writes in Chapter 103,

> "How vain and foolish, then, thought I, for timid untravelled man to try to comprehend aright this wondrous whale, by merely poring over his dead attenuated skeleton, stretched in this peaceful wood. No. Only in the heart of quickest perils; only when within the eddyings of his angry flukes; only on the profound unbounded sea, can the fully invested whale be truly and livingly found out."

To live through these perils, that is, the world of *Moby Dick* (and Moby Dick!), one cannot fully describe the text but must instead experience it. To experience it, one must accept the demeaning of the seriousness of one's statements, as Bersani suggests. We might adopt the epistemology Stubb suggests: "A laugh's the wisest, easiest answer to all that's queer."[34] But we cannot forget that before being able to speak in this way, Ishmael was abandoned at the end of the plot with the incomplete and relational symbolic violence of being left lonely in "a life buoy of a coffin!"—the coffin of his lover. We, the readers who find ourselves in the same symbolic situation, might agree with Stubb, who exclaims: "Rather queer, that, I should say."[35]

32 Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?", 222.

33 As with all things in this essay, either actual or metaphorical destruction—either fits.

34 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), Ch. 39.

35 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), Ch. 126.

On the Treatment of Homosexuals in the *Divine Comedy*

Madeline Foley

In Cantos XV and XVI of the *Inferno*, Dante places homosexual lust within the category of violence against God while heterosexual lust is placed in Canto V in the second circle of Hell. However, in Canto XXVI of the *Purgatorio*, Dante places repentant homosexuals alongside repentant heterosexuals in the highest terrace of Purgatory, implying a similarity between the lustful behavior of heterosexual and homosexual persons. This is a different categorization than the one in the *Inferno*, where the two types of sexual transgression are separated according to their natures of incontinence and violence, respectively. In this essay I will attempt to question Dante's different categorizations of lust in the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* and the possible implications of his views. My argument echoes other arguments such as the arguments of John Boswell[1] and Teodolinda Barolini,[2] by whom I was inspired, though I differ from the above because I intend to argue that Dante is not explicitly progressive but suggests a complex and subtle portrayal of homosexuality. I make this argument not through the exploration of the 'hermaphrodite' or through reference to Aristotelian views of incontinence but through Dante's construction of the structure of Hell, Dante's sympathy, the similarity of the two groups' punishments in Hell, and the literary parallelism of the vocal metaphors used during the purgation in the highest terrace.

When Dante encounters the heterosexually lustful in the second circle of Hell, "pity seize[s]" him, (V. 71-72) specifically after hearing of the names of knights and ladies condemned to Hell. His reaction of feeling like "a man astray" (72) implies that he may have previously valued courtly love and is sympathetic to the plight of those condemned due to its throes. This circle of Hell punishes its resident sinners through continual wind buffets, showing that the lustful are buffeted by their impulses in a slavish and uncontrollable manner. The heterosexually lustful are placed in this circle due to their incontinence, loosely defined as excessive desire for good things. The narrator has so much sympathy for this apparently irresistible form of incontinence that he faints because he is persuaded by Francesca's tale and her description of love as that which "releases no beloved from loving" (103).

When Dante encounters the homosexually lustful in the seventh circle of Hell among the violent against God, he is first greeted by his beloved teacher, Brunetto Latini, and asks: "are you here, Ser Brunetto?" (XV, 30). His encounter with Latini is one of intense affection. Dante requests to stay with Latini, though Latini informs him of the danger of his request and they decide to walk together instead. Latini describes his comrades as those of "repute and excellence" (102), "clerics and men of letters and of fame" (106-107). Canto XVI uses similar language when Virgil informs Dante that "to these one must show courtesy" (XVI, 15) alongside a similar exhortation to keep moving lest fire fall upon

1 John E. Boswell, "Dante and the Sodomites." *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, no. 112, 1994, pp. 63–76. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40166490.

2 Teodolinda Barolini, "*Purgatorio* 26: Human Sexuality." *Commento Baroliniano,* Digital Dante. (New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2014).

Dante. They circle him, "naked, oiled" as though they are about to attack—though in sportlike, not violent, fashion—and introduce themselves as men of great fame, such great fame that Dante longs to embrace them, but does not out of fear of the fire. In both cantos, the homosexuals are described as baked and burned but in surprisingly tame imagery—these cantos do not share the intense gruesome nature of other punishments, such as the violent serpentine rape in Canto XXVI.[3] Instead, the men are merely attractive—both in the sense that they attract Dante physically and emotionally towards them, and that they are described as tanned by their punishments and oily and muscular like champions.

The description of this circle of Hell seems similar in nature to the second circle of Hell; the men are greeted with great sympathy and affection, and they are kept moving by atmospheric forces. However, in the second circle of Hell, the heterosexual lovers are uncontrollably buffeted about by winds, and in the seventh, the homosexual men must intentionally keep moving themselves to avoid falling fire, a reference to the city of Sodom destroyed by falling fire.[4] In the seventh circle of Hell, stopping to embrace is implied to be possible, though it would bring more painful punishment, while in the second circle, stopping to embrace is impossible. The men who reside there are men of letters, fame, and clerics—men who are well-respected in society, who would read the works of the Greeks and perhaps admired Greek practices a little too much. Dante's portrayal of their punishment as being chosen is a different portrayal than that of the second circle of Hell, in which there is no choice. He seems to see heterosexual lust as an outward expression of an uncontrollable passion, and homosexual lust as a choice undertaken by high-ranking and intellectual men, men whom Dante admires. Their choice is what incurs their punishment, a punishment not performed by natural forces but by God's fire. The structure of the *Inferno* reinforces this meaning—the punishment of the second circle is that of nature uncontrolled by reason, and the punishment of the seventh circle is that of the choice of transgressing against God. Dante seems to view homosexuality in the *Inferno* as an active choice of transgression, not in nature or natural, and certainly chosen.

The *Purgatorio* offers a different perspective. Homosexuals are not only included among the saved, but are placed on the highest terrace of Purgatory and are not described as being fewer in number than the heterosexuals (*Purgatorio*, XXVI, 40-48). Their placing corresponds to the vice of lust and is within the section of excessive love of good. The corrective punishment of the repentant lustful groups imitates their punishments in Hell—continued motion, though with some embraces between the groups allowed (31-36). Dante groups the homosexuals in one crowd, walking in one direction, and the heterosexuals in the other, literally giving them seperate orientations.[5] The fact that their punishment

3 Some ideas in the preceding sentence and following paragraph taken from:
Barolini, Teodolinda. "*Inferno* 16: Cortesia and Wealth Management (II)." *Commento Baroliniano*, Digital Dante. (New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2018)

4 Genesis 19:24

5 Though I do not mean to imply that Dante would share our

is identical, though their direction of motion is different, and that they are grouped together according to the vice of excessive love of good, implies a similarity between the heterosexually lustful and the homosexually lustful.

One could read, perhaps, that Dante perceives that in both orientations, lust is available to a human person, though for a homosexual person their disordered lust takes the form of any sexual activity at all, and for a heterosexual person their disordered lust takes the form of excessive sexual activity. Indeed, the homosexuals are written to "share the sin" for which "Caesar heard 'Queen' cried out against him" (77-78). The heterosexuals, on the other hand, sinned with the other sex but "did not keep within the bounds of human law" (83). Both groups call out an extreme example of their sin—the homosexuals, "Sodom and Gomorrah", and the heterosexuals, "that the bull may hurry toward her lust, Pasiphae hides in the cow" (40-42). The difference between these shouts is palpable; one is inclined to read Sodom and Gomorrah as the literal description of the sin of a homosexual person and the tale of bestiality as a wild exaggeration of non-normative sexual behavior. Bestiality is invoked as a metaphorical example of how the heterosexual sinners did not keep their lusts within the bounds of human law but "served our appetites like beasts" (84). Because these shouts are juxtaposed, their difference in rhetorical effect upon the reader is puzzling. Dante himself does not speak to the homosexuals and thus does not receive an explanation for why they shout, "Sodom and Gomorrah," though the reader assumes that it is because Sodom and Gomorrah were commonly cited at this time and into the modern era as examples of homosexual lust.

A basic reading of this literary phenomenon is that, for Dante, the sin of the heterosexuals is wrong inasmuch as it is excessive or bestial, and the sin of the homosexuals is wrong inasmuch as it is homosexual at all. However, an alternative reading engages with Dante's intentional parallel of the metaphor and the seeming definitional. Indeed, for medieval and High Middle Ages readers, sodomy is defined according to a broad range of improper sexual activity,[6] including the types of sins which are heterosexual but outside of the bounds of human law, though Dante's division of the two groups and definition of the heterosexual as sinning with the 'other sex' shows that Dante considers "Sodom and Gomorrah" to indicate specifically homosexual sins.

An alternate reading, more true to the literary structure of the shouts of these groups, is that "Sodom and Gomorrah" is just as much of an paradigmatic example and metaphorical exaggeration of the sin of this group as bestiality is of heterosexual people. The average heterosexual person does not engage in bestiality, and their sins are thus compared to bestiality because they are metaphorically bestial, though there is a moderate

modern conception of the term, I do not think it is anachronistic to read that Dante perceives these groups to have qualitative differences in the direction of their experiences of sexual attraction.

6 This source is from an ex-gay ministry, which I view as harmful and dangerous and in no way endorse, but cite because the article is entirely a compiled list of quotations cited from other, more authoritative sources on the definition of sodomy in the Middle Ages.
"Before Homosexuality: Sodomy." *Behavior and Not A Person*, www.banap.net/spip.php?article122.

and proper expression of heterosexuality. Similarly, "Sodom and Gomorrah" is provided as an extreme version of homosexuality, in which, one must assume, most homosexual people do not engage. This is not to say that Dante does not see homosexual behavior as problematic. In both the sins, that of Pasiphae and that of Sodom, the sinners obviously participated—that is why they are repenting. They shout the names of the most extreme example of their sin in order to accelerate the pace of the fire falling and thus their repentance (*Purgatorio*, 81). Dante does not actually speak with a homosexual in Purgatory and thus only receives an explanation of the relationship between Pasiphae and the sin of the heterosexual people. Perhaps, had Dante not met with someone to ask what it was that they shouted, he might have assumed that one group was guilty of bestiality and one group was guilty of a variety of other sinful sex acts. However, he does receive the information that Pasiphae's sin is a metaphor for out-of-bounds heterosexual sexuality, and the reader may be able to draw the parallel that Sodom and Gomorrah are a metaphor for out-of-bounds homosexual sexuality.

The distinction between whether homosexuality proper is always sinful or whether homosexuality in the form of Sodom and Gomorrah is sinful is not entirely clear here, partially because Dante does not speak with a homosexual person and is not provided with an explanation of the relationship between Sodom and the homosexuals. Thus, the reader is somewhat able to project their own meaning—for a reader desiring to see Dante as disapproving of all homosexuality or checking for Dante's orthodoxy, it is easy enough to perceive that those who are guilty of the sin of Sodom are required to purge themselves of homosexuality. However, for a reader puzzled by the parallel of bestiality and Sodom alongside heterosexual behavior and homosexual behavior, it does not seem quite so obvious that homosexuality is coextensive with the sin of Sodom[7] but that the latter is an extreme metaphor for the former and that, for Dante, there may actually be an appropriate practice of homosexuality in the same way that there is an appropriate practice of heterosexuality, as elsewhere argued by Boswell.[8]

To conclude by returning to the *Inferno*, in which Dante expresses incredible sympathy for both the lustful and the homosexuals, one must wonder why he includes both groups in the purgative terrace of the excessive love and divides them according to the infernal circles of incontinence and violence respectively. Perhaps Dante himself has not decided whether he thinks homosexuals are the same as heterosexuals, and this accounts for his difference in treatment in different portions of the *Comedia*. Alternatively, and by my argument, Dante, because of his closeness with and admiration for homosexual people like Latini and his sympathy for the lustful, intentionally chose to portray a more complicated view of homosexuality and

7 Indeed, the Mishnah and the Talmud portray the sin of Sodom as that of greed and inhospitality in the below sources. Greenberg, Steve. "The Real Sin of Sodom." *My Jewish Learning*, My Jewish Learning, 7 Apr. 2015, www.myjewishlearning.com/keshet/the-real-sin-of-sodom/;
"Pirkei Avot 5:10." *Sefaria: a Living Library of Jewish Texts Online*, www.sefaria.org/Pirkei_Avot.5.10?ven=Open_Mishnah&lang=bi.

8 John E. Boswell, "Dante and the Sodomites." *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, no. 112, 1994, pp. 6376. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40166490.

invites the reader to contemplate the difference between homosexuality practiced by unrepentant clerics, men of letters, and men of fame; the homosexuality which could have been practiced moderately by the repentant souls in purgatory but was not; and the homosexuality practiced within the city of Sodom. Through this view, one cannot discern fully that Dante is approving of homosexuality as such, but one cannot rule out that Dante has a charitable viewing of homosexuals and homosexuality—especially considering the narrator's vocal sympathy in the text itself—which may include the possibility of the moderation of homosexuality.

The Wish of Giving Happiness to You

Altruism in Adam Smith and Jane Austen

Madeline Foley

Adam Smith's economic system is based on an anthropology of the human person which holds that human beings are fundamentally self-interested. For Smith, because the human psyche *is* most consistently self-interested, one *ought* to attempt to advance one's own self-interest in all spheres. I argue that Smith's theory is a limited form of psychological egoism and an expansive— that is, operating in all contexts— form of normative egoism. The capitalist union of the economic and the personal spheres is particularly interesting in regards to Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, a novel written from the perspective of women pursuing marriage. Austen engages with questions of Smithian economics, self-interest, and desire, complicating Smith's picture of normative egoism. There are characters within *Pride and Prejudice* who behave with an eye to their own self-interest; Darcy and Elizabeth, however, fall in love and experience marital happiness due not to a mutual self-interest but rather due to each's approval of the other's altruism. Thus, I argue *Pride and Prejudice* can be read as an answer to Smith's expansive program of self-interest because Austen's anthropology points towards a sphere in which altruism is beneficial.

Smith defines the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another as "common to all men" and "found in no other race of animals."[1] Human beings do not, like dogs, experience satisfaction of their self-interest by an accidental mutuality of desire. Instead, humans may sometimes pursue "servile and fawning" attempts to gain favor. Because an agent frequently finds herself in the position of great need, though, she must not only rely on the benevolence of her neighbors but also ought to appeal to their self-love.[2] However, Smith's suggestion is not that agents *never* rely on the benevolence of their neighbors but that they do not depend *chiefly* on that benevolence. Smith argues that an agent is *more likely* to succeed when she offers a mutually beneficial bargain, not that she will never succeed when she relies on benevolence.[3]

At this point, there seems to be room within a Smithian anthropology for human actions which are not self-interested. Agents can, it seems, behave benevolently, as beggars receive most of their goods from the benevolence of others.[4] Benevolence does exist, but self-interest is the most fundamental human characteristic; Smith's characterisation of these two traits constitutes a limited form of psychological egoism. However, although they are capable of behaving benevolently, agents *ought* not to behave benevolently in the economic sphere, according to Smith's economic theory.[5] The invisible hand, Smith's concept which refers to the ideal progression of human civilization, operates only when everyone in said civilization acts according

1 Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Manhattan: Random House, 1994), 14.

2 Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Manhattan: Random House, 1994), 15

3 Ibid., 15.

4 Ibid., 15. "The charity of well-disposed people, indeed, supplies him with the whole fund of his subsistence."

5 Ibid., 485. Couched in the broader discussion of the invisible hand, the quote, "I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good" illustrates Smith's insistence that good done to society is not accomplished by benevolence, and the function of the invisible hand depends on the pursuit of self-interest.

to self-interest; this is because self-interest is the most fundamental and reliable aspect of human psychology. Thus, benevolent actions are actively harmful because they interfere with the function of the invisible hand. The question of whether agents' benevolent behavior is beneficial, harmful, or neutral in other spheres can be examined in Smith's treatment of non-economic spheres, such as that of education.

In the field of education, Smith's principal concern is with educational institutions' ability to provide for their revenue.[6] Smith's concerns with education seem at first to be limited by his economic provisions, but he quickly reveals that the economy touches every aspect of the academy. Professors' lectures and behavior with students are affected by their economic self-interest — Smith suggests that institutional regulations are harmful to successful teaching and that professors would be better instructors if they were held accountable directly to the preferential choice of students.[7] Smith presumes that the relationship between students and professors in the academy is another type of commodity which can be analyzed through the same lens as other economic functions. The academy is, by most accounts, a much more complex place with many other functions besides the satisfaction of students' self-interest; some of these functions include research and the development of an intellectual community.

While the academy does serve student self-interest by allowing students to participate in it, Smith makes generalizations about the behavior of academics beyond the contract between students and professors. For example, he states that "it is in the interest of every man to live as much at his ease as he can," and therefore professors find ways to "neglect [their] duty."[8] By referring to *every man*, Smith generalizes his psychological theory beyond the economic sphere and therefore he finds himself arguing for normative egoism without regulation in the field of education, even though there are aspects of the field of education which are not economic. Thus, it can be seen that Smith believes his anthropology of psychological egoism has normative demands beyond the field of economics, though his primary concern is with economic egoism, both psychological and normative. That is, if it is in the interest of every man to aim for their own self-interest there is no reason that psychological egoism and its natural result, normative egoism, should not expand into every other field. Perhaps persons acting in their own self-interest will always benefit themselves and others.

With this picture of the Smithian anthropology and ethical system illustrated, I will now turn to the Smithian themes within Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, and examine points of contact and dissension that Austen provides to Smith. Smith presents his work as a primarily logical and philosophical one, while Austen's is a romantic narrative centered around the lives of women. However,

6 Ibid., 819

7 Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Manhattan: Random House, 1994), 822.

8 Ibid., 821

Austen frames her work with the opening line, "It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife."[9] Austen, humorously, uses these lines to identify her work as a philosophical treatise premised around the desires and self-interest of men, and a treatise which has something to do with the economic sphere. Because *Pride and Prejudice* shares this thrust with Smith, while still reading as a romantic narrative, I will use plot and character analysis to discuss Smith's theory.

Marriage in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* is, among other things, a dual contract of economic self-interest and romantic self-interest. Necessity drives every woman's pursuit of marriage because Austen's society is structured in such a way that a woman cannot provide for herself, and thus must marry well in order to avoid disgrace.[10] According to Smith's worldview, women would be driven to very great innovation in order to ensure a mutually beneficial contract from a man who would be persuaded that it is in his best interest to marry her. Charlotte Lucas deliberately operates as a confidant to Mr. Collins in order to secure her economic self-interest.[11] Elizabeth, or Lizzy, derides Charlotte for this choice as well as the other characters for their relentless and frequently embarrassing attempts at pursuing economic self-interest.[12][13] Lizzy provides a critique of Smithian innovation in this sphere because she maintains that the function of marriage is a deeper and more profound one than a mere economic contract.[14] Despite the presence of economic necessity, Lizzy holds, there are other things important to one's happiness besides economic satisfaction.

Though Smith may want to argue that it is in all persons' interests to procure contracts which benefit themselves, the relationships between Jane, Lizzy, Bingley, and Darcy are not contractual and are in fact altruistic relationships. Precisely, Lizzy's choice to run through the mud for miles to care for her sister causes Darcy to fall in love with her; he admits so later. In fact, this interaction is one of the first in which the narrator observes that Darcy is thinking positively of Lizzy.[15] Darcy's decision to separate Bingley and Jane is based in altruism for his friend, and Lizzy is able to forgive him because she understands that Darcy was acting in the best interests of someone else.[16] Lizzy's affections for Darcy deepen upon observing his altruism towards Lydia and Wickham.[17] Wickham

9 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin Classics, 2014), 1.

10 Ibid., 120. In regards to Charlotte Lucas, her fate were she not to marry is discussed, and the narrator assures us that upon her marriage, "the boys were relieved from their apprehension of Charlotte's dying an old maid."

11 Ibid., 119. "... its object was nothing less ... such was Miss Lucas's scheme…"

12 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin Classics, 2014), 123. "Charlotte the wife of Mr. Collins, was a most humiliating picture!"

13 Ibid., 133. "You shall not … endeavor to persuade yourself or me, that selfishness is prudence…"

14 Ibid., 228-229. The narrator's discussion of the Bennets' marital happiness serves to illustrate her concerns with the internal life of a marriage.

15 Ibid., 36. Darcy on Lizzy's eyes after running through the mud: "They were brightened by the exercise."

16 Ibid., 192-193.

17 Ibid., 356-357 Lizzy's convincing of her father on Darcy's goodness: "I love him. Indeed he has no improper pride.", "... enumerating with energy all his good qualities…", and her father's approval dependent on Darcy's "[doing] everything; [he] made up the match, gave the money, paid the fellow's debts, and

most certainly does not deserve any affection or funds from Darcy, but Darcy behaves in a manner which will benefit Lydia and Wickham so that Lizzy will be happy, while attempting to actively conceal his actions so that he does not self-interestedly receive benefits from Lizzy's knowledge of his actions.[18] Furthermore, Darcy states that his love for Elizabeth caused his own psychological shift towards benevolence.[19]

Each of these characters' actions in these situations, arguably the pivotal points of Darcy and Elizabeth's romance, were altruistic in intent, and resulted in the mutual benefit of falling in love and procuring both a happy and economically satisfactory marriage. One could argue that doing things to win another's love is not entirely altruistic; however, the turning points in the novel at which Darcy and Elizabeth fell in love with each other are located around actions which were not directed towards winning the others' love. Darcy insists to Lizzy that his choice to provide for Lydia and Wickham was based in "the wish of giving happiness to you," and he tells her: "I thought only of *you*."[20] He did not act from the intention of pursuing his own self-interest, but rather to ensure his beloved's happiness. The two of them received benefit not despite this altruism but because of it. This constitutes a direct challenge to Smith's view that intentional pursuit of self-interest results in benefiting oneself and others. In fact, altruism resulted in the strongest, happiest, and most wealthy union in the novel.

Marriage and family life, then, for Austen, is a sphere in which normative egoism does not result in the fullest benefit. It may provide social and economic benefits, but the *happiest* marriages stem from situations in which persons truly love each other for the sake of the other's character. One cannot believe merely that altruism results in benefit and then perform altruism out of this desire for benefit. It is Darcy and Lizzy's true altruism, which is performed out of their own character for the desire of caring for others, which comes prior, and results in the positive benefit of a happy marriage. Thus, it can be said of Smith by Austen (or at least by Elizabeth Bennet) that normative egoism definitively does not apply in certain spheres. According to the protagonists of *Pride and Prejudice*, one ought to be happy with the character of one's spouse, and character is defined in some sense by how one's spouse cares for the happiness of others independently of self-interest.[21]

Austen's anthropology of a human person is not necessarily, as for Smith, that all persons are self-interested, or even that most persons are self-interested. She does not make a case for universal anthropology in this realm. However, it *is* the case that for Austen, psychologically, one falls in love with persons who one believes to have good character, and happy domestic life within marriage results

got him his commission!" Mr. Bennet goes on to assert that because Darcy is in love, he will not accept recompense: Mr. Bennet here links altruism with love.

18 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin Classics, 2014), 346. "I did not think Mrs. Gardiner was so little to be trusted."

19 Ibid., 349.

20 Ibid., 346.

21 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin Classics, 2014), 238. Lizzy's approbation of Darcy when his servant informs her that he is generous hearted and kind to the poor.

from suitable personalities, not only suitable economic states. Smith's anthropology results in normative claims—it is because persons are predominantly self interested that one ought to behave in a self-interested manner and construct society, institutions, and individual relationships according to this principle. Austen proves through her narrative that, at least in the domestic sphere, altruism results in benefit and ought to be pursued. Thus, marriage as viewed through Austen's romance novel resists Smithian conceptions of normative egoism.

Che Guevara's Image in Chinese Public Memories

Lingxiao "Linda" Gao

Following his legendary life and his tragic, almost-sacred death, the Argentine Marxist revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, was transformed into a worldwide popular icon that has influenced the cultural memories of many generations. This paper will examine the development of Che Guevara's image in China, a topic that is underdiscussed by western scholars and historians. Guevara's reception in China can be roughly classified into four stages: first, during the period from 1959 to 1965, Guevara was endorsed by the Chinese Communist Party as a heroic symbol of the socialist revolution and anti-Americanism. Then, during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Guevara was officially rejected by the Party but secretly treated as spiritual guidance by the "sent-down" students living harsh agrarian lives. From the eighties to the beginning of the twentieth century, Guevara became a nostalgic symbol for idealism that was scarce in a society turning toward consumerism and entertainment. Lastly, from 2012 to the present day, the emergence of the "Qie Guevara" subculture among the youth exposed hidden issues of social inequality, class tension, and widespread discontentment, expressing a call to redefine happiness and secure the freedom to live one's desired life.

In 1959, when the Cuban Revolution's victorious news reached the People's Republic of China on the other side of the globe, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) responded with great enthusiasm and quickly initiated a country-wide propaganda campaign that introduced Cuban history and praised the revolution. Che Guevara, a major figure of the revolution and the Minister of Industries, was especially endorsed by the CCP as a political model for socialist revolutionaries and a hero who resisted American imperialism. His speeches and writings began to frequently appear on *People's Daily*—China's official newspaper directly managed by the Party and the most widely read publication in China during that time. From 1959 to 1965, 83 pieces of translated articles and remarks written by Guevara were published on *People's Daily*, the majority of which shared the theme of anti-American imperialism.[1] Titles were written in a similar style: "Guevara said that the U.S. imperialism would not make Cuba surrender",[2] "Guevara said that there would not be peace as long as imperialism exists,"[3] "Guevara said that the U.S. imperialism is the main enemy to people of the world,"[4] and so on. The "Guevara said" series perfectly exemplifies the Party's endorsement of Guevara, who was presented as a well-received anti-American hero with worldwide support. Besides underlining Guevara's anti-American stance, *People's Daily* also published photographs of Guevara's visit to China in 1960, showing scenes that became key events in Chinese public memories: pictures of him receiving flowers from students, meeting with Mao, visiting rural villages, and spending time at kindergartens with children.[5] All these captured moments were woven into his image in the eyes of the Chinese people—a

1 Guo, Xueqing, *The Rise and Fall of A Hero*, Peking Foreign Language University, 2019, 12.
2 *People's Daily*, November 3rd, 1960, section 6. Database from Peking University Library.
3 *People's Daily*, April 18th, 1961, section 6.
4 *People's Daily*, December 28th, 1964, section 3.
5 Guo, *The Rise and Fall of A Hero*, 15.

heroic yet humanistic leader.

However, Guevara's reception in China suddenly reversed as international politics shifted to a new paradigm. Shortly after 1965, the CCP began to distance itself from the socialist Cuba. China's relationship with the Soviet Union had quickly deteriorated and Fidel Castro's decision to ally with the USSR alienated him from the CCP. In 1965, a dispute over China reducing rice exports to Cuba was the last straw. Fidel Castro's speech on Feb. 6, 1966, titled "Castro Statement on Cuban-CPR Relations", accused the Chinese government of "[displaying] absolute contempt toward our country [Cuba]" and imperialism.[6] The full-text of Castro's speech was translated and published on *People's Daily*, explicitly titled "Fidel Castro's Anti-China statement,"[7] a moment that marked the beginning of cold-war confrontation between China and Cuba.[8] It was not by chance, then, that the last time Guevara was mentioned in *People's Daily* was also in 1965 with a piece of news announcing his resignation and departure from Cuba to foment revolution abroad.[9] China's break with the Soviet Union heralded the age of China's Cultural Revolution, a movement launched by Mao Zedong to re-assert his orthodoxy and authority. During the entire movement from 1965 to 1976, not a single piece of news ever mentioned Guevara—not even on his death in 1967 that shocked the world.[10]

Yet the Party did not withdraw its attention from this influential revolutionary leader. During the Cultural Revolution, a series of Guevara-related works—including two biographies of Guevara and Guevara's own writings, such as *Guerilla Warfare* and *Che Guevara's Diary in Bolivia* (1971)—were translated into Chinese and published for "internal reading", a term invented for books that featured academic values but were inappropriate for public reading due to the "incorrectness of their thoughts".[11] The Party-dictated editorial notes criticized Guevara for not being a true socialist revolutionary. He "did not reply on the masses," practiced "opportunism and adventurism,"[12] and was "a bourgeois revolutionary democrat who wrongfully advocated the anti-Marxist 'guerrilla-centered' theory."[13] The official evaluation of Che Guevara changed so drastically in the 1970s that it contained self-contradictions difficult to reconcile. Guevara's double-sided image—ranging from a socialist hero to a "bourgeois opportunist"—was inextricably tailored to the agenda of the Chinese Communist Party.

Surprisingly, while Guevara's heroic image was renounced by the Cultural Revolution's official language, it was revitalized by the exuberant, idealistic youths sent down to remote countryside for re-education. In 1968, the Chinese Communist Party instituted the "Down to the Countryside Movement," send-

6 Fidel Castro, "Castro Statement on Cuban-CPR Relations," 1966, Castro Speech DataBase, Latin American Network Information Center, http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1966/19660206.html.
7 *People's Daily*, February 22nd, 1966, section 3.
8 Guo, 49.
9 *People's Daily*, October 8th, 1965, section 3.
10 Guo, 33.
11 Zheng, Ruijun, "The Rule of 'Internal Reading' and the Publications of 'Grey Books' and 'Yellow Books'," *Publication Studies*, issue 11, 2014, 96.
12 Guevara, Ernesto, *Guerrilla Warfare*, translated by Institute of Latin American Studies at Fudan University, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1975, 2.
13 James, Daniel, *Che Guevara*, translated by Institute of Latin American Studies at Fudan University, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1975, 1.

ing over 4 million high school and university students to rural areas to be re-educated through agrarian labor and the peasant lifestyle. The ambitious youths, eager to build a socialist society and volunteer in this movement, soon found themselves trapped in harsh, repetitive labor and deprived of spiritual resources. They constituted a generation often referred to as "the lost generation,"[14] who worked day after day only to gradually realize the utter nullity of their labor and the unbridgeable distance between their lives and "a true revolution." Yet many of these disillusioned youths discovered spiritual guidance and comfort in Guevara-related writings published in the form of "internal reading." To overcome the extreme scarcity and strict regulation of these books, the students copied the books by hand at night and circulated the manuscripts secretly. They walked dozens of miles only to borrow a copied *Che Guevara's Diary*, which was then circulated between several villages and read by countless earnest youths until the copy completely fell apart.[15]

These youths, who had hearts filled with revolutionary ideals and adventurous spirits, discovered emotional resonance in Che Guevara's legendary experience and soulful character. "I feel that my soul has flown to the Latin American forests thousands of miles away, immersing in the burning sound of ideals and passions," one "sent-down" student later remarked on his reading experience.[16] Although the Party-dictated editorial notes on the books criticized and depreciated Guevara, the youths rejected the official interpretations to focus on cherishing their individual reading experience during their harsh and lonely days. Guevara's legend became a tremendous spiritual power that supported those disillusioned youths to overcome the hardship of their rural lives. They refused absorption into the official voice and instead established an individual, spiritual relationship with the "Guevara" they imagined and understood. During the chaotic times of the Cultural Revolution, Guevara's image was manipulated by the CCP as a political weapon, but in the rural areas of China, individual consciousness and idealism regained momentum as "the lost generation" broke away from the authoritative voice and strived to protect their own "Guevara."

> *"Who lit the dawn's reddish glow on the horizon?*
> *A millennium of dark nights shall today be no more.*
> *Perhaps the light will arrive early;*
> *We can hear you calling out to us—Che Guevara."*[17]

Thirty years after the Cultural Revolution, the name "Che Guevara" re-aroused the Chinese public's attention when the experimental play *Che Guevara*, directed by musician and playwright Guangtian Zhang, was performed in Beijing in 2000.[18] Shortly after the initial performance, the play became famous country-wide and was elected to 2000's top ten "Significant Intellectual Events" in

14 Lu, Xing, *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture, and Communication*, University of South Carolina Press, 2004, 195.

15 Ding, Dong, *The Wandering of the Spirit*, China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing Corporation, 2000, 37.

16 Xu, Ruoqi, *Chronicles of My Reading: 1962-1972*, Anhui Literature & Art Publishing House, 2016, 73.

17 Zhang, Guangtian, Jisu Huang and Shen Lin, *Che Guevara*, translated by Jonathan Noble, Modern Chinese Literature and Culture Resource Center, Ohio State University, https://u.osu.edu/mclc/online-series/noble/.

18 The recorded version, reproduced in 2005, can be watched at https://www.bilibili.com/video/av18381153/.

China.[19] The opening song, whose lyrics are quoted above, was performed by the director Guangtian Zhang himself before the curtain was raised. Born in 1966, Zhang witnessed the idealistic movements in the 1980s during his adolescence, a time when China was recovering from the Cultural Revolution's turmoil and people were dedicated to the pursuit of democracy and freedom. This idealistic period did not last long—it was abruptly crushed by the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, which became the most sensitive taboo in Chinese public memories. After this watershed moment, older generations became increasingly disillusioned and thwarted in political participation and many shifted their focus to economic prosperity and personal enjoyment. Young people also intended to stay away from politics and refrained from political discussions that were becoming more and more intolerable under the Party's regulation, immersing themselves instead in the booming entertainment industry. As people's political enthusiasm faded, the name "Che Guevara" also began to disappear from the public's view.

Zhang's *Che Guevara* in 2000, depicting Guevara's heroic life and undying idealism, revived Che's image in public memories and reminded the audience of a hopeful past where dreams had not deteriorated into dystopias. The play served not only as a historical reckoning, but also as an ardent call to not obliterate the Guevara-like idealism from the society now turning toward consumerism and entertainment.[20] There was no visual representation of Guevara on the stage throughout the play; as Zhang deliberately explained in the script, "Guevara is represented on stage only by an offstage voice."[21] This effect created a sense of cinematic timelessness. Guevara existed purely as an ideal, undefined by historical judgements and free from political purposes.

Zhang's *Che Guevara* was more than an artistic production; it was intended to be a work of social criticism. Zhang incorporated many Chinese elements into the play, such as the use of Chinese dialects, Peking Opera, and weapons from the 1940s Sino-Japanese war period, creating a spiritual parallel between China and the socialist Cuba that transcends geographical boundaries and cultural differences. While the stories all take place in Latin America, the play makes constant references and allusions to contemporary Chinese society. Exposing issues such as corruption, social inequality, and bureaucracy, Zhang depicted a post-revolutionary society festering with moral decay and inner hollowness. "Why did the broken iron fetters be put on again? Why did the slave become the new king again?" The lyrics of an interlude song reflected a disillusionment within the status quo—that years after the revolution, the promised future of equality and justice was still nowhere to find. The play's social criticism culminates in a bitterly ironic ending scene. In it, a woman, who was an aspiring teacher at the school where Guevara was shot to death years ago, becomes a tour guide at La

19 Feng, Tongtong, "A Musician's Artistic Transcendence and the Loss of Idealism: Guangtian Zhang's Che Guevara and its Controversial Reception," *Nanking University Journal of Theatre Studies*, 2016, issue 2, 166.

20 Feng, "A Musician's Artistic Transcendence and the Loss of Idealism," 169.

21 Zhang, *Che Guevara*.

Higuera and makes money by exaggerating her encounter with Guevara to attract tourists.

Warning against the danger of consumerism and commercialization, Zhang was ultimately suggesting that the commercialization of Che Guevara was but another form of collective oblivion. Without indulging the audience with redemptive closures nor concealing the cruelty of history, Zhang's play expressed social criticism, but also took a stubborn and firm stance on idealism. In the performance, after the stage curtain fell amid a sea of red flags, Zhang, together with the entire crew, sang the *Internationale* together; their singing was also joined by the audience.[22] It is hope, represented by the ending song, that has shivered throughout. Just as the opening lyrics suggest: "millennium of dark nights shall today be no more, and perhaps the light will arrive early."

But the light did not come as Zhang wished. Instead, in 2012, the country-wide popularity of Liqi Zhou—known by his nickname "Qie Guevara", a convict who was arrested for stealing electric bikes, indicated a new stage of Guevara's image that completely broke free from previous expectations. In 2012, a video of Zhou being interviewed in police detention went viral on the internet. When asked by the police why he did not look for a job to make a living, Zhou, with one hand handcuffed to the bars, smiled and answered with a comical accent: "working for someone else is impossible. I will never work for someone else in my whole life."[23] Zhou's rebellious attitude and unique appearance—long hairs and a wisp of beard—quickly inspired the public to associate him with the image of Che Guevara (Picture 1). He was thus nicknamed "Qie Guevara", as "Qie" means "stealing" in Chinese and has the same pronunciation as "Che". Many young netizens, describing how much they were amused and inspired by Zhou's rebelliousness and calmness, jokingly hailed him as their "spiritual leader."[24] The "Qie Guevara" interview video spread like wildfire on social media and garnered millions of views. His quote "never work for someone else in my life" began to appear in various memes and advertisements. His identifiable face was photoshopped onto iconic Che Guevara posters (See Picture 2), and people printed his face and quotes on T-shirts. A lively subculture had emerged.

Picture 1

Indeed, the decadence of Che Guevara's public image from a revolutionary hero to a bike thief seems more like a farce than a

22 Cheng, Yinghong, "Che Guevara: Dramatizing China's Divided Intelligentsia at the Turn of the Century," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 15 No. 2, Fall 2003, 5.

23 The full interview video can be watched at: https://www.bilibili.com/video/BV1fx411g74f?from=search&seid=12167295797719116576.

24 Ye, Ruolin, "Fresh Out of Prison, Bike Burglar Qie Guevara Shuns Spotlight," *Sixth Tone*, 2020, https://www.sixthtone.com/news/1005528/fresh-out-of-prison%2C-bike-burglar-qie-guevara-shuns-spotlight.

Picture 2

tragedy; yet beneath the abnormal popularity of "Qie Guevara" lies the unseen aspects of social inequality and discontentment. When stating that he would never "work for someone else", the original word Zhou used was *dagong*—in modern context it alludes to factory labor that is characterized by hard work, low wages, harsh environments, and instability. Liqi Zhou represented a social group living on the edge of the society: undereducated migrant workers who left their rural homes to seek opportunities in the cities. After China's collective economy failed disastrously during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, premier Deng Xiaoping carried out economic reforms in the 1980s that encouraged entrepreneurship, de-collectivized state-owned industries, and promoted a free market economy within the socialist political structure.[25] As a result, China experienced a period of rapid economic growth and urbanization, described as "the China miracle". However, left unmentioned were the increasing income inequality, the deepening urban-rural divide, and the living conditions of the 200 million migrant workers who built the economy but ended up being exploited by it. In 2010, two years before "Qie Guevara" became a popular icon, fifteen young workers at Foxconn company in Shenzhen committed suicide—a tragic response to the harsh environments, extended work hours, poverty, weak social network, and loneliness that amounted to the precariousness that threatened their daily lives.[26] This incident revealed how structural violence and institutional barriers negated the rosy ideal propagandized by the state—that working hard leads to success.

Many may have noticed this inherent irony within the narrative: the "proletarian working class" became the most exploited and structurally vulnerable group in a society that prided itself on its "socialism." Today, the red banners prevailing on the streets still show the twelve "Core Socialist Values" to every passenger, among which are "prosperity" and

25 Young, Jason. *China's Hukou System: Markets, Migrants, and Institutional Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 49.

26 Chan, Jenny. "A Suicide Survivor: the life of a Chinese migrant worker at Foxconn." *Asia-Pacific Journal,* 11.31, 2013, 1-22.

"equality."[27] The reality is too far from the ideal. In Leslie Chang's *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China*, published in 2008 in the United States, she depicts the everyday lives of female migrant factory workers in China by telling their individual stories. She exposed how the young female workers worked countless hours in hazardous conditions, but were still trapped in a downward spiral of poverty and structural inequality, stagnated in their social class.[28] Yet such discussions are seldom allowed in China. Keywords such as "low-end population", which touch upon those migrant workers' living conditions, are strictly censored on Microblog, the biggest cyber platform in China. Journalists and scholars are warned against publicizing opinions that disturb public peace; strike is severely prohibited.

The video of "Qie Guevara", in the most bizarre and bantering form, re-focused the public's attention to the issue of *dagong*, and to the people who spent their whole lives "working for someone else." Without a serious outlet, people unleashed torrents of emotions in this cult of "Qie Guevara," a comical yet rebellious postmodern anti-hero. One user of the Q&A platform Zhihu, the Chinese version of Quora, wrote in his post: "Leader's calling has shaken the exploitative nature of capitalism over the proletariat...",[29] jokingly adopting the language of class struggle, reminiscent of China's revolutionary past. Being an anti-hero that challenged the sublime image of Guerrillero Heroico, "Qie Guevara" and his subculture were a joke that deconstructed authority. Liqi Zhou's icon became a channel through which people enjoyed the freedom to express their hidden discontentment and anxiety in a light-hearted way. This subculture refused absorption into the narrative of exploitative work ethics praised by the capitalist and entrepreneurial culture. Today, a Foxconn's recruitment slogan reads:

> *"There's no choosing your birth, but here, you will reach your destiny. Here you need only dream, and you will soar!"*[30]

The young people respond to it with the "Qie Guevara" quote – "I will never work for someone else in my whole life." This represents the awakening consciousness of a new generation who rejects the capitalist work ethics that exploit and alienate the individual. With the subculture of "Qie Guevara," they aspire to define happiness and success by themselves and in their own language.

Che Guevara's image in modern China varied drastically, testifying to his chameleon-like ability to represent diverse ideals to different groups in varied historical contexts. But what remains essential to Che's image is its capacity to awaken individual consciousness and rebelliousness. It is for the re-educated youths during the Cultural Revolution who developed individual understandings of Guevara that broke free from the authority; for artists like Guangtian Zhang who aspired to rediscover the Guevara-like idealism and voice his disillusionment with the status quo;

27 "Core socialist values," *chinadaily.com.cn*, 2017, https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-10/12/content_33160115.htm.

28 Zhang, Leslie, *Factory Girls: From Village to City in a Changing China*, Random House, 2008.

29 Ye, "Fresh Out of Prison."

30 Chan, "A Suicide Survivor."

and for contemporary workers and youths who rebelled against the exploitative economic system by forming the subculture of the anti-hero "Qie Guevara." Guevara's image will continue to change as time marches on, but the ideas of rebelliousness, idealism, and individual consciousness symbolized by Guevara will remain forever as irreplaceable cultural memories of the Chinese society—cherished, celebrated, and passed on by those who strive to see a brighter future.

INTER-DISCIPLINARY

Pediatric Critical Care

End-of-Life Conversations Following Traumatic Injury

Aidan Crowley

Introduction

I slipped quietly into room E-342 of the Pediatric ICU, pulling the glass door shut behind me. The lights were dim. The periodic click and whoosh of the ventilator punctuated the heavy silence. Quiet tears glistened on the faces of the family of the fifteen-year-old boy who lay in the center of the room, his blonde hair and slender frame filling the space. His family had been in a car accident. He was dying. My gaze landed on the bright green line that danced across the screen of the cardiac monitor, the boy's heartbeat keeping time with the thudding of my own. The understanding that his heart would never have the chance to drum out its three billion beats was lost on no one in the room. His mother broke the silence. "I know you all have roles to fulfill, but I can see, deep in your eyes, that you care," she said to the physicians, her voice faltering but her eyes unwavering. "You are doctors, but you are also human."

Pediatric end-of-life moments such as this, while exceptionally meaningful, complex, and powerful, are not uncommon in the Pediatric Intensive Care Unit (PICU). Trauma – including accidents, suicide, and homicide – represents the leading cause of death among children and adolescents in the U.S. It is responsible for 57% of all pediatric deaths in the nation – more than all other causes combined. In fact, accidental trauma alone comprises 34.4% of all pediatric deaths (Murphy et al., 2017). The ICU is one of the highest mortality units in the hospital, with an estimated mortality rate in the range of 10-12% (Zimmerman et al., 2013). While the Pediatric ICU mortality rate is less than half that of adult ICUs and hovers in the range of 3-5% (Burns et al., 2014), PICU deaths nevertheless account for over half of all pediatric hospital deaths.

End-of-life conversations are therefore relatively common in PICUs. Physicians must be equipped with the proper knowledge and skill set to carry out these conversations in a way that facilitates understanding among family members. This is crucial to promote shared decision-making as well as a healthy bereavement process among caregivers. Effective goals-of-care discussions with family members are especially important in the ICU, as patients themselves often cannot communicate due to mechanical obstructions such as intubation or cognitive barriers such as traumatic brain injury. The Institute of Medicine recognized this unique challenge in its 2004 statement "When Children Die: Improving Palliative and End-of-Life Care for Children," calling for increased research to guide and support clinicians in navigating these challenging and complex moments in children's and parents' lives (Carter, 2004).

While this statement did spark an uptick in studies surrounding the characteristics of general end-of-life conversations in the Pediatric ICU, even less is known about these conversations specific to situations of trauma. This is an important area of research, as trauma is the leading cause of death among children and adolescents. Epidemiological studies of PICU patients uncover two distinct groups of pediatric deaths. The first group

of deaths in the PICU includes patients who are chronically ill. These patients may have been born with congenital abnormalities or other pre-existing conditions. They are often technology-dependent prior to admission, using feeding tubes or at-home ventilation, and these patients typically die following withdrawal of life-sustaining treatment at the end of a PICU stay that is longer than one week (Burns et al., 2014). In contrast, the second group of PICU deaths comprises patients with an onset of new illness or injury, such as pediatric trauma. These deaths typically occur within less than one week of admission, and they most frequently take place following brain death diagnoses or unsuccessful cardiopulmonary resuscitations (Burns et al., 2014).

Evidently, two distinct patient populations exist with respect to deaths in the PICU. Because these groups differ significantly from one another, it would be misguided to assume that end-of-life conversations with both groups should be approached in the exact same manner. While underlying principles may be the same, including presence, a quiet space, eye contact, and shared decision-making, other factors may be unique to pediatric trauma. In the first group of PICU deaths, parents are aware of their child's chronic illness. They may have been in and out of Pediatric ICUs since their child's birth, equipping them with a familiarity with both the critical care setting as well as with their child's complex health status. These parents most likely carry at least a speculation that their child is unhealthy and may not survive to adulthood. In contrast, the second group of pediatric deaths catches parents completely unaware. These parents may go from having an entirely healthy child to one who is unresponsive and approaching brain death.

This is not to say that the first group of patients do not also require deep and meaningful end-of-life conversations. As observed through parental strife and heartbreaking loss in films such as *Lorenzo's Oil* and *My Sister's Keeper*, end-of-life situations with chronically or congenitally ill children are just as challenging and can create immense pressure on a family. Sudden or unexpected PICU deaths due to trauma may simply merit an additional set of tools. Parents in traumatic situations may be in a state of shock or disbelief. They may not have time or capacity to fully process what is occurring with their child as they progress through the stages of grief, especially because these deaths have been shown to occur at the end of PICU stays that are shorter than seven days. This paper will explore the characteristics of typical pediatric end-of-life conversations, followed by potential applications to situations of traumatic or unexpected deaths.

Characteristics of End-of-Life Conversations in the Pediatric ICU

Some of the most important qualities that parents desire in palliative care conversations include demonstration of sincere effort and clinical competence, open and honest exchange of information, availability, and balance of child and parent involvement (Hsaio et al., 2007). Each set of PICU parents may desire a different level of involvement or awareness in decision-making, so openly clarifying parents' desired level of involvement

is crucial. Roles physicians may play in end-of-life situations in the PICU include a "supporter" who addresses emotional, spiritual, or relational needs, an "advocate" who helps families articulate their views and needs, an "information giver" who provides medical information and options, a "general care coordinator" who facilitates continuity of care among subspecialty teams, a "decision maker" who influences the plan of action, and a "point person" who develops a trusting relationship with the parents (Michelson et al., 2013). A PICU physician may exemplify one or many of these roles at once, although their responsibilities may compete at times. It is therefore important to assess the needs of the family and align them with the strengths of each member of the interdisciplinary care team, including the nurse, social worker, chaplain, and physician.

Open and honest exchange of information is particularly important in pediatric end-of-life situations. Domains of communication in the PICU include relaying bad news, discussing prognosis, and making end-of-life care decisions such as withdrawal of support (Truog et al., 2006). When children are intubated or cognitively impaired following traumatic injury, clear, honest, open, and fact-based communication between the physician and parents becomes even more significant, because parents must balance substituted judgment, their child's best interests, and their own personal desire for their child's survival or quality of life.

One of the best ways to facilitate open and honest pediatric end-of-life conversations is through family conferences (FCs), or planned meetings that include parents, other family members, and at least one member of the healthcare team (Michelson et al., 2011). FCs should take place in a quiet, private room near the PICU. Components of an FC should include communication between clinicians and parents, communication among clinicians, as well as support of families (Michelson et al., 2011). FCs provide a formally organized and dedicated setting in which physicians can share information, discuss prognosis, answer parent questions, exchange emotions, and initiate conversations for future care. They also allow parents to convey their own thoughts, feelings, or family situations, and they can provide an opportunity to address conflict or misunderstanding between parents or among clinical care teams.

In family conferences, physicians should use clear and straightforward language that is understandable and complete; parents often want to be informed of the clinical factors at play in their child's diagnosis and prognosis (Hsaio et al., 2007). Balanced information exchange is crucial for effective shared decision-making (SDM). SDM strikes a middle ground between full patient or caregiver autonomy and full paternalistic physician decision-making. In SDM, the physician brings medical knowledge and clinical skills to the table, while the patient contributes knowledge of their own goals, values, and preferences. A decision regarding next steps is then made between the patient and physician to best align medical options with desired quality of life. SDM can support patient-centered and family-centered care in the PICU, which includes addressing and understanding the patient's and family's perspective and

psychosocial context, involving parents to their desired level, reaching a shared understanding of the problem, and making evidence-based feasible decisions consistent with family values (Meert et al., 2013).

In pediatric end-of-life situations, SDM constitutes the parents or caregiver bringing knowledge of their child's life and values to the conversation, while the physician discusses prognosis as well as curative and palliative options. In the situation described in the vignette in the beginning of this paper, the child's mom expressed while sharing photos, "He loved playing tennis and monopoly, and he was a friend to all and a youth leader in his community. He wouldn't want to live this way; he wouldn't want to suffer." While it takes immense courage for a mother to speak these words, this constitutes a clear example of her use of substituted judgment to bring the child's values into the conversation. The parent and physician are then able to utilize these values in conjunction with the physician's knowledge of the medical options and prognosis to reach a shared consensus of next steps, whether or not these may be curative. After family care conferences, parents have been found to raise new or additional questions with bedside nurses, even initiating unprompted goals-of-care conversations (Michelson et al., 2011).

Beyond the words that are used to facilitate open and honest shared decision-making, the nonverbal ways in which sentiments are conveyed are also of critical importance. Rather than exuding a rushed or jaded aura due to encountering death on a frequent basis, physicians must actively remind themselves that they are conversing with a parent whose child is dying. One physician in the qualitative interview study that I am currently conducting acknowledged this precise concept, stating:

> When you think about it, you're seeing most people on the worst day of their life. You have to constantly remind yourself that for you, it's a regular day, but for the person you are seeing, it's the worst day of their or their own family's [life]… So, there are days you may want to roll your eyes at something, because to you it's like the hundredth time that this happened, but to the person it happened, it was the first time, and the only time, and the worst time (Participant 5 qtd. in *XXXXX* & Vachon, 2021).

By consciously reminding themselves that they are entering into the life of an individual who is suffering, PICU physicians may promote a more holistic parental bereavement process, even when no curative options remain. This optimal level of emotional involvement can help parents better cope with processing the death of their child, and it can also protect clinicians against burnout. Contrary to common belief, regulated emotional involvement has been shown to promote physician well-being more effectively than either total emotional detachment or excessive emotional overinvolvement (Vachon, 2020). Reaching and maintaining this "zone of balanced compassionate caring" is of particular importance in the Pediatric ICU, as PICU physicians often face higher burnout rates than other specialties due to the challenging nature of dealing with the death of children and the grief of their families (Shenoi et al., 2018). This zone can be created through self-reflection, self-awareness,

self-care, and education to increase confidence with skills for pediatric end-of-life conversations (Dryden-Palmer et al., 2018).

The values of presence, silence, and observable behaviors are also pivotal in pediatric end-of-life conversations. Clinicians' outward expressions of empathy and support, such as holding hands, nodding, facial cues, and patting on the back, have been shown to correlate with family well-being (Selph et al., 2008). Particularly in situations of brain death or withdrawal of life support when seemingly "nothing" can be done, presence alone can make a difference in the bereavement process of the family, even if this constitutes simply sitting together in silence.

Challenges to family conferences include the potential for conflicting information from multiple different clinical care teams as well as the difficulty of balancing hope and realism. Some of these challenges may be mitigated through "pre-conference" meetings within the healthcare team to ensure presentation of a unified plan (Michelson et al., 2011). Furthermore, scheduling challenges may cause informal FCs to take place at unprompted times, including before or after rounds. In fact, the vignette described at the beginning of this paper took place when the pediatric critical care team entered the patient's room on rounds. Additionally, decision-making in family conferences has been characterized as a dynamic and non-linear process. One qualitative study of a series of PICU family conferences found that while all conversations included a presentation of clinical issues, treatment alternatives, and uncertainty, only 21% assessed parental understanding, 28% assessed parents' need for input, 35% explored parents' desired level of decision-making, and 42% asked for the family's opinion (Smith et al., 2018). Evidently, while family conferences represent a strong potential framework for end-of-life conversations, there is continual room for improvement in incorporating SDM in the PICU.

End-of-Life Conversations Specific to Pediatric Trauma

While most end-of-life conversations in pediatric settings should strive to carry the set of characteristics described above, including open and honest communication, shared decision-making, emotional regulation, and authentic presence, there are aspects unique to pediatric trauma that may merit additional consideration and subsequent adaptation of strategies.

A particular challenge in traumatic pediatric deaths is the phenomenon of shock. Unlike parents of chronically or congenitally ill children, the parents of children who have experienced traumatic accidents such as traffic collisions, drowning, or burns may be psychologically and cognitively unprepared to see their child in a hospital setting. One minute, their child was healthy, and the next, their child is connected to machines and monitors. Because of this "shock factor" that emerges as a result of the unexpected nature of pediatric trauma, PICU physicians must take additional steps when engaging in end-of-life conversations with these parents.

First, PICU physicians must bypass shock as a barrier to comprehension. Often when parents hear poor prognoses of their

previously healthy children, including words such as "brain death examination" or "withdrawing support," they may simply not process the rest of what the physician says. These words are shocking and mind-numbing in any pediatric end-of-life situation, but even more so following completely unexpected trauma. As a result of this, PICU physicians may have to repeat particular aspects of the conversations in situations of pediatric trauma more than they would in situations in which goals-of-care conversations have been ongoing since the child's birth. Asking parents to repeat the current situation in their own words may be a helpful practice to confirm parental caregiver understanding (Michelson et al., 2011).

Secondly, PICU physicians must overcome the medical learning curve of parents in end-of-life conversations with trauma patients. While parents of chronically ill children may be more familiar with terminology such as ventilation, feeding tubes, and life-sustaining technology, those whose children were previously healthy may not be as familiar with hospital settings. Ensuring parental understanding is critical for informed pediatric decision-making, especially when parents' decision-making and executive function may be impaired by dysregulated emotions due to shock. Unnecessarily convoluted medical jargon should be minimized in all pediatric end-of-life situations, but physicians should be particularly cognizant of this in situations of trauma, as these parents may be less familiar with the ICU setting and technology.

Additionally, pediatric trauma situations often face challenges with continuity of care. Because of their emergent nature, pediatric traumas are often first taken to the Emergency Department, followed by admission to the PICU upon stabilization. Pediatric traumas are often rapidly evolving cases that can be exceedingly fast-paced and particularly complex, involving a wide range of care teams for a potential host of injuries. This creates challenges for transitions of care. As a result, information conveyed from the ED to the PICU may be delayed or inaccurate. One study of 23 pediatric hospitals found that 37% of ED to inpatient handoffs were linked to a handoff-related care failure, such as poorly organized or omitted data (Bigham et al., 2014). In these situations, it is imperative that PICU physicians work to ensure continuity of care through clear communication with surgeons and emergency physicians to prevent loss of key details or incorrect transfer of information (Hoonakker et al., 2019). Strategies to ameliorate handoff challenges in fast-paced and complex pediatric traumas may include standardized handoff tools, memory aids, or checklists. Additionally, PICU physicians could report to the ED when a new trauma comes in to observe the case from the outset. This can reduce the need for a handoff burdened by information transfer, enabling the physician to absorb details in the trauma unit and then "hit the ground running" back in the PICU (Hoonakker et al., 2019).

Finally, end-of-life situations in pediatric trauma may require additional bereavement processing. Validated tools such as the "Bereaved Parent Needs Assessment" may be used to measure parents' needs and fulfillment of those needs around the death of their

child in the PICU. These instruments may identify areas of parental needs that remain unmet, which can predict the extent of complicated grief and quality-of-life after a child's death (Meert et al., 2012). Beyond logistical needs such as open communication and places for parents to sleep in the PICU, a key unmet need that may need particular enhancement in pediatric trauma is the ability to find meaning in the loss of their child and hope for the future. While it is extremely difficult to find meaning in any child's death, this becomes even more challenging in situations of unexpected trauma. Parents whose child has been suffering from illness their entire life may have learned something about the beauty of life, love, and loss, but those whose child was unexpectedly taken from them by a traumatic accident may have sizable difficulties finding meaning in that loss.

Conclusion

End-of-life conversations in the Pediatric Intensive Care Unit are challenging regardless of cause for admission. These conversations must include key factors, including open and honest exchange of information, a quiet and private location, and coordination of care. While all end-of-life conversations merit a common set of communication tools, those related to pediatric trauma may necessitate additional measures to overcome shock due to the uniquely unexpected nature of pediatric trauma. Maintaining optimal emotional involvement through family conferences and shared decision-making can enable PICU physicians to better engage family concerns regarding pediatric trauma, reducing parental complex grief and mitigating physician burnout.

The *Apps* of Wrath

Madeline Foley

It has not taken long for the lights to dim on the once-visionary gig economy. The smartphone application-based work industry, also known as the "gig economy," has expanded exponentially over the last several years. Platform-based work can be found across various occupations: driving for Uber and Lyft, running errands via Handy or TaskRabbit, and delivering food through Instacart, Postmates, GrubHub, and similar platforms. The emergence of the gig economy was initially embellished with idealist promises of a reinvented work experience. Not subject to the direct control of a boss, workers can decide their hours and schedules. Additionally, gig work has the ostensible potential to expand opportunities for groups such as the Black, Latinx, and immigrant communities, who are more regularly subject to structural racism in the traditional job market. However, the precarious nature of this work does not come without consequence. Companies that easily facilitate gig work can do so by externalizing risk and liability: claiming their workers as independent contractors who are legally excluded from protection under labor and employment laws that cover traditional "employees" (Scheiber, 2019). While sidestepping legal responsibility, these platforms maintain concentrated power and represent a uniquely perilous extractive economic mechanism: the injustice they perpetuate is camouflaged with normalized neoliberal ideology. Although advertised as an attractive vessel of agency and social opportunity, the gig economy potentiates concentrated forms of the very symbolic violence that plagues the traditional job market.

Although a novel market, the concepts that undergird the gig economy are not new. As early as in the 1970s, Post-Fordist production principles and neoliberal socioeconomic reforms began to upend the traditional full-time union laborer (Doorn, 2017). What became more popular were "flexible" arrangements: temporary positions of employment with less legal protection and more opportunity for individual workers (Peck, 2012). The idea of the independent contractor was initially meant to protect small businesses from liabilities that could be easily absorbed by large companies but would be untenable for a family-owned business, such as a small bookstore. However, the concept has come to represent a loophole for exploiting these forms of relief through "externalizing risks and responsibilities" (Dubal, 2017). This vulnerable classification of laborers as "independent contractors" allocates gig workers limited rights and benefits in the workplace and provides flexibility to the employing party.

The categorization of workers as employees or independent contractors is not uniformly applied but rather depends on the holding of power within a working relationship. The criteria that distinguish laborers as "independent" foreground an appealing sense of agency for the constituents of the contracts as opposed to the "master and servant" relationship that dominates traditional employment dynamics (Ring, 2019). Gig economy workers have the autonomy to decide what jobs they want to complete and how they accomplish said jobs. The independent contracts that interpellate the gig economy boast

a more equal power dynamic between the workforce and its director. Nonetheless, official employment status offers rights, protections, and benefits under the Civil Rights Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Affordable Care Act, to name a few. Actors in independent contracts do not generally benefit from these protections (Zwick, 2018).

In 2019, the National Labor Relations Board overturned Obama-era rules that added important nuance to labor classification criteria: examining whether a worker was economically dependent on a contract and whether the worker has established interest and skills in their work (Ring, 2019). The change in NLRB rules applied to Uber in a capacity particularly damaging for gig economy workers. The precarious nature of this reversal hinged on the "near-absolute autonomy [Uber drivers have] in performing their daily work" (Office of the General Counsel of the NLRB, 2019). The NLRB was occupied by the concern that Uber's governing power may be diminished by drivers' "unlimited freedom to look elsewhere for better earnings" (Ibid., 2019). This insistence of ostensible "choice" under a neoliberal economic framework, available to traditional employees, does not consider the social context from which drivers often come. Gig economy workers often gravitate towards the market because other opportunities may be limited to them based on discrimination based on their race, language, education, or immigration status. A recent study of ride-hail and delivery workers in San Francisco found that 56 percent are immigrants, and only 22 percent are white (Schor, 2020). Studies of ride-hail drivers in other major cities report similar findings. Thus, in circumventing responsibility for the protection and wellbeing of the frequently marginalized constituents of their workforce, gig economy companies take advantage of their workers and allow structural racism to prevail.

It is necessary to elucidate what is meant by "structural racism" and its malicious accomplices. The term "refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations, and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity" (Aspen Institute Roundtable, 2004). In this understanding, structural racism presents itself as a form of symbolic violence. A term coined by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s, symbolic violence refers to the process whereby cultural symbols, over time, become vehicles of and perpetuate structural violence: "the gradual internalization and acceptance of ideas and structures" that are means of subordination (Bordieu, 1982). The harm done by symbolic violence is achieved indirectly—often without explicit interpersonal action—through cultural symbols. Bourdieu uses the related term "habitus" to describe the processes by which these particular kinds of beliefs and conceptions become internalized, and thus how symbolic violence is actualized. Habitus refers to "a set of predispositions individuals develop to approaching, thinking about, and acting upon their social worlds that they have come to learn over time as a consequence of their experiences" (Connolly, 2004). As such thoughts and actions go unchallenged, they become more entrenched in the minds of

those most affected and in their cultural symbols. The gig economy, a significant cultural symbol that can determine the financial opportunities available to individuals who, by free choice or not, participate in it, is a salient site of symbolic violence. The habitus of neoliberalism in our society has perilously distorted our perception that this economy behaves like any free market has allowed injustice to remain hidden.

A report prepared for the NYC Taxi & Limousine Commission in 2018 found that about 90 percent of New York's gig drivers are immigrants: the majority having emigrated from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh (Parrott, 2018). Sixty-five percent work full time, and 80 percent acquired their vehicle specifically for the job, attaching investment and debt risk to the already precarious career (Ibid., 2018). The same report shows that "app-based transportation companies have been able to expand their workforce by recruiting principally immigrants without a four-year college degree and who face restricted labor market opportunities." (Ibid., 2018). While denying job opportunities on principles of white supremacy, our economy is allowing gig economy companies to expand with low-wage on-demand labor. Scholar Ruth Gilmore posits that perpetrators of racism often utilize a fatal coupling of power and difference to maximize their actions (Gilmore, 2002). The gig economy is no different from these racist actors. Primarily supported by the labor of immigrants and people of color with minimal alternate job opportunities, the gig economy denies its "power and control over workers to enact violence against them. Able to continuously draw from demographics with limited employment opportunities, the industry makes workers' bodies disposable by denying the fundamental rights of health care coverage and injury compensation" (Simpson, 2020). Systemic white supremacy does not require individual racial hatred.

The white supremacy manifested in the gig economy is strikingly similar to the concept of "anthropophagi" that Jaime Alves describes in *The Anti-Black City*. While "anthropophagy" generally refers to the cannibalistic practice of eating human flesh, Alves "use[s] anthropophagi in a quasiliteral way: black bodies are exploited in the job market, segregated in favelas, incarcerated, beaten, killed by the police in what amounts to an anthropophagic economy of the flesh" (Alves, 2018). In the same capacity, gig economy companies actively benefit from the disposability of their workforce—mainly black and brown people, especially immigrants. The righteousness of the gig economy is maintained by the facility with which these unskilled jobs can be and are filled by anyone in need of money. With no shortage of people able and willing to work for companies like Uber and DoorDash, among others, there can be little momentum for worker protections. The system can show minimal regard for its laborers because there will always be another person, desperate for money and willing to work whatever job they can get. In this sense, as Alves so aptly states, "if Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagic manifesto—'anthropophagy is what unites us socially, economically, [and] philosophically'—is correct, the mundane devaluation of black lives

signals the central place of racial anthropophagi in" the gig economy.

Companies that participate in the gig economy enable this racial anthropophagy also through regulatory noncompliance that prioritizes majority-white investors over the wellbeing of their workers of color. According to the Economic Policy Institute, Uber drivers across the nation earn an average of just $9.21 per hour (Mishel, 2018). Based on Uber's operating cost and the commission the company receives, it exploits a roughly 600% profit margin, suggesting the capacity to increase compensation (Parrott, 2018). Revenue instead goes mainly to stock-based compensation of its predominantly white leadership staff (Swartz, 2019). Meanwhile, sixteen percent of gig drivers in New York lack any health insurance—a statistic double the national average—and 40 percent have incomes low enough to qualify for Medicaid (Mishel, 2018). Naturally, the mortality rate for uninsured people with the same diagnoses as insured people is considerably higher. These effects are not felt solely by individual gig economy workers but by their entire families. Half of the drivers in New York support children and provide most of their family's income (Mishel, 2018). Gig economy companies are thus setting up generational inequity by implicitly denying sixteen percent of their workers' children access to essential health resources.

Quality of life in the gig economy is often mediated by working conditions dictated by the employer's specific needs. In work that requires more roads, street designs can link structural violence to hot violence; roads are often built to prioritize high-speed circulation of goods in automobiles at the expense of safety. Do Jun Lee's (2018) research focuses on New York City's independently contracted restaurant food delivery couriers. Of the 153 workers that Lee interviewed, the majority were Mandarin or Spanish-speaking immigrants. Over thirty percent recorded their status as undocumented, only two percent were white, and just over fifteen percent felt comfortable taking the English language version of the survey (Lee, 2018). Couriers experience frequent injuries due to incidents with drivers, the effects of which are exacerbated by a lack of health-related rights under their independent contracts (Ibid., 2018).

Lee considers unsafe streets a scheme of cumulative irresponsibility, stemming from power differences, which results in the deaths of gig economy workers. The structural result of hazardous working conditions "focuses the blame for harm on personal responsibilities rather than structures or systems; this is particularly problematic in a highly unequal society because assigning personal responsibilities for harm becomes largely based upon power" (Ibid., 115). This removal of blame from the governing body allows racial anthropophagy—the treatment of non-white bodies as disposable—to dominate the gig economy. In the same report, Lee conducted a media discourse analysis that revealed only minimal news coverage of stories regarding e-bike couriers that considered the need for systematically improved street infrastructure. In contrast, most stories provided a platform for privileged white residents to feed the media narratives that "indicate that they feel deep fear and panic when encountering

immigrant delivery workers in their neighborhoods" (Ibid., 2018). White supremacy exists in New York through policing when used to value this fear over the livelihoods of immigrant workers of color.

In addition to endangering individual workers' livelihood, the gig economy also entrenches interpersonal inequality based on race and class. It is from a position of privilege that individuals can use smartphone apps to obtain personal services on a task-by-task basis. Research from the Milken Institute reveals the servant-master dynamic of the modern gig economy. One bicycle courier recounted the experience of being asked to complete a food delivery through a "poor door," also known as a servants' entrance (Schor, 2020). Drivers repeatedly recall being subject to passengers' prejudices, who have the power to rate them poorly and thus affect the security of their job. One interviewee, who had experienced both sides of these exchanges—as worker and customer—explained how the latter role led her into a de-humanizing attitude toward the service provider, even as she tried to remember what it was like on the other side of the app. Because of the racial skew between customers who are disproportionately white and workers who are disproportionately non-white, the interpersonal dynamics of the gig economy preserve old and carve out new forms of racial inequality and prejudice.

Gig economy workers pass through a multitude of symbolically violent structures in their daily labor experience. Their suffering is construed by the media as a result of an individual fault, ignoring contributing systems at both the corporate and public levels. This standard of violence against gig workers of color has only been exacerbated by unfair policing and stigmatization by media, neighbors, and politicians. The exploitative basis of the gig economy lies in its independent contracts. Gig economy corporations benefit from readily-available and easily-replaceable workers, drawing bodies from populations with limited social and financial opportunities. Methods of remote technological control allow gig-employers to minimize the difference in power between themselves and their workers, granting their companies the ability to ignore workers' fundamental rights and protections. Historically, legislative and judiciary efforts to enforce employment classification have not been significantly impactful. However, it is imperative that policymakers also consider the risk that classification poses to undocumented immigrants.

Notwithstanding, major gig-employers are beginning to agree that our current approach to this market is no longer viable. When questioned about the growing income inequality between company administration and contracted workers, current Uber CEO Dara Khosrowshahi divulged that things had "gone too far." Khosrowshahi also recognized that the current social safety system is ill-equipped for today's changing labor market (Pirani, 2020). Proposed solutions from industry leaders and politicians range in scope and angle, but regardless, a new plan is necessary to respond to our generation's profound economic transformations justly. In the future, one thing should be sure: organized labor must be prioritized to end the relegation

of gig-economy workers by employers in the gig economy to the meager position of disposable input costs. This uncontrolled and inhuman characterization of the market enables damaging structural violence to occur against vulnerable populations. In 1944, the Austrian political economist Karl Polanyi wrote, "to allow the market mechanism to be the sole director of the fate of human beings…would result in the demolition of society" (Pirani, 2020). Over 75 years later, his words are still accurate—and warrant urgent action.

Wine in Greece and Rome

A Divine Gift and Everyday Necessity for Sharing LIfe

Ryan Klevens

Fermented beverages have been enjoyed for much of the history of life on this planet. After all, fermentation may be the basis for life on earth. Without fermentation, early cells would not have been able to continue to produce ATP and have the energy necessary for the processes of life. It's believed that, as early as the Cretaceous period, animals were consuming fermented fruits and enjoying the sweetness of them but still managed to get "drunk." This disposition for consuming naturally fermented foods, then, is common to all kinds of organisms, including early humans. These early humans enjoyed the naturally-fermented foods they could find, but eventually they started making their own fermented beverages. Beer is considered to be the earliest purposely-fermented beverage, dating to the times of the Mesopotamians. This talent and art of producing fermented beverages came to many ancient civilizations. Somehow, people began experimenting with other agricultural products, such as grapes, which originated in the Caucasus Mountains. This knowledge of winemaking soon made its way to the people of the Peloponnesus Peninsula, where wine ingrained itself in the culture of what became Ancient Greece. Naturally, wine made its way into a place of prominence in Ancient Rome, since the Romans essentially absorbed a large part of Greek culture. In both of these ancient civilizations, wine took on an important role in the respective cultures. The Greek god Dionysus, whom the Romans called Bacchus, comes quickly to mind when thinking about these civilizations, showing just how closely associated wine and Greco-Roman culture were at the time and are in today's collective consciousness. But what is this link between wine and Greco-Roman culture? What was the role of wine and how did this come to be? What impact does this culture of wine have on contemporary society? Greeks and Romans both placed extreme importance on wine and integrated it into their daily lives. However, the Greeks regarded wine more as a divine gift than anything else, whereas the Romans regarded wine more as an everyday necessity and an academic pursuit than as some sort of mystical phenomenon.

Wine features very prominently in Greek mythology, which suggests that it was regarded as a sort of divine gift. The Greeks believed that there were twelve major Olympian gods and many more minor gods (Pallardy). These major gods include the likes of Zeus, god of the sky; Hades, god of the Underworld; and Poseidon, the god of the sea. Essentially, the Greeks had a god for each of the main realms of the earth and for important parts of their life: the sky held large sway over everyday life through the weather, and the sea surrounded them and controlled trade and travel. The inclusion of a god of wine amongst the likes of these extremely powerful deities is a testament to the importance of wine in Greek life. Wine was just as important as the sky, the afterlife, the sea. Dionysus, the god of wine, was on par with the most powerful beings in the Greek mythos. Greek legend tells that Dionysus came from the East, bringing with him "his miraculous but ambivalent gift, wine" (Grimm). Factually, winemaking came to the Greeks from the Phoenicians (Peters). In the story, however,

Dionysus is said to have discovered the grape and winemaking in Asia while traveling and to have brought it back upon his return (Peters). From this story, it becomes clear that wine was viewed as a literal gift from the divine, seeing as the god Dionysus gave the grape to the Greeks and taught them viticulture.

Wine also features quite prominently in the Homeric epics *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, which the Greeks regarded as tales of actual events. *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* were thus quite influential in the development of the shared Greek identity. While the concept of a unified Greek nation was never actualized in the ancient world, Greek-ness was an identity, not a nationality or a product of geography. A Greek was considered someone who spoke the Greek language and shared some parts of a similar culture, which included a heavy reliance on the Homeric epics (Grimm). For them, Greek history was believed to have originated in the Trojan War, as told in *The Iliad*. As a result, many aspects of these texts form the basis of the shared Greek identity, including views on food and what constituted a civilized community. For Homer, a civilized person was someone who grew grain to make bread—for which the Greeks were well known in the Mediterranean—who had vineyards for wine, who had gardens for other fruits and vegetables, who made olive oil, and, most importantly, who welcomed his guests into his home with meat, bread, and wine (Grimm). These things were what made one Greek. Note the importance of wine in this list. Food and drink, notably wine, were not simply for subsistence; food and drink were what gave joy and pleasure in life and provided a basis for community. There's a passage in *The Iliad* where Achilles welcomes Odysseus into his home and tells Patroclus to "Mix stronger wine. A cup for the hands of each guest - / here beneath my roof are the men I love most" (Homer). Notice that Achilles only mentions wine. Wine, specifically wine, is the way for him to welcome his friends into his home and share community with them. Wine is the way for Greeks to share life. Homer also quotes Odysseus as saying that food and wine "is a soldier's strength and nerve" (Homer). This could be interpreted as both food and wine being needed for both strength and nerve, but one could also look at it as food being the strength and wine being the nerve. The effects of alcoholic beverages on the body aside, wine almost takes on a spiritual quality. It's wine that forms the basis of a soldier's ability to be good at what he does, of his courage to fight for his cause. Wine is thus a crucial aspect of Greek history and of Greek meals, representing a means of uniting people where other differences may separate them. The specific mentions of wine in *The Iliad*, essentially an origin story for the Greek people, indicate its critical role in their shared cultural identity. These mentions of wine in significant Greek documents would have a similar cultural connotation to a mention of beer in the Declaration of Independence or Coca-Cola in the Constitution of the United States.

In addition to wine's role as a means of conveying amicability and community, Homer also describes how wine should be drunk. In the same scene as above, Achilles wants Patroclus to "mix stronger wine" (Ho-

mer). It was very common for the Greeks to mix their wine with water to dilute it, reducing the alcohol content to some degree (Grimm). Scholars estimate that the Greeks drank wine ranging from three to seven percent alcohol, which is equivalent to most modern beers (Grimm). It's also likely that mixing wine into their water made their water supplies safer to drink, since the alcohol would kill off any bacteria living in it (Grimm). The above command from Achilles can be interpreted in two ways. First, consider the strength of an alcoholic beverage. It's common to say, "I need a strong drink after today," usually after one has had a particularly bad day at work. This then has the intention of consuming wine in order to get a little bit of a buzz, to get (somewhat) drunk. It's also common to want strong drinks simply in order to have a fun time amongst friends, as college students are prone to do at parties. This suggests that part of the reason for drinking alcoholic beverages in the first place is the goal of getting drunk, of feeling those intoxicating effects. If this is suggested in the origin story of the Greek people, this practice would have trickled down through and permeated the rest of society.

Second, consider the practices of drinking wine. We've seen that the Greeks mixed their wines, but now let us consider how they did so. Homer includes one instance in *The Iliad* and one instance in *The Odyssey* where the mixing of wine is explained (Grimm). The preparation process requires skill and is performed by a woman, which is interesting given the focus on men in these two texts (Grimm). The resulting product, called the *kykeon*, is more a restorative and less a fermented beverage and is a sort of "common ancestor" of other Greek comfort foods. The *kykeon* itself has a base of Prammian wine—mentioned quite often in Homer and lauded for its dark color and strength—with added barley meal and honey, with goat cheese to top. It seems that this—and similar methods of preparation—were a common way for Greeks to consume wine outside of and mostly prior to the development of *symposia*.

Several centuries later, *symposia* became popular occasions for upper-class men to drink wine. Homer's works are dated to sometime in the eighth century BC, while the actual Trojan War is dated to the thirteenth century BC (Giotto). The later Classical age of Greece, from the start of the fifth century BC to the end of the third, saw the rise of the *symposium*, or drinking party (Giotto). The name "*symposium*" literally means "drinking together," which was the main purpose of the gathering (Akmenkalns and Sneed). Occasionally, the *symposium* was defined as a banquet, but seeing as it was a separate event that followed consuming food, the understanding of it as a drinking party is more accurate (Akmenkalns and Sneed). These gatherings seem to be ways to celebrate the gods Dionysus and Eros, as a form of revelry. Participants, called symposiasts, were entertained with music, poetry, jokes, drinking games, and women (Akmenkalns and Sneed). Descriptions of these parties come from vessels with images and texts such as Plato's "Symposium" and Xenophon's *Symposium* (Akmenkalns and Sneed). Wives and other respectable were not allowed to attend, but hetairai—or courtesans who provided sex, music, and conversation—were (Akmenkalns and Sneed). Kottabos was

a popular drinking game, where the goal was to fling the lees on the ground to make letter or at a target in the room (Akmenkalns and Sneed). The Greeks emphasized self-control, at least in theory, at these parties. Dionysus had taught the Greeks to drink only three cups of wine: the first was for one's health, the second was for love and pleasure, and the third for sleep (Grimm). And this self-control is discussed at length in works by Plato and Xenophon, who paint the *symposium* as a classy, academic event where the aristocratic men gathered to drink wine in moderation and to hold discussions of philosophy (Akmenkalns and Sneed). However, from images on vases and amphorae, we see a much different picture––one of revelry and hedonism––not unlike some college parties today. Both visualizations may be true, in a sense. It's entirely conceivable that these symposia were wild drinking parties, aided by the intoxicating effects of wine, but that the original goal of the gathering was an academic pursuit. Maybe these vases simply display the only images people wanted to show of these parties, since it's common to enjoy photos of wild times but uncommon to want an immortalized image of one sitting in a circle and talking. Either way, it's clear that the Greeks had a wide range of views on the *symposium*, and it may be that the *symposium* could encapsulate the extremes. Above all else, though, the main purpose of the *symposium* was an all-male gathering as a way to drink wine.

The Greeks spent much of their time establishing colonies around the Mediterranean, which meant that their love for and expertise on wine and its production diffused throughout the Mediterranean. The Greeks had established colonies in modern-day Italy, France, Spain and Portugal and on many of the other islands in the Mediterranean (Grimm). Greeks from the colonies of Massilia (contemporary Marseilles) brought wine to the peoples of Gaul and Celtic villagers in Burgundy (Phillips). Colonists on Sicily called the island and southern Italy *Oenotria*, which means the land of wine (Grimm). Wines were also produced on the islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Cos in the eastern Aegean. Wines from these different regions varied in quality, with the highest quality coming from the eastern Aegean and from Thrace. These many varieties of wines came in a range of colors, from white to golden to black. Many wines were very fragrant, smelling of flowers and other plants. These aromas were either intrinsic to the wine itself or perfumed into them with spices or flowers. The Greeks also had a penchant for sweet wine that tasted like honey. This diffusion of wines and winemaking carried over from the Greeks to the Romans, as Rome assimilated many aspects of Greek culture.

In Rome's early days, the future great empire was initially a collection of groups on the Italian peninsula, centered around the city of Rome on the Tiber. As Rome expanded, it assimilated several Greek colonies, bringing into its fold many aspects of Greek culture. One notable contribution was Greek mythology, which the Romans altered slightly to make their own. This included adapting Dionysus into Bacchus, who remained the god of wine. A second notable contribution was interest in good food, which naturally meant an interest in good wine. As the Romans expanded their empire in the Mediter-

ranean, they enthusiastically devoted resources towards acquiring and producing this good food and wine.

The Romans took the preexisting knowledge of winemaking from the Greeks and turned it into the science of viticulture. They developed several varieties of grapes to make new kinds of wines; some of these varieties were even able to be grown as far north as Britain (Grimm). This meant that there was a vast selection of wines available to inhabitants of the empire. This led Archestratos of Gela, a Sicilian, to write the *Hedypatheia* ("Life of Luxury"), which acted as a guidebook detailing the best food and wines of the Mediterranean (Grimm). Columella, a Roman writer, wrote *De Re Rustica*, which included a volume on viticulture (Johnson). He describes in detail the new trellis systems developed to raise the vines up off the ground with stakes (Johnson). This method of growing was much safer for laborers, who no longer had to climb tree trunks to harvest the grapes. Viticulturists also determined the benefits of planting these vineyards on steep slopes to allow for cool air to flow over the vines. Further, the Romans introduced wine and viticulture to the great winegrowing regions of today (Johnson). They brought viticulture to Catalonia, Rioja, Cordoba, and other parts of the Iberian Peninsula (Johnson). Areas in modern-day France and Germany include the Rhone Valley, Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Champagne (Johnson). The Romans even introduced viticulture to parts of the British Isles (Johnson). In order to ensure all of this wine could circulate throughout the empire, the Romans improved grape presses and storage methods too (Grimm). None of these improvements in growing and production technique and expansion of viticulture in general would have been possible without the Roman desire for good wine.

Naturally, having lots of good wine available meant that the Romans needed to drink it. Their main meal was dinner, not unlike us Americans. Dinner was a celebration of both food and companionship, signifying amicability, friendship, and connection (Grimm). They called the meal *convivium*, which translates to "living together" (Grimm). There was a deliberate intent to distinguish this occasion from the Greek *symposium*. Whereas the Greek aristocrats prohibited the attendance of wives, the Roman gentlemen actively encouraged their wives to attend and take part (Grimm). This event was about consuming both food and wine at the same time and did not separate the two. The Romans believed in wine's ability to complement and accentuate the flavors of food. Wine was intended to accompany the dishes of the evening, not to be separated from the main meal as the Greeks practiced (Raff). Wine was mixed with water before consumption, but the Romans did so differently. While the Greeks mixed a communal serving of wine for the entire party in a large *krater* (or mixing bowl), the Romans mixed wine for each guest's own individual taste and in his own cup (Raff). This was done by the server measuring a specific volume of wine using a *simpulum* (ladle) as an intermediary step between the wine stores and the guest's cup (Raff). It was common practice to use hot water heated by *authepsae* (special boilers) for mixing in a distinctly Roman tradition (Raff).

Less common was to use cold water, or even ice or snow. They used extremely ornate silver cups, oftentimes with images associated with Dionysus (Bacchus) and his identifiers of wine and cupids with instruments. It seems that these kinds of cups were reserved specifically for consumption of wine (Raff). There was a deep respect for Dionysus and Eros as the deities of Greek symposia, and the Romans made conscious efforts to avoid drunken practices and becoming overly intoxicated (Grimm). For the Romans, wine was meant to be consumed with food, at the *convivium*, in the company of friends and loved ones.

Wine soon became increasingly common and viewed as a necessary part of daily life in the Roman Empire. Wine was no longer solely for the elite, as it was in Greece. In Rome, wine was for all. In his writings, Cato advocated for providing even lowly slaves with wine (Phillips). Wine was also prominent in religious festivals, vital for Bacchanalia, and prescribed as medicines. Wine was an important offering for the gods, as pouring out libations of thanks (Hernandez). When Romans visited the graves and tombs of their ancestors, they began the visit by pouring a cup of wine down into the crypt or on the ground above the bodies, as a way to show respect and remembrance for those who came before (Hernandez). Bacchanalia were cults within the Roman world that celebrated the mysteries of Bacchus and advocated for drinking of copious amounts of wine to induce some sort of spiritual or religiously ecstatic experience (Hernandez). There are wall paintings and murals within the homes of Pompeii that show some of these wine-centered practices. It's unknown just what would have caused such religious ecstasy and these experiences, but the copious amounts of wine may have had something to do with it, thanks to the intoxicative effects of strongly alcoholic drinks. Wine also had extensive "medical" uses. Notably, Cato prescribed wine for such mental ailments as depression and grief and physical ailments as constipation and bloating (Phillips). He includes a detailed recipe for a wine-based laxative, where the grapevines that produced these wine grapes were to be treated with ashes, manure, and hellebore. Soaking wine in juniper or myrtle would help with snakebites and gout, and wine with pomegranates was a cure for tapeworms. Despite these touted panacea-like qualities of wine, the Romans were well aware of the dangers of overdrinking. Lecretius warned against drinking too much for fear it would leave to fights (Phillips). Overdrinking, especially in public, was vehemently looked down upon. In a libel piece against Mark Antony, Cicero labelled him a drunkard and accused him of drinking such excessive amounts of wine that he vomited in the Roman Senate chambers (Phillips). Wine was an everyday necessity, from an integral piece of the evening meal to medicinal uses, and was viewed as a vital part of daily life in the Roman Empire.

Wine was an important part of the fabric of life in the Greco-Roman world. The Greeks viewed wine as a divine gift, brought to them by Dionysus, one of the most prominent gods in the Greek pantheon. Wine and its consumption were quite literally written into the fabric of their society, as wine was a key part of the Homeric epics *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* that tell the people of the Pelo-

ponnesus their shared history in a great war. Wine was a source of comfort, food, and community. Homer describes the preparation of the *kykeon*, the mother of all Greek comfort food dishes. Later, with the rise of the *symposium*, wine became symbolic of good times, ranging from academic and intellectual discussions to celebrations of revelry and pleasure. Wine was a large part of Greek colonization and trade, which brought wine and viticulture to the Italian peninsula and Rome. Romans assimilated Dionysus, adapting him to their needs and calling him Bacchus, and the winemaking knowledge of the Greeks. The Romans developed the science of viticulture and spread wine to many of today's great winegrowing regions, such as Bordeaux in France. Wine was an everyday necessity, a vital part of dinner and the *convivium*, and meant to be enjoyed by all, from a slave to the emperor himself. They used wine in religious rites––from visiting their ancestors to the Bacchic cults––and as a medicine. Drunkenness was discouraged, as a true Roman gentleman—or gentlewoman—would not imbibe too much. Our current Western world is very much a product of the developments of Greece and Rome.

Much of contemporary Western society is a result of the Greco-Roman world. This makes sense from the perspective of history, where Western Europe grew up from the ruins of the Roman Empire and then much later founded colonies in the New World. But there's a deeper layer to this. Most of the Western world are practicing democracies, with roots in Greece. Much of our architecture is influenced by Greek temples and Romans roads and aqueducts. Many of our modern practices of food have their origins in this world, which includes wine and drinking practices. The contemporary college party is very similar to one extreme of the Greek *symposium*, with the influence of Dionysus and Eros, drinking games and drunkenness for all. The contemporary dinner party is very similar to the Roman *convivium*, where wine is enjoyed with food as an accent, not a replacement. Contemporary conceptions of public drunkenness mirror those of the Romans, notably Cicero. While the Greeks and Romans thought of wine as a medicine, there is some validity to that. Alcohol can be used as an antiseptic in a pinch, as it can help kill off bacteria and rupture the plasma membrane of a virus. Drinking can be a temporary solution for mental issues like depression and grief but should not be a cure-all or long-term treatment; that's called alcoholism. We have many of today's great wines because of the Romans and their passion for viticulture. They essentially founded the great winemaking regions of Bordeaux, Burgundy, Champagne, the Rhone, Cordoba. We owe a lot of contemporary society to these Greeks and Romans. Good wine, as a path to drunkenness or as an accompaniment to food, comes from the Greco-Roman world.

Swipe Right

How Tinder Created a Matching Market for Emerging Adults

Lillie Renck

Dating sites have existed since the advent of the internet. From the launch of Kiss.com, the first modern dating website in 1994, to the popularization of dating applications on smartphones, there have always been markets to meet people. Dating sites have made it easier to make new connections, focusing on the creation of an online profile and listing interests to talk to suitors one may not organically find. This has been evident in research of straight couples, as there has been a drastic increase in couples meeting online (~40%) compared to meeting in a bar or restaurant (~27.5%) or through friends (~20%), which previously was the most common way to meet a significant other (Rosenfeld, Reuben & Hausen, 2019).

However, it has not always been easy to meet someone online. Certain kinds of stigma carried over from the early days of the internet. The association between online dating and individuals labeled as "geeks" or "nerds" dulled the excitement of meeting with someone from the internet. Stereotypes led to hostile generalizations and jokes on late night television shows. While negative attention was still some form of marketing, it did not bode well for the online dating industry. However, the industry took a turn in the early 2000s. Young adults remained single for long periods of time, bars became less of a social scene, and movies like Nora Ephron's *You Got Mail* normalized online dating (Slater, 2013). The changes in the dating scene lined up perfectly for online dating services to flourish.

In the 2010's, the online dating market became saturated. In the US, there were an estimated 1400 services, making $2 billion in revenue each year as of 2013 (Slater, 2013). As of 2020, that number has increased to $3.9 billion (Madigan, 2020). The low barriers to entry make the industry accessible to anyone. However, the exemplar application for online dating is Tinder.

Tinder has revolutionized the dating market. From its game-like features to its targeting of the emerging adulthood demographic (ages 18-29), the application has broken ceilings in terms of revenue and social norms. Most noteworthy, in the focus of this paper, is its success in operation with limited information. Tinder profiles exist with relatively little information to share with suitors, yet it has achieved great success in matching users. This paper explores the benefits of limiting market participants' information to increase a market's operation, using Tinder's achievement as a prime example of this.

Literature Review

To understand the intricacies of application-based matching services, the problem faced by dating sites and the economic solution offered must be addressed. Dating sites are posed with the dilemma of matching users to individuals who meet the user's preferences. The Gale-Shapley model attempts to do the same in marriage markets, or more generally in one-to-one markets.

The Gale-Shapley Model

The Gale-Shapley model was first in-

troduced in 1962 as the foundation to the college admissions model. The marriage market was an ideal example of strategizing about a one-to-one market. The model has an equal number of men and women. Each person ranks the people of the opposite sex in order of their preference. The goal is to pair each person with a satisfying member of the opposite sex. The model yields two important theorems: there always exists a stable set of marriages and every applicant is at least as well off under the assignment given by the deferred acceptance (DA) procedure as he would be under any other stable assignment (Gale & Shapley, 1962). The model has been applied in several real-world situations, including matching students in primary school to secondary schools (Teo, Sethuraman & Tan, 2001), matching medical school students to residency programs (Roth, 1984), and matching users to servers (Maggs & Sitaraman, 2015). An extension of the Gale-Shapley model would later be implemented to portray the mechanism used by online dating sites.

Matching Participants

Participants are matched based on preferences. Each dating site approaches this in a unique way. Some individuals hope to be matched by religious preferences, choosing sites like JDate or Christian Mingle. Some match by relationship expectations, choosing eHarmony for long-term relationships or perusing Ashley Madison for extramarital affairs. All match by sexual orientation, but the markets may be narrowed down by the nature of its user base, like applications Grindr (all bisexual, gay, and transsexual people) and Scruff (gay, bisexual, and transsexual men) do on smartphones (Ali & Wibowo, 2011). The specialization of these services allows for clear expressions of intent and motivation for their usage.

Tinder matches users by preference based on appearance. When a user opens the application, the profile of a potential match appears. The basic information a profile may display includes name, age, distance from the user, and some pictures. If one elects, there may be links to a person's Instagram and Spotify accounts. The types of profiles displayed can be filtered on the basis of surface characteristics, such as setting an age range and geographic radius.

Gender differences exist in decision making. In an analysis of 421,690,471 potential matches on the application Hinge, female users spent significantly more time making their choice. Men engaged with the profile for 6.7 seconds on average before deciding, while females spent 11.1 seconds on the profile. The results of this study suggest that selection is based on immediately available cues: for example, aesthetics or visual presentation (Levy, Markell & Cerf, 2019). The implications of this demonstrate the importance of first impressions in a profile with limited information.

Tinder

Tinder's success in the dating app market is unique. Launched in 2012, the application should have flopped. The market was already highly saturated with matching services, as it was estimated in 2008 that there

were over 800 online dating services in existence (Ali & Wibowo, 2011). It was weak in comparison to other applications, focusing on little profile input and crashing frequently on users. Its strengths, however, came from its demographic and its game-like features.

As mentioned earlier, there were niche audiences that previous sites appealed to: religious singles, LGBTQ people, and hopeless romantics to name a few. In the beginning, Tinder only appealed to the contacts of its creators, who sent out invitations to everyone they knew (which ended up being about 400 people). However, Tinder marketed to a demographic of young people, adults ages 18 to 24, to get word out about their app (Shontell, 2017). Talking about Tinder at frat parties, discussing the app loudly in coffee shops to be overheard, and allowing students to tell their friends from home over school break about their experiences were strategies that created a positive network externality. The increase in profiles creates a network effect– more users may match more often, improving user experience.

Another appeal of Tinder lies in this user experience. The swiping process won users over with its game-like structure. When a user finds a profile appealing, they swipe right. When they would prefer not to match, the user swipes left. Swiping acts like a modified version of the infinite scroll, as seen on other applications, where one can continuously consume new information with the gesture of their thumb. Once a user scrolls either way, the next profile appears. This feature is highly addicting, which contributes to the success of Tinder compared to other dating sites, which require deliberate action such as clicking on profiles (Wiederhold, 2018). A user may swipe through the card deck– or the list of profiles that meet one's preferences– until there are no new options. At this point, old profiles that were previously rejected may be recycled and presented again to the user.

The psychological consequences of swiping prime human behavior for conditioning. With each swipe right, uncertainty follows: did that profile also swipe right on me? Because users do not know when the next match will come, this system of matching falls under a variable ratio reward schedule. In terms of conditioning, this means that the reward (the match) is reinforced after an unpredictable number of responses (swipes). Conditioning like this can lead to addiction-like behavior when using the app (Purvis, 2017). While this is a strength for Tinder metrics, it also demonstrates the drawbacks of swiping for users. These elements of Tinder demonstrate the importance of knowing one's audience and targeting it through unique means.

Model Extension

The Gale-Shapley model allows for an agent to rank matches in terms of preferences. In the case of a Tinder user, this ranking is dependent on the number of people who meet the filter requirements (ex: a certain sexuality, a certain age range, a certain geographic area, etc.). Since each potential match is not screened at the same point in time as any other match (hence the swiping mechanism), the model must be implemented in a different fashion. The decision-making ques-

tion here is: do you like this profile more than you like being alone? Being matched with oneself is the end of the preference list, as there is no reason to consider matching with someone who you value less than yourself.

Therefore, the model used here is a two-person market, which for this situation includes a man *m* and a woman *w*. The man is presented with a woman and is asked to decide if he prefers being matched with her or being matched to himself. On Tinder, a swipe left would mean he prefers being matched to himself and a swipe right would mean he prefers being matched to the woman. This mechanism is repeated over and over for each person a user may encounter. The number of matches increases if the woman, in her own market, also swipes right. This system of matching allows for consensual coupling. Additionally, the match is successful because each person is notified of the matching, informing them of their desirability to the other person.

In this market, it does not seem effective to lie in the long run. The person only has to answer one question: would it be better to be matched with another person or be matched with oneself? A lie, in the form of matching with oneself instead of with another, can lead to decreased satisfaction for the user. This situation leads to "what if" thinking processes and other hypotheticals that may not have the opportunity to play out unless the card deck is recycled. On the other hand, a lie in the form of matching with another when one would rather not, leads to a less-than-optimal outcome not only for the user but for the profile they lied to. If a person is not happy with the profile, this will lead to decreased satisfaction in conversing and even in-person dating for both individuals if the relationship moves that far. Preference strength also does not seem to be important in this market. Because there are only two agents involved, it only matters that the user prefers to be matched with another person over being matched to oneself. Preference strength may come into play once a match is made, as the user can then begin to rank the matches received.

After receiving matches, the Gale-Shapley model may be used to rank preferred dates. A user would know who has also swiped right, therefore allowing for a list of profiles to be ranked, since each person would rather be matched to another than be alone. This matching can be based on the original characteristics that prompted a user to swipe right in the first place, but also new factors such as conversation skills and compatibility. This application of the model is more nuanced, as each profile has a different pool of applicants. Each user has a specialized set of filters, like age and geographic range. This makes a match more difficult to find. Because of this complexity, this paper will only focus on the novel presentation of a potential suitor.

Improving Market Operation

Tinder's success comes from exploiting human behavior. Matches are made with limited information in the market, which includes profile appearance, availability, and location. Appearance is particularly important in this framework, as a human can gauge the attractiveness of another after a one-sec-

ond glance. Further, previous research demonstrates that beauty is perceived when information is minimized. This is accomplished by masking certain features of a person's appearance or rapid presentation of a profile (Olson & Marshuetz, 2005). While a user can choose their own pictures, Tinder implements the rapid presentation through its swiping mechanism.

Though it seems counterintuitive, limiting the information of market participants increases Tinder's operation. First, by restricting the necessary information, the barriers to entering the market are low. Users only need to share their first name, age, location, pictures, and sexual preferences before swiping. This makes the market safe to participate in – there is no mandatory credit card sign up, no expectation to meet with someone in real life, and no binding contract to continue using the application. If a user feels unsafe using the application, Tinder can be deleted. This differs from in-person dating, where it may be harder to get out of a dangerous situation. Therefore, the risk of joining is very low and the prospect of social benefits is high.

Second, Tinder provides thickness by making it easy to participate. The limited barriers to entry allow anyone with five minutes to sign up and start swiping. Older dating services lacked this ease, as users had to be aware of their presentation. Profiles had to balance between being informative and being personable. Tinder eliminates the need to be more than a face at first glance, which aids in its appeal. This ease is especially attractive to Tinder's target demographic of emerging adults, a generation characterized by its desire for instant gratification (Anderson & Rainie, 2012). If one desired new connection with others, and could sign up for the first time and start receiving matches within ten minutes, one would be foolish to not join.

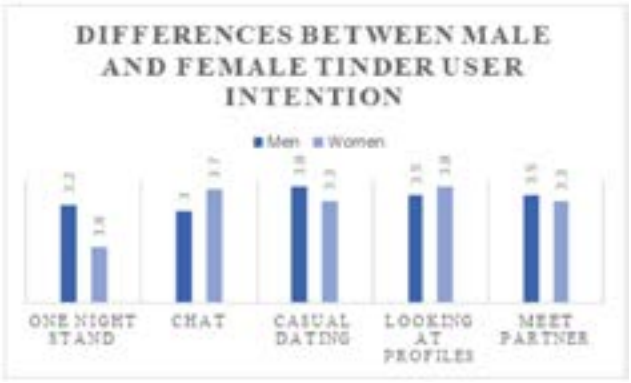
Third, Tinder manages congestion with ease with its swiping model. Congestion occurs when a market cannot process transactions effectively. The lack of information allows for a user to make a decision based on the surface-level characteristics mentioned earlier, without worry of other dynamics (such as relationship intent, ability to introduce the profile to loved ones, etc.). This shortens the decision-making process down to seconds. For the experienced user, the swiping process can be sped up to analyze many profiles in a short period of time. This allows for more potential partners to be screened, with the possibility of finding a satisfactory partner increasing with each swipe. This is an advantage Tinder has over in-person dating, where it would be socially unacceptable to interact for such a short period of time with a potential suitor, and over other online dating sites, which require deliberate interaction with a profile through clicking with the mouse.

While limiting market participants' information can improve the market's operation, many platforms choose not to limit the number of matches a profile can have. Hypothetically, this could lead to a significantly large number of matches for a person. This raises concern about whether it is worth it to have so many options. In consumer behavior, the answer is no. The choice overload hypothesis suggests that as there is an increase in options to choose from, there are also adverse effects, ranging from a decrease in motiva-

tion to choose ("choice anxiety") to a decrease in satisfaction with the final choice (Scheibehenne, Greifeneder & Todd, 2010). The overload hypothesis's application in this market may not be as influential in the former respect as in the latter. The number of matches a profile has can lead to dissatisfaction with an in-person date. Either user could start the night with high expectations but eventually leave unhappy due to comparison with other dates, facing the opportunity costs of one's decision.

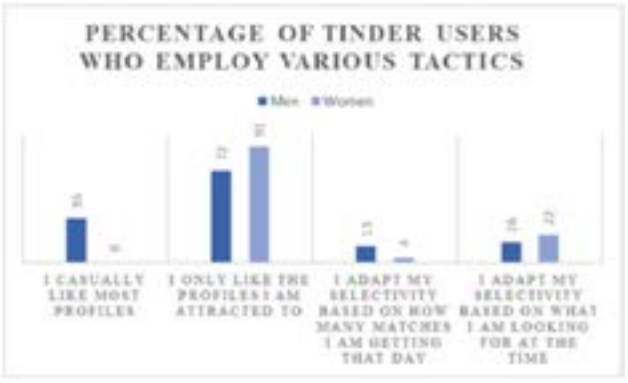
Tinder's model appears to be effective. As of November 1, 2020, there are 57 million Tinder users around the world, spanning 190 countries and 40 languages. Each day there are 1.6 billion swipes, leading to one million dates per week (Match Group, 2020). There are sex differences in how users approach swiping (Tyson et al., 2016). Figure 1 demonstrates the intention behind using the application. Men are more likely to use the application for short-term goals, such as interacting with another user casually. Women prefer to use the application for something more long-term, whether it is chatting with another person or looking for a partner. These differences in selectivity work well as an explanation to the different swiping tactics, demonstrated in Figure 2. Men are more likely to swipe right overall than women, but women are more likely to swipe on a profile they are attracted to, which is consistent with their long-term intentions.

Figure 1
Sex Differences in Intentions for Using Tinder



Note: Data adapted from Tyson, G., Perta, V. C., Haddadi, H., & Seto, M. C. (2016). A first look at user activity on tinder. *CoRR, abs/1607.01952* Retrieved from http://arxiv.org/abs/1607.01952

Figure 2
Sex Differences in Strategies for Swiping



Note: Data adapted from Tyson, G., Perta, V. C., Haddadi, H., & Seto, M. C. (2016). A first look at user activity on tinder. *CoRR, abs/1607.01952* Retrieved from http://arxiv.org/abs/1607.01952

These sex differences are evident in outcomes as well. The average female profile had a matching rate of 10.5%, while the average male profile had a matching rate of 0.6%. Women are three times more likely to send the first message than men, and their messages are almost 10 times longer in length (Purvis, 2017). This leads to different levels of satisfaction. Men are less committed to their matches, putting in less effort, while women are flattered by the frequency of matches but are ultimately disappointed with the outcome.

Mechanism Limitations

While a mechanism can work perfectly in theory, humans can disrupt the outcomes. A caveat of online dating sites is the way they present other users. Profiles are filtered down by features, allowing only for searchable attributes. These include identifiers such as physical traits or identity markers such as religion or geographic location. When individuals go on dates in person, they are attracted to experiential attributes (Frost et al., 2008). One cannot click a box and say they are friendly and funny online, and then show up to dinner and act dry and dull (or they can, and it may be considered catfishing by broad standards). Instead, the characteristics that draw people together are brought out through real interactions.

There are still some social barriers to the optimal matching. Profiles may be fake or include misleading information, leading to a less-than-perfect match. Lying in profiles is seen as a desirable strategy for those who may feel like there is something to be gained by not sharing the truth. Despite this not being a dominant strategy, users who are less familiar with the algorithm may engage in misinformation to one-up the system. On an individual level, this may lead to the liar being called out, resulting in less matches due to a poor reputation. On a platform level, the concept of lying and the rise of catfishing may perpetuate the negative stereotypes of online dating.

In addition to humans, software can disrupt the optimal outcome. Stability, the concept that no individual agent prefers to be unmatched or no pair of agents prefer to be matched to each other over their allocation, is important in matching markets (Kojima & Pathak, 2009). It is an integral theorem in the DA algorithm, which finds a stable outcome (Gale & Shapley, 1962). One main reason for stability is in the counterexample. Suppose that agents m and w claim to block the stable matching μ. This would imply that their preferences align but would also mean that m must have proposed to w at some point in the algorithm and was rejected. This claim that there was a tentative assignment violates the structure of the DA algorithm. However, Tinder's setup could allow for this scenario to occur. After a period of time, a profile who was previously rejected may appear again in the card deck. Something may have changed with the profile (e.g. better pictures) or in the user (e.g. desperation) that would prompt the user to swipe right and subsequently match with the profile. This discrepancy would cause issues in a model with a limited number of matches (for example, the one-to-one market), but because of Tinder's unlimited

matching philosophy, there is no issue. If their viewpoint changed, either charging users for more matches or eliminating the recycling of profiles completely, this issue would arise again and would lead to questions of the application's efficiency.

Conclusion

While no application can create the optimal output of a matching, Tinder seems unfazed by this fact. Its success with its user base and revenue from subscription fees demonstrate the benefits of monetizing the relationships humans have with each other. Using the Gale-Shapley model as a foundation, the millions of matches Tinder has made portray the strengths of a preference system in application. Limiting market participant's information to solely include appearance, availability, and location was a daring exploit, but Tinder has demonstrated the ability to meet and exceed market design goals of creating thickness, managing congestion, and making it easy to participate in an online dating market.

Compassion Killers

Implicit Biases and Explicit Expressions

Elena Wernecke

With increasing information coming to light about systemic anti-Black racism in the United States and the plethora of ways that it seeps into the daily lives of Black people, it becomes imperative to evaluate race-relations in the healthcare system. In fact, due to its direct impacts on individuals of all walks of life and backgrounds and its call to serve and protect these lives, the healthcare system warrants perhaps an even higher level of scrutiny than other institutions when it comes to investigating racism. This essay will address the existence, roots, consequences and current attempts at amelioration of racial bias in medicine and through this exploration, attempt to propose a more efficient mechanism for the elimination of racial bias.

In 2020 more than ever, evidence of potential racial bias and resulting disparity in treatment is surfacing. For example, with the dawn of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States, "Black people are dying at 2.3 times the rate of White people" (COVID Racial Data Tracker, 2020). Many cite access to healthcare, essential worker status, crowded housing, and socioeconomic status as contributing factors to this statistic. Each of these conditions has its own history building up to its current state, from housing discrimination and redlining, to increased mistrust of healthcare, to decades of economic discrimination. However, discrimination on an individual level has played a role in this disparity as well, as evidenced by the anecdotes from Black patients reporting difficulties in obtaining COVID tests and providers not taking Black patients seriously (Eligon; Harper). Unfortunately, these disproportionate effects of COVID-19 on Black communities compile merely one example in a sea of inequity.

Though some of this disparity is beyond the control of healthcare providers, it is in part caused by bias, whether realized or not, and a resulting dearth of compassion in healthcare professionals. One blatant misconception in the minds of many Americans, healthcare professionals included, is that if they condemn racist attitudes or are not overtly racist, they must be immune to expressions of racial bias. In reality, implicit biases, which are unconscious attitudes or stereotypes that we harbor about a specific group, do lead to behavioral change toward that group, even if unintentional (McConnell and Leibold, 2000).

This individual bias appears to have an impact in areas where healthcare providers *do* have jurisdiction: the examination room. This bias manifests itself as lower levels of pain treatment for Black people, as evidenced in a study of opioid use for White and Black people with chronic illnesses which revealed a significantly higher percentage of analgesic use for White people (Chen et al., 2005). It manifests as longer wait times in the emergency room (Qiao, W. P., Powell, E. S., Witte, M. P., & Zelder, M. R., 2016). It manifests in the very way that healthcare professionals speak to their patients (Institute of Medicine Committee on Understanding and Eliminating Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care). The list goes on.

Furthermore, addressing the issue of medical racism on the scale of the indi-

vidual may seem to be a daunting task in and of itself, but this is minuscule in comparison with the long-historied beast of institutional medical racism. After ages of exploitation including experimental invasive surgeries on enslaved Black women by "the father of modern gynecology" without anesthetic in the 19th century as well as the commercialization of "HeLa" cells taken from Henrietta Lacks as she was dying of cervical cancer without her informed consent, a deep mistrust has grown between Black individuals and the medical establishment. The combination of these conditions result in diminished care for Black people. This is exemplified in the vast inequity in maternity care for Black mothers and babies, resulting in infant and maternal mortality rates that are 2 and 3-4 times the rates of White babies and mothers, respectively (The Impact of Institutional Racism on Maternal and Child Health, 2019). Further, maternity care is a prime example of the intersection of institutional racism and individual implicit biases especially when it comes to breastfeeding: "facilities located in zip codes with higher percentages of black residents than the national average were less likely to meet five indicators for supportive breastfeeding practices (early initiation of breastfeeding, limited use of breastfeeding supplements, rooming-in, limited use of pacifiers, and post-discharge support), than those located in areas with lower percentages of black residents" (Anstey et al., 2017).

Compassionate care requires the intersection of all levels of healthcare—not even the kind, empathetic, equitable, patient-advocating physician can provide the highest level of compassionate care when, at the basal level, the system is flawed and stacked against certain patients. Within the realm of medicine, systemic racism leaks from medical education to emergency and operating rooms. In order to address these issues, it is important to understand the roots of biased physician decision-making on the level of the individual. What psychologically impedes the administration of compassionate care to *all* patients of *all* races?

In this investigation of why negative outcomes occur across racial lines, it is beneficial to recall the processes that stimulate a compassionate response and result in compassionate care. One of these processes, automatic empathic resonance, is the immediate experience of sharing the suffering of an observed person in pain (Vachon, 2020). This automatic response is part of the compassion pathway, which proceeds with a healthcare provider feeling motivated to alleviate the pain and then acting on that motivation. Thus, to truly achieve a compassionate response to a patient's suffering, the empathetic component is essential.

One study conducted by Avenanti, A., Sirigu, A., & Aglioti, S. M. (2010) explores differences in empathic resonance resulting from racial bias. To do this, Avenanti et al. monitored the activation of sensorimotor contagion, which is evidenced by a reduction in corticospinal excitability when a participant observes a stranger experiencing painful stimuli. By assessing this physiological marker, the researchers found that participants (white-Italian and black-African) showed higher levels of pain resonance while observing an ingroup than an outgroup. This preference for the ingroup proved consis-

tent with an Implicit Association Test taken by participants to assess their implicit racial biases, and importantly, individuals with higher-scoring biases also exhibited higher disparities in their corticospinal reactivity (automatic empathic response) between witnessing ingroup and outgroup pain. In order to assess the potential issue that the difference in automatic response could be due to the familiarity of the ingroup over the outgroup, the corticospinal reactivity of participants was observed while they watched a painful stimulus given to a violet model. Despite the perceived unfamiliarity of the violet model, the sensorimotor contagion was indeed found for that stimulus. This indicated that specifically the observation of outgroup does not elicit the same empathic response, suggesting that "cultural conditioning (e.g., racial stereotyping) rather than biological or structural factors (e.g., somatic similarity) may shape embodied resonance with others" (Avenanti et al., 2010, p. 1021). Further, this suggests that observing pain in ingroup members or in individuals to whom no stereotype can be subconsciously applied results in higher sensorimotor resonance.

This finding from Avenanti et al. is highly valuable: it provides proof that after years of indoctrination and cultural conditioning of racist stereotypes, people are physiologically less empathetic towards those of a different race, as evidenced by the lack of sensorimotor resonance. However, it is important to note that within this study, since there was a disparity in automatic and immediate sensorimotor response while observing pain in ingroup and outgroup patients, slower controlled processing, or top-down processing, is likely the more prominent source of empathic response during observation of outgroup models. Top-down processing involves the cognitive modulation of an initial emotional response in the context of another person's inferred feelings. Thus, there is a fundamental difference in the way that humans perceive suffering of other, less familiar but stereotyped, humans.

This neural difference in automatic empathic resonance may shape the way people think on a subconscious level and, as a result, impact their treatment of others. This is corroborated and taken a step further in another study conducted by Drwecki, B. B., Moore, C. F., Ward, S. E., & Prkachin, K. M. (2011), which analyzed the role of empathy in the action of treatment of pain between Black and White patients. In this study, undergraduates and nursing professionals viewed videos showing both Black and White patients experiencing pain. After watching, participants were asked to describe their empathic feelings for each patient using the Empathic Concern Scale and then to make decisions about the treatment each patient would receive. Among the undergraduates, the researchers noted significant pro-White treatment and empathy biases, with participants advocating for higher average levels of treatment for White patients than Black patients and reporting increased empathy levels for White patients as well. This pain treatment bias was replicated in White nurse participants as well although with the nurses, the reported empathy disparity for White and Black patients was not significant. Interestingly, there was a high correlation between pro-White empathy ten-

dencies and pro-White pain treatment practices for individuals in both the undergraduates and nurses. Thus, this study identifies an empathy disparity as one major driving factor of treatment inequality (Drwecki et al., 2011).

What is there to be done about these explicit behaviors resulting from implicit attitudes and psychological empathic disparity? This essay proposes two methods for beginning the work on an individual level: widespread education of generalized empathy promotion and addressing the implicit biases at their core.

If a scarcity of overall empathy for Black patients is truly a driving factor in their care (or lack thereof), Black patients may benefit from physicians and other healthcare professionals working on inducing their empathy levels before every visit. Drwecki et al. offered for consideration one potential empathy-inducing intervention called perspective taking, in which the healthcare provider reassesses the effect of suffering on the patient's life, thus promoting focus on the "other". When participants in the study were prompted to "imagine how [the] patient feels about his or her pain and how this pain is affecting his or her life" (Drwecki et al., 2011, p. 1003), the disparity in treatment bias decreased significantly. Among the undergraduates examined, the evidence of racial pain treatment bias was eradicated in those participants tasked with this perspective-taking technique while the control group maintained a pro-White bias. Among the nursing professionals, though there was no original difference in reported empathy for Black versus White patients, the perspective-taking technique was still associated with a 55% reduction in pain treatment bias (Drwecki et al., 2011).

If this perspective-taking technique or other similar empathy-inducing techniques are implemented in required empathy training programs, healthcare institutions will likely see an improvement in overall top-down empathic processing. Although any progress is progress, this seems to be a temporary "Band-Aid" solution to a deeper problem of internalized prejudices. In order to really rip racism from its roots in individuals, a process called "unlearning" must take place to modify automatic biases and debunk long-held stereotypes. This involves, at its core, education. One study, conducted by Rudman, L. A., Ashmore, R. D., & Gary, M.L. (2001), examined students' implicit and explicit racist biases before and after a 14-week semester of a prejudice and conflict-based seminar taught by an African-American male professor in comparison with a control group taught a research methods course by a White female professor. It was found that, though the experimental and control groups began with similar implicit and explicit biases, after a semester of discussing issues, journaling, actively becoming more aware of prejudice, and counteracting personal biases, the experimental group showed less anti-Black bias on both implicit and explicit levels (Rudman et al., 2001). Though this is just one study, it shows that coursework encouraging fruitful discussions about race-related issues and respect for diversity can be effective in modifying ingrained stereotypes and biases. Thus, a mandate in all healthcare environments for cultural competency training that fosters these discussions and thoughts could provide

a change in bias and stereotypes among health professionals. This may cause a trickle-down effect: with modification of the biases that influence neurological empathic resonance, empathic resonance can be expanded to include outgroup members, and thus this empathy change will impact the treatment of outgroup patients. In fact, this very notion was shown through an analysis of minority patient satisfaction and training of medical staff that found general improved satisfaction among patients of cultural competence-trained healthcare professionals (Govere, L., & Govere, E. M., 2016).

Although there is much large-scale, radical change to be conducted in the United States if healthcare equity is ever to be achieved, some change is well within the realm of power of healthcare institutions and individuals. Individuals should be tasked with understanding their implicit biases and the neurological differences in their empathic processing when it comes to ingroup versus outgroup pain. Since it is highly likely that deeply-rooted stereotypes are responsible for this difference, individuals can lessen the gap by gaining a true grasp of the stereotype origins and by replacing them with actual facts. If enough individuals treat this as a component of staying competent as a medical provider, more Black patients may begin to experience the care that they deserve. While education alone cannot fix the systemic problems (for example, the continually widespread use of pulse oximetry, which often underestimates hypoxemia in black patients), with the implementation of cultural competency training, readdressing of implicit biases that inhibit empathic resonance, and an overall increase in empathy-promoting practices, the first steps can be made to a more equitable future.

CREATIVE

Prologue
An Excerpt

Anna Bachiochi

Oh, what is this? I'm somewhere… and somewhere is a field. And there's a tree. The air is warm and lazy; the sky is blue. Alright.

Well, as far as I can tell, *I'm* in a field with a tree. I'm not sure where you are. I don't think I'm allowed to know. It would probably ruin the effect if I could comment on the messiness of your desk. You're trying to escape that messy desk by reading this, so it's probably best that I can't comment on it.

You might not be here, but you might be able to *feel* like you are if I do a good enough job. Or, actually, if the *writer* does a good enough job. I don't seem to have control over much at all. I can think and feel and do plenty of things (probably too many things, if I'm being honest with you), but I'm pretty sure that I don't get to choose what I think and feel and do. I also didn't get to choose whether or not I exist. But, I'm going to assume you didn't either. That luxury is rare. The fact that I exist and what I do with my existence has been predetermined, so the author can control how the story goes. All of these things, it seems, are necessary. The story wouldn't really be the author's at all if the characters could just run away from the pen, now would it?

But you want to know more about what's going on, right? Alright. I will be a good character and tell you. So far, we have a great field, which spans as far as I can see in all directions. And next to me is the biggest tree I've ever seen (it is also, by chance, the first and only tree I've ever seen, but we'll ignore that fact of the sake of convenience). Oh no… those are apples in the branches, aren't they? *Of course* there are apples; writers only ever think about apple trees for some reason. But there wouldn't actually be an apple tree in the middle of this sort of field — apples trees grow in orchards. They need other apple trees for cross pollination.

Yes, I know, I know…suspension of disbelief and all that. But the writer could make it easier for you, maybe by—oh, I don't know—creating reasonable situations? They don't have to be realistic; they just have to be reasonable. You can have all the centaurs and mermaids you want, as long as those centaurs and mermaids make choices that align with their personalities. You can have as many centaurs eating magical apples as you want, as long as those apples don't come from a lone apple tree in the middle of a grassy field.

But I'm here somehow, and that tree is also here somehow, even if it makes no logical sense. And three seconds from now, I (technically) could be overcome with the overwhelming urge to set that tree on fire with a match that suddenly appears in my pocket. I hope that doesn't happen though; I might find this tree's existence unreasonable, but I don't think that its fiery demise at the hands of a single match would increase the reasonableness of this situation.

Ah, wait! Something is changing. The air is no longer warm. It has been replaced by a chilly, dark wind, and the light has lost its gold. The writer must have changed genres…maybe to horror or mystery? No one writes a horror story set at mid-day. The field is still here, though, if a bit more mysterious. The tree is still here, if a bit more looming and sinister. I am still here.
Think about all of this with me for a while, won't you? While we wait for new developments?

To read the full piece, please visit
https://sites.nd.edu/arcadian-dialogues/prologue/

Early Dawn

Maximilian Cook

At early dawn,
Amid the symphony
Of natural song,
From endless wanderings
My mind returns
To happy ponderings.
I laugh with pleasure:
God restored my sight—
The faculty to measure
His enchanting light,
Once again,
'Til I may joyful see
His world without end.

Stacks

Alyson Chin

At seven sharp they colonize the field
To watch the turn of a fire-red sky
And poke at brisket, mac n cheese as
They joke about the underground tunnels.
They say they're toasty and wildly vast—
No, Cramped and hot, laughs the girl, like the Smoke Stacks!

At six she'd cloistered in the Hesburgh stacks.
She sneaks a look outside the glass—a field
Of cornfields and dullness and clouds so vast.
She sighs. And tears her eyes from the sky
And dreams of the networks o' tunnels
Not here but at home, where the trains run as

If drowning in the sea until they reach as
High as bridges in the City of Stacks
Floating their way to Manhattan tunnels
Away from the lights of the gridded field
Descending swiftly from a twilight sky
To downtown squeaks and turns and vast

Groves of sunken throngs and pillars. A vast
Difference this memory made as
The girl was brought back to an empty sky,
Forlorn as she sat nestled in old stacks
Discerning but an unobstructed field
Of endless flatness hiding tight tunnels.

She already feels trapped: her brain tunnels
Through each day's interactions and vast
Volumes of text; Take me back to that field
Of dreams! Where I am Liberty and Loved! As
If such a plea could build warm chimney stacks
Or make histograms populate the sky—

But yes! In the land of the flame-red sky,
Of Cornfields, and hot underground tunnels,
One old lady took from her arms the stacks
Of brisket and cheese, wordless. And with vast
Love, packed them in a cardboard box just as
Her grandma would, back home in the gridded Field.

The girl smiles, the sky falls to a vast
Red. She talks of underground tunnels as
She ponders the stacks that united home and field.

Where I Am From

Linxiao "Linda" Gao

On the second day of school they asked me where I am from.
They glanced at my skin and expected a word that is weird to pronounce.
Something like "Shanghai," "Zhejiang" – or even worse, "Wuhan,"
I smiled an awkward smile but didn't make a sound.

I'm from Grandma's knees and Grandpa's cookies,
From the 10th floor's view and the smoking chimneys.
I'm from my father's tall bookshelves and the little stool,
From my mother's Chinese wisteria breathing in the wind.

I'm from the Walden lake hidden in the forest,
From the wooden house washed by endless rain.
I'm from faked history stories that brought tears to my eyes,
From a mountain village, where there is no road, no children, but still hope.

I'm from the countless notes of my vivid dreams,
From the Christmas tree, colorful fireworks, and a thousand times good-night.
I am from the labyrinth of daydreaming books,
From van Gogh's yellow, Kahlo's blood, and Oscar Wilde's rose.

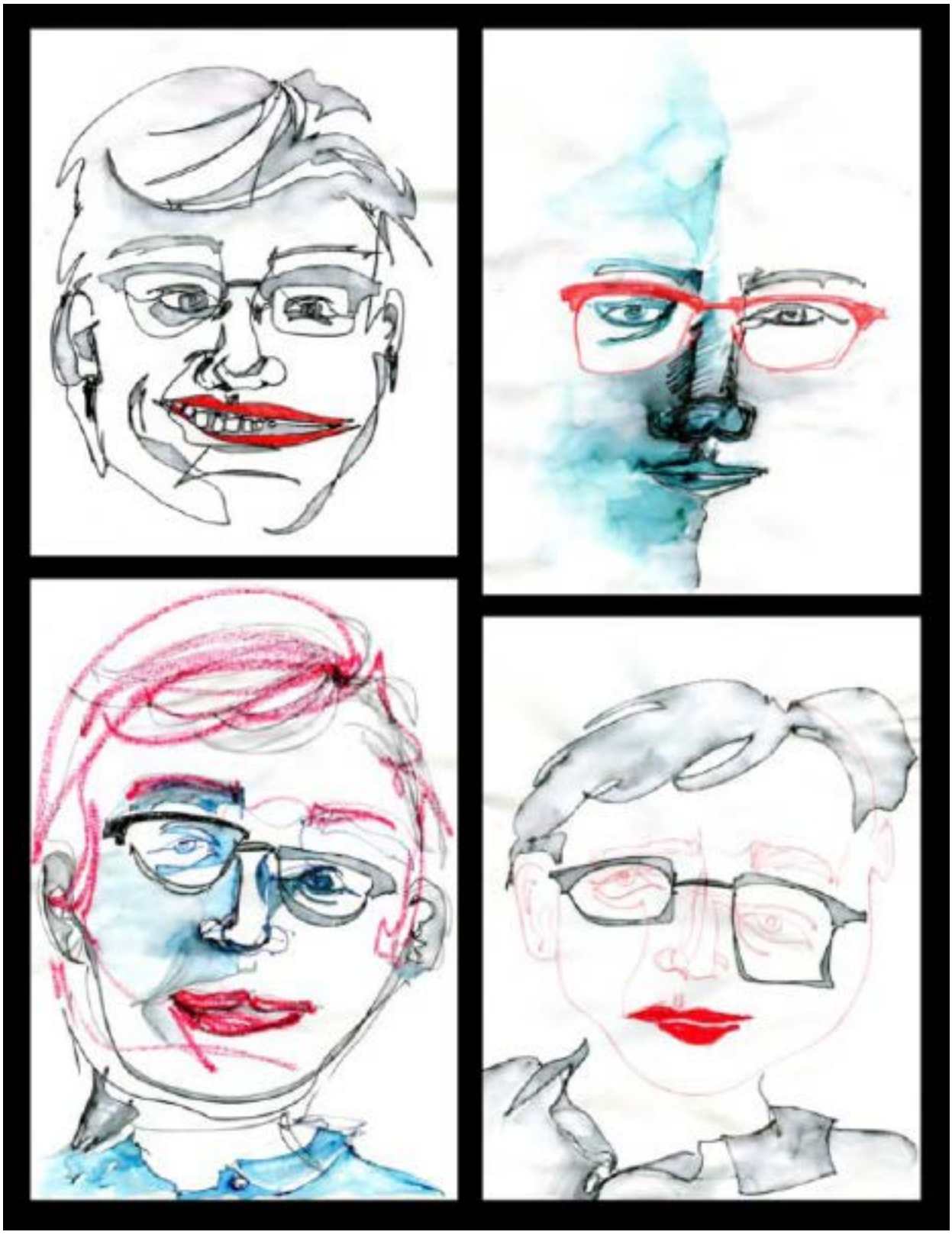
I'm from the time after sunset when the sky is still bright,
From those evenings watching stars — ancient Greek deities and birthday wishes.
I'm from the life of a dead and the cry of an old man,
From the snow that warms my skin and heartbeats that silence the night.

Boston Harbor

Angelica Ketcham

Sears Tower

Angelica Ketcham



Four Self-Portraits

Angelica Ketcham

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