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Once Upon a Time: The Morte D'Arthur's Relationship to the Fairy Tale Canon

Sarah N. Lawson

The tales of the legendary King Arthur have become a part of British literary history. They are stories of romance, chivalry, magic, and adventure; the development of the stories took place over centuries, beginning primarily with Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1136 and continuing on in the work of many other writers, including Sir Thomas Malory in 1469. Despite its classification as a chivalric romance, many elements of the Arthurian romance cycle that developed over its lifespan reflect common folklore or storytelling motifs that are still recognizable today in the form of literary fairy tales. These include the evil stepmother (*The Fyrste and the Secunde Boke of Syr Trystrams de Lyones*), the rags-to-riches story (*The Tale of Sir Gareth of Orkney*), and the poison apple (*The Tale of Sir Launcelot and Quene Gwenyvere*). The following paper will explore the roots of each of these motifs in an attempt to uncover the re-

lationship between Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* and familiar literary fairy tales.

There is some dispute about whether or not the Arthurian romances have any foundation in the folklore genre in the same way that literary fairy tales do. However, the persistence of folkloric motifs is undeniable. It bears resemblance to the literary fairy tales that emerged across Europe later, and it is possible that the *Morte D'Arthur* has a part to play in the development of literary fairy tales. But is it an early literary fairy tale, predating even the work of the Neapolitan Giambattista Basile, a distant cousin to the folklore genre or a work unto itself, related only marginally to the folkloric tradition? The motifs examined in an effort to answer this question will be compared to their use in popular literary fairy tales of Perrault's *Cendrillon* and the Grimms' *Sneewittchen*, with some attention paid to these motifs in other familiar literary fairy tales.

ORIGINS AND DEFINITIONS

In order to accurately place the relationship between Malory's work and literary fairy tales, the roots of both *Morte D'Arthur* and the popular fairy tales must be identified. Widespread awareness of the tales was intensified with their inclusion in *The History of the Kings of Briton* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, written in the mid-twelfth century. *The History* brought the tales to the attention of French poets such as Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes, who developed the earliest forms of Arthurian romance. Both prose and poetic versions of the tales followed over the next centuries. In 1469, the popular tales were adapted and compiled into one large work by the British knight Sir Thomas Malory. This work was printed by Caxton in 1485. Unlike the stories of Arthur, the folklore genre is essentially ageless. Folklore has existed since humans began to share stories with one

another. The greatest length of its history lies in the oral tradition, when older members of the community would pass on the history of the society to younger generations. The tales often changed from teller to teller, as in their performance of it, one teller's memory may have altered details or forgotten certain aspects of their story. Location, time, and population all had an effect on the stories that were told, making oral tradition less consistent in their telling than the stories of post-literate society. Despite the changes in the actual performances of the story, however, the desired message was still communicated. Bruce A. Rosenberg states,

All of these processes conspire to alter the details in the transmission of narratives (as of ordinary facts), to get it 'wrong.'

Stories in our culture are goal-oriented, and even though many of the details are altered in transmission, the goals of the narrative tend to be preserved. (Rosenberg 84)

Though their details changed over time, these oral tales succeeded in communicating social ideals and morals in order to preserve tradition.

Many of these oral fairy tales and folktales were never written down, but Giambattista Basile transcribed some of them in his compilation *Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemento de peccerille*, commonly known as *Il Pentamerone*, in the seventeenth century. The idea of writing down folklore and even developing new fairy tales continued in France in the 1690s and persisted through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The most famous compilation of cultural tales is *Kinder-und Hausmärchen*, first published in 1812 by the German linguists Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.

The next step in determining the connections between the *Morte* and the fairy tale genre is analyzing the definitions of Arthurian romance, folklore, and fairy tale. Folktales are a very agrarian genre—they existed and continue to exist as a way for everyday people to communicate their knowledge of the world through stories. According to Ruth B. Bottigheimer,

Folktales tend to reflect the belief system and the world of their intended audience...Folktales are generally brief, related to everyday life, and have a simple linear plot that is easy to remember. (Bottigheimer)

They easily adapted to specific towns and tellers and were easy to adjust as needed because of their simple structure. Romances, on the other hand, tend to be more complex, less linear, and much longer. Thomas Malory notably cut long, irrelevant side adventures of characters in the *Morte* from his French source material.

The romance genre first appeared in the twelfth century. It is also known as heroic literature and has features such as courtly love, heroic quests, and characters who are primarily kings and knights. It took the forms of poems, prose works, and sometimes songs. “By romance, we commonly mean a tale of

an improbable or, better, of an incredible character” (Griffin). Chivalric romance was also the genre of the educated class. It wasn’t until the late seventeenth century that the literary fairy tale would be developed by Charles Perrault and his contemporaries in the courts of France. Peter Brooks wrote on Perrault in the journal *Yale French Studies*,

He is creating a literature where before there had been myth and folklore. The act of transcription, both creative and destructive, takes us from the primitive to the modern, makes the stories and their themes enter into literacy, into civilization, into history. (Brooks 11)

This identifies the difference between folklore and literary fairy tales: the stories that had once been mutable and individual became permanent and locked into the written word.

Despite the differences between chivalric romances and literary fairy tales, there are also explicit connections between the two. English fairy tales did not develop as such until the early seventeenth century, but these stories link directly back to Arthurian romance. The first fairy tale printed in English was *The History of Tom Thumbe, the Little, for his small stature surnamed, King Arthur's Dwarfe: whose Life and adventures containe many strange and wonderfull accidents, published for the delight of merry Time-spenders*. Thomas Green writes,

Here we have a fairytale, rather than a heroic tale or courtly drama, being integrated with the Arthurian milieu to create a new Arthurian hero and adventure. The result is thus an Arthurian fairytale, rather than a Romance.

This demonstrates the fusion that began taking place between Arthurian romances and fairy tales; the strict lines between the genres were beginning to blur.

As the genres became more mutable, many motifs found in chivalric romance also began to appear in literary fairy tales. These motifs are perhaps the most valuable tool with which to explore the connections between the *Morte D'Arthur* and later literary fairy tales. Unlike other elements that were significantly altered when they crossed the genre lines, many of

these motifs remained nearly unchanged. The motifs of the evil stepmother, the rags-to-riches tale, and the

poison apple are motifs that are the most recognizable, leading to the following analysis.

THE EVIL STEPMOTHER

The evil stepmother motif has its roots in the oral tradition of folklore. In the many stories where the mother dies in the protagonist's childhood, a second wife normally usurps her position. There are many theories about this motif's role in folklore and fairy tales. Marina Warner, writing on the development of the evil stepmother motif, notes that the terms used for stepmother and mother-in-law were the same in English until the mid-nineteenth century. The terms in French are still the same: *belle-mère* (Warner 218). *Belle* or *beau* were used in conjunction with family relationships in French as early as the thirteenth century, and were typically an honorific prefix related to *chère*, or "dear," though there are also some recorded ironic uses (Patterson). Warner writes that the evil stepmother motif describes any fusion of families—both the remarriage of the father and the marriage of the young wife who must then move into her mother-in-law's home. There is conflict in both scenarios, and it is from this reality that the evil stepmother motif arises (Warner 219).

Warner theorizes that in the age of the oral tradition, the storyteller, as a grandmother or mother-in-law herself, would eliminate the good mother at the beginning of the tale and would posit herself as the good fairy, the one who is to be trusted and who will defeat the evil, "false" mother in the story. It was a key ingredient in establishing the role of the narrator in the oral tradition:

Reversing the angle of approach...we can then discover in the tales the fear she [the mother-in-law] feels, the animus she harbours against her daughter-in-law or daughters-in-law: when the mother disappears, she may have been conjured away by the narrator herself, who despatches her child listeners' natural parent, replaces her with a monster, and then produces herself within the pages of the story, as ...the good old fairy, the fairy godmother. Thus the older generation...prunes out the middle branch on the family tree as rotten or irrelevant, and

thereby lays claim to the devotion, loyalty, and obedience of the young over their mothers' heads. (Warner 227)

The landmark book *The Uses of Enchantment* by child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim suggests that the stepmother is a necessary character that allows the child to distinguish the "good" parts of the mother from the "angry" parts of the mother until the child is mature enough to accept that these are two parts of the same person. He also points out that it offers children a lesson in goodwill: "The child wishes only for good things, even when he has ample reason to wish that bad things would happen to those who persecute him" (Bettelheim 72).

The stepmother motif occurs prominently in the first several pages of *The Fyrste and the Secunde Boke of Syr Trystrams de Lyones*. Sir Trystram's mother, Queen Elizabeth, dies in childbirth. About thirty lines later, Trystram's father, King Melyodas, remarries a woman with children of her own:

Than hit befelle that the Kynge Melyodas wedded Kynge Howellys of Bretaynes daughter; and anone she had chyldirne by King Melyodas. Than was she hevy and wroth that hir chyldirne sholde nat rejoysse the contrey of Lyones, wherfore this quene ordayneid for to poysen yong Trystrams. (Malory 229)

Here we see not only the stepmother, but her jealousy of the firstborn, "natural" son and her plot against him. This plot turns against her, and she is eventually discovered, but when she is about to burn at the stake, Trystram pleads for her life. "As for that, I beseche you of your mercy that ye woll forgyff hir; and as for my parte, God forgyff hir, and I do" (Malory 230). This is a demonstration of Bettelheim's suggestion of the child's goodwill toward the evil, setting the child apart from others like him.

Wicked stepmothers appear in literary fairy tales across Europe in the seventeenth century. The two most recognizable evil stepmothers are those in Cin-

derella-type stories such as *Cenerentola* of Italy (Basile, 1634), *Cendrillon* of France (Perrault, 1697), and *Aschenputtel* of Germany (Grimm, 1812) and the Snow White stories like *Sneewittchen* of Germany (Grimm, 1819). In the Cinderella stories, the stepmother oppresses the child in order to promote the standings of her own children within the family, just like Trystram's stepmother in the *Morte*. In the Snow White stories, her jealousy of the protagonist's

youth and beauty becomes murderous. Trystram's stepmother demonstrates qualities of both of these famous stepmothers, and she also predates them in written form by nearly two hundred years. The resemblance of Trystram's stepmother to the stepmothers of Basile, Perrault, and the Grimms is striking, and it may indicate a linear relationship between the *Morte D'Arthur* and literary fairy tales.

RAGS-TO-RICHES

The rags-to-riches storyline is another motif that frequently occurs in folktales and fairy tales. It takes two primary forms: the riches-to-rags-to-riches version, wherein the hero's wealth is stolen and then restored at the end of the adventure (*Cendrillon*); and the rags-to-riches version, wherein the protagonist begins poor or unfortunate and either through his own wit or supernatural aid becomes wealthy at the end (*The Golden Goose*). A third variation, the rags-to-riches-to-rags form, usually occurs when the protagonist is a trickster and obtains his wealth through dishonest means, or else oversteps the bounds of his good fortune by aspiring to godlike proportions and falls once more into poverty (*The Fisherman and His Wife*).

The version of this motif that appears in *The Tale of Syr Gareth of Orkney* is of the first sort. Young Gareth arrives in Camelot and asks King Arthur for a position in the kitchens, which is granted to him, along with an unflattering nickname, Beaumains. Though King Arthur and his knights do not know this, Gareth is the nephew of King Arthur and half-brother to some of his knights. He came from riches, but voluntarily descended into a lower social class in order to prove himself. This use of the motif is far less common in literary fairy tales. It is a distinctly chivalric use of the motif, and it sets *The Tale of Syr Gareth of Orkney* apart from other stories with this motif. With the help of a magical dwarf (perhaps Tom Thumb), Dame Lyonet, and Sir Lancelot, Sir Gareth travels across the land battling evil knights until he finally saves Lyonet's kingdom from the Red Knight of the Red Lands. In the end, he is rewarded with the hand of Lyonet's sister, Lyonesse (Malory 177-227).

The most immediate and recognizable literary fairy tale featuring this motif is the Cinderella fairy tale.

There are so many variations of the tale that it has been given its own category in the Aarne-Thompson-Uther Folklore Index: 501A—Cinderella. Though certain elements vary from story to story, the major plot points remain the same. A young, kind girl becomes the oppressed housemaid of her stepmother and stepsisters and is degraded with an ugly nickname. She is given an impossible task to earn her way to the king's ball, and with the help of benevolent animals, trees, or a fairy godmother, she arrives at the ball in marvelous attire. She flees the ball at midnight, and the prince uses a shoe that the girl has left behind to find her. She is raised to the rank of princess, and the oppressors are either punished or forgiven in spectacular fashion.

Gareth and Cinderella are different in that Gareth chooses a lower rank, while Cinderella is forced into one against her will. Nevertheless, their upper-class origins cannot be hidden. Nature itself seeks to restore them to their birthright. In Gareth's case, it is the magic dwarf (dwarfs often represent beings that are close to nature) that provides him with spectacular armor and provisions for his quest. In Cinderella's case, it is usually a tree planted over her mother's grave and the birds residing there that grant her the finery in which to attend the ball. Maria Tatar addresses this feature of the motif. She states, "In the fairy tale, nature (in the shape of flora and fauna) helps the hero to restore the natural order of things by reinstating the once "natural" child to his true social position" (Tatar 32). This theme also appears in other fairy tales such as *The Goose Girl*. The greater the claim of the protagonist to greatness, the more nature seems to react in its attempt to have that greatness credited to them.

But where do the Cinderella stories and the *Morte D'Arthur* connect? The rags-to-riches storyline, particularly the Cinderella version of it, has existed in its earliest forms since the first century A.D. (Heiner). It continued to develop over the following centuries until it intersected with Arthurian romance in the twelfth century A.D. First, the story of King Lear appeared in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Briton*. Princess Cordelia is often considered to be a Cinderella character, though she is an example of riches-to-rags-to-even-richer. A few decades later, Marie de France, famous for her penning of Arthurian lays, wrote *The Lay of the Ash Tree*, which is sometimes included in the Cinderella Cycle (Heiner). The *Morte* followed in 1485 with *The Tale of Syr Gareth*.

Its male protagonist and distinctly chivalric quest form prevent it from being considered a 'Cinderella' tale, but it shares many motifs with the Cinderella Cycle. Cinderella tales in other countries appeared in the sixteenth century, such as Straparola's *Doralice* and Basile's *Cenerentola* in Italy and Martin Montanus's *Ein schöne history von einer frauwen mitt zweyem kindlin* in Germany. Later, in 1697, the Frenchman Charles Perrault would popularize the story, leaving an indelible mark on the story for the next three hundred years. *The Tale of Syr Gareth* may not have had a direct influence on the development of the Cinderella Cycle in the following centuries, but it certainly fits neatly in the tradition of the rags-to-riches story.

THE POISON APPLE

The third fairy tale motif examined here will be the symbol of the poisoned fruit. It is perhaps one of the oldest motifs, with its most famous occurrence appearing in the Biblical book of Genesis. The fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil is wrongfully consumed by Adam and Eve, and they are expelled from the Garden of Eden for their crime. Though the actual variety of fruit consumed in this story is unknown, it is often portrayed as an apple. Poison apples or other forms of deadly fruit appear both in fairy tales and in the *Morte D'Arthur*. The most well-known poison fruit of fairy tales is the apple given to Snow White by her evil stepmother to kill her in the Grimm story *Sneewittchen* (1857). The apple succeeds in killing Snow White, and she is placed into a gold and glass coffin by the seven dwarfs with whom she has taken shelter. She is later revived when her coffin is jostled during transport by the prince's servant and the apple is dislodged from her throat. In the *Morte D'Arthur*, the poison apple appears in *The Tale of Syr Launcelot and Quene Gwynevere*, when Guinevere is falsely accused of killing a knight with a poison apple. She is nearly executed for the crime, but Sir Lancelot arrives to fight for her and the true criminal is discovered.

There are many other associations to be made with a symbolic apple. Besides the 'apple' from the Garden of Eden, there is also the apple of discord from Greek mythology. When the goddess Aphrodite is given the apple to distinguish her above other goddesses, the

events leading to the Trojan War begin (Bettelheim 212). The relationship to the Garden of Eden story and the Greek myth has imbued the apple symbol with meanings of love and sexuality. Bruno Bettelheim in *The Uses of Enchantment* goes even further to identify the apple as representing the mother's breast. In *Sneewittchen*, "that which is symbolized by the apple...is something mother and daughter have in common which runs deeper than their jealousy of each other—their mature sexual desires" (Bettelheim 213). In the fairy tale, that which should represent something maternal is transformed into something deadly, and the same thing happens in the *Morte*.

When reading the poisoned apple tale in the *Morte*, it is important to not ignore this background behind the symbol. Guinevere is assumed to be the culprit behind Sir Patryse's murder because she made the dinner, but she is also the only female present. The apple is a feminine symbol, and this perhaps incriminated her even more. Not another thought is spent on the fact that Sir Patryse was drunk when he consumed the apple and that he could just as easily have picked another—Guinevere did not give him the apple herself. "Sir Patryse...toke an appyll, for he was enchuffed with hete of wyne, and his myssehapped hym to take a poysonde apple" (Malory 591). Guinevere's position as the lady of the house, the "mother," made her the perfect suspect; her femininity is turned against her, much in the way that Snow White's desire for mature femininity causes her downfall.

The lineage from Biblical tales to Greek stories through the *Morte* and *Sneewittchen* is clear. The fateful fruit connects them all. However, the specifically *poisoned* apple is what ties the *Morte* to later fairy tales such as *Sneewittchen*. The *Morte D'Arthur* again predates the Grimm version of the tale by centuries, and it also predates many of the other Snow White variants found across Europe. As renowned folklorists and linguists, it would be unlikely that the nineteenth-century Grimm Brothers were unfamiliar with Arthurian legend. There has also been criticism that they did not collect strictly German tales as they intended to, but gathered stories from their peers,

who may have been unclear about the origins of the tales that they were sharing. In her article, Ruth B. Bottigheimer notes, "The girls and women who told Wilhelm Grimm the stories of volume one were all literate and well-read. It was characteristic of literate German girls and women in the late 1700s and early 1800s to have had access to many books of fairy tales. Published in German, nearly all of those fairy tales' plots were imports from France" (Bottigheimer). Due to this overlap of French and German, upper- and lower-class tales, the appearance of a poisoned apple in *Sneewittchen* and the occurrence of one in the *Morte D'Arthur* may not be a coincidence.

A LINEAR CONNECTION

The age of literary fairy tales did not begin in Europe until the seventeenth century or, at the very earliest, the late sixteenth century. Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* was written in about 1469, amidst the Wars of the Roses in England. There was literary precedent for his work in the romance tradition begun by Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes in the twelfth century, just as there was an oral tradition that existed as a precedent for literary fairy tales. However, because of the way that traditions mingle and stories cross borders and absorb elements from other stories, it is very possible that some of the motifs common in popular literary fairy tales are directly descended from or related to Arthurian legends and romances. The story of 'Tom Thumb' is a perfect example.

Further proof that exists beyond the scope of the *Morte* includes the similarities between Marie de France's *Lay of Eliduc* and *Lay of the Ash Tree* to Snow White and Cinderella stories. Likewise, the obscure tale of *Pandragus et Libanor* by Baudouin Butor (which details the adventure of an uncle of King Arthur) is incredibly similar to Sleeping Beauty. Perrault's version, *The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood*, was almost certainly inspired by the tale of Troylus and Zellandine from the medieval Arthurian romance *Perceforest* (Heiner). While the folklore genre was agrarian and belonged to the uneducated classes, the literary fairy tale was begun and perpetuated by the educated bourgeoisie, most notably in France (Zipes). These upper-class writers would undoubtedly have been familiar with the tales of King Arthur, which was a story that extended far beyond the

borders of the country in which they primarily took place. At the time that these fairy tales were written, the *Morte* had existed for over a century and would have likely inspired some of the new fairy tale writers.

The best identification of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* in the fairy tale tradition is as a cousin to the genre. The origins of the fairy tales and of the *Morte* are similar—they are rooted in oral tradition at some point early in their development—but they each grew from these traditions at separate times. The timeline of their construction is different, with the *Morte* and other Arthurian romances developing more completely at least one hundred and fifty years before the first literary fairy tales. The two genres intersect in their common motifs and themes, which implies they are not completely disconnected. In fact, it can be said that literary fairy tales are an inheritor of the Arthurian romances. Tom Thumb, a seventeenth-century fairy tale character who is based in the Arthurian legend, supports this possibility.

The history of stories is immeasurable in its scope. Arthurian romances such as the *Morte D'Arthur* and literary fairy tales present a model of how oral tales became the stories familiar today, and they are extremely important in understanding how the art of storytelling grew and developed over time. A relationship between the two demonstrates even further how complex and widespread the telling of stories was in the medieval world, and the tales present new ways to understand the past that allow a closer connection to the stories we have inherited.

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Spenser's *Epithalamion*: A Representation of Colonization through Marriage

Emily Ercolano

Edmund Spenser is believed to have been born in London in the year 1552 and to have died in 1599 in Ireland, where he spent the majority of his career. Unlike the contemporary English poets of his age, Spenser was not born into wealth and nobility, but after receiving an impressive education at the Merchant Taylors' School, Pembroke College, and Cambridge, he served as an aid and secretary to the earl of Leicester, who was a favorite of the queen's. While in the earl's service Spenser met Sir Phillip Sydney and Sir Edward Dyer whom he joined in advocating a new English poetry.

His first published work, *The Shepheardes Calender* released in 1579, aided this movement using archaic, rustic language as homage to Chaucer, and to create a native English style. Spenser continued experimenting with language, particularly with rhythm scheme in the Spenserian sonnet which was adopted from the Italian canzone form, and Spenserian stanza of nine lines in hexameter, which he employed in his great work *The Faerie Queene*: the longest poem in the English language. After publishing his first work, Edmund Spenser spent the rest of his life in Ireland where he held various governmental positions dealing extensively with the resistance to colonial rule. His genuine interest and fascination with Irish culture in a colonial setting is very apparent in the *Epithalamion*, which takes the form of classical love poetry written for a couple on their marriage day. Spenser utilizes allusions to Classicism and folk lore and simile in order to characterize the speaker as well as express the parallel between the colonized new bride and the colonizing of Ireland.

The *Epithalamion* revolves around the actions of the male speaker, a groom preparing for his wedding while encouraging his bride to awake and prepare so they may perform the ritual act of matrimony, first in the public church, then through private consum-

mation through sexual intercourse. The speaker, who is the groom, begins by calling upon the muses and then describes the procession of the bride, the ritual rites, the wedding party, the preparation for the wedding night, and lastly the wedding night with the physical consummation of the marriage. The form of the poem parallels the content and firmly places the setting in Ireland. Max Wickert points out that the poem "[deals] with the events of twenty-four hours, has twenty-four stanzas"(Wickert 136) with "the demonstration of Spenser's symbolic use of 365 long lines to indicate the days of the year... and the twenty-four stanzas to signify the hours of the day, the sixteen before the change of refrain referring to the hours of daylight in Ireland on June 11, 1594"(137), Spenser's own wedding date. The poem's twenty-four stanzas are each composed of eighteen lines with a varying rhyme scheme that is connected through the concatenated rhythm derived from Petrarch. The meter employed throughout the majority of the poem is iambic pentameter.

Throughout the poem Spenser juxtaposes classical and Irish folk allusions to parallel and characterize the civilizing groom who's attempting to colonize his earthy, territorial bride. While the classical tradition is seen as continued through civilized English culture, the folk lore of Ireland and its connection to the woods are a source of uncivilized fear, or as Linda Laevell puts it "The woods lie outside the known, familiar world of the town and are the habitat of wolves, goblins and evil spirits, the vague threats of night" (Laevell 15). The speaker uses various classical allusions particularly to evoke and call upon Greco-Roman deities to persuade his wife into action.

The allusions to the muses, "Ye learned sisters which have oftentimes beene to me ayding"(Spenser 1-2), presents them as a vestige for the speaker, utilizing them not only in persuading his bride to awake

now but presumably has called upon them before. A power dynamic of male superiority is apparent in the assuredness the speaker presents in his commanding of the muses when he states "Bring with you all the Nymphyes that you can heare both of the rivers and the forrests greene" (Spenser 37-8). This demanding tone continues as he calls upon:

Ye Nymphes of Mulla which with carefull heed, The silver scaly trouts doe tend full well, And greedy pikes which use therein to feed... And in his waters which your mirror make, Behold your faces as the christall bright, That when you come whereas my love doth lie, No blemish she may spie. (Spenser 56-66)

The nymphs of Mulla, a river near Spenser's home in Ireland, serve as a merging force of colonization that brings the classical muses to a location outside of the classical realm assimilating an Irish location with an English, classically informed culture. The speaker also makes his sexist doctrine of male precedence known again in the line "And in his waters which your mirror make", assuming that possession of the lake belongs to the fish he has characterized as male in which the female nymphs are merely inhabitants, echoing the idea of colonized female identity. The nymphs of Mulla are at the command of the speaker in domineering and colonizing his bride which Lauren Owens argues that "the nymphs themselves become mirrors, into which Elizabeth can look to see her own nature reflected. Looking into this mirror, Elizabeth will see "no blemishes"(4.66): she will see a nature, her nature, cleared of "rushes", that is, any unseemly passion, any violent or impetuous desire; she will see nature without wantonness, a nature not "scattered light"(4.62)(Owens 48). The nymphs literally mirror for the bride, believed by Owens specifically to be Spenser's wife Elizabeth, a mode of female identity under the cultural dominance of her husband and ultimately England. Her face will be removed of rushes or unseemly passion along with the other characteristics that the husband seeks to bridle in his bride. The bride will be unblemished in the eyes of classical tradition, English culture and ultimately the speaker, her husband, if she assumes a subservient position under him reflected in the accepted colonization of the nymphs and their role as a symbol of Ireland. Classical allusion is used in juxtaposition to Irish folk allusions, characterizing the speaker as a colonist, whose aim is to impose a new order on his native bride as a form of English colonization within Ireland.

Simile is also essential in establishing the characterization of the domineering, colonial speaker, and the submissive bride accepting colonization. The speaker often uses simile to assimilate the Irish and folk traditions of the bride into English culture. This process is described by Christopher Warley in the statement :

Even as Ireland was presented as a barbaric place requiring English civility and market-based conceptions of land, Ireland was a place where the New English planters desired to live out an ideal feudal land possession and social distinction... Spenser constructs a feudal ideal which emerges out of his participation in the civilizing process. (Warley 571)

An example of this assimilation is when the speaker views his bride dressed from the marriage ceremony and states "Her long loose yellow locks lyke golden wyre, Sprinckled with perle... Doe lyke a golden mantle her attyre, And being crowned with a girland greene, Seeme lyke some mayden Queene. Her modest eyes abashed to behold So many gazers, as on her do stare, Upon the lowly ground affixed are" (Spenser 154-161). In describing her hair as "long losse yellow locks" and "being crowned with a girland greene" an image of the natural, wild beauty of the bride places her firmly in an Irish folk tradition associated with the natural world and barbaric forests. However, through the use of the similes "lyke a golden mantle her attire" and "lyke some mayden Queene", the English cultural tradition is incorporated. A golden mantle suggests great material, commercial wealth such as to be gained through colonization by England. The phrase maiden Queen serves as an allusion to the Virgin Mary in Christian tradition, suggesting a triumph over pagan Celtic beliefs in Ireland. Not only is assimilation revealed as a product of English colonization for the bride, but male dominance and female subservience is reinforced. The characterizing qualities of the new bride are all physical and presented through the eyes of the male speaker who imbues his colonial belief system upon them. The description of her eyes as "modest" and being lowered to the

ground due to “so many gazers” reflects that the male speakers gaze is a cultural practice being copied by other wedding guests, assuming the role of colonizers. Ultimately, simile is used not just to represent the assimilating efforts of the groom on his bride but also characterizes the speaker as a firm believer in male dominance.

Edmund Spenser drew heavily upon his experience of living Ireland, using the colonization of the island as a thematic parallel to marriage in the *Epithalamion*. Throughout the poem, the reliance on allusions to both Classical mythology and Irish folk lore, as well as, the use of simile produces a view of the speaker as a misogynistic, colonist who seeks to dominate his new bride who he imbues with symbolic qualities related to pre-colonial Ireland.

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The So-Called “Feminine” in *Fiançailles*

Allison Abbott

As one of Francis Poulenc's most cherished personal and professional acquaintances, Pierre Bernac still reigns supreme in the interpretation of this composer's arts songs and cycles. In his book *Francis Poulenc: The Man & His Songs*, Bernac discusses a number of Poulenc's songs, including those from 1936 to 1950, which was an important period of Poulenc's compositional output. During these years Poulenc set to music the texts of primarily three poets: Paul Eluard, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Louise de Vilmorin.

To the reader's surprise, however, Bernac—the famous baritone, inspiration, and collaborator for many of Poulenc's cycles—dismisses the poetry of the Vilmorin songs as inconsequential, preferring to focus his remarks on the Eluard and Apollinaire cycles. Bernac's comparison of the Vilmorin cycle *Fiançailles pour rire* (1939) and the Eluard cycle *Tel jour telle nuit* (1937) is typical of his treatment of Vilmorin's poetry. Unlike *Tel jour telle nuit*, the 1939 Vilmorin settings “do not constitute a real cycle, but [are] a well-balanced group of melodies.”¹ That is to say that each song is not specifically linked to the next, but provides an alternation of mood that may be pleasing for the listener. Additionally, Bernac comments on the decreased complexity of the Vilmorin settings, as they feature less rhythmic diversity and more regular phrases than those found in *Tel jour telle nuit*. Furthermore, and strikingly, Bernac goes on to suggest a link between these formal shortcomings and the gendered nature of the texts.²

In *Francis Poulenc: The Man & His Songs*, Bernac first sets up a critical masculine/feminine dichotomy between the two works in question: “In composing these songs Poulenc had in mind the writing of a work for a woman's voice that would be akin to

Tel jour telle nuit.³ Placing *Fiançailles* opposite this successful cycle deemed masculine by contemporary critics ultimately attaches a feminine gender connotation to the cycle's speaker and the work as a whole. He continues, “It must be added that these charming and elegant poems are not comparable in richness and substance to the admirable poems of Eluard—a comparison reflected in the music.”⁴ Here Bernac not only connects these Vilmorin poems to the superficial feminine qualities “charming” and “elegant,” he also implies that Poulenc was forced to limit his creativity and style in rendering such a text. Without citing specific examples for these beliefs, Bernac inadvertently informs the future reception of the Poulenc-Vilmorin collaboration.

Bernac's dismissal of the Vilmorin settings is perhaps surprising given Poulenc's personal admiration for the poet. When looking in detail at the collaboration between Vilmorin and Poulenc, it is evident that this relationship rendered artistically sensitive material that lay close to the composer's heart. Poulenc was the driving force behind Vilmorin's career as a poet, encouraging her to venture away from writing novels towards the genre of poetry. In a letter to the composer, Vilmorin explicitly underlines this fact in writing: “It is you, Francis, it is you who first had the idea of ‘commanding’ some poems to put to music. Therefore it is you who decreed that I was a poet!”⁵ Poulenc too took this relationship beyond the professional, considering Vilmorin as one of his friends, often referring to her affectionately as “Loulou.” He was even compelled to set this selection of poetry from her collection of poetry *Fiançailles pour rire* during her detainment in Nazi-occupied Hungary in order to think of her often.⁶ His song cycle of the

1 Pierre Bernac, *The Interpretation of French Song* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978), 305.

2 Ibid.

3 Pierre Bernac, *Francis Poulenc: The Man & His Songs* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1977), 137.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 130.

6 Ibid., 137.

same name serves as a testament to this deep-seated friendship.

Yet Poulenc's admiration for Vilmorin notwithstanding, Bernac's dismissal is typical of the contemporary reception of Vilmorin's texts. Moreover, Bernac's criticism reflects the particularly gendered nature of Vilmorin's reception at this time, revealing critical linkages between notions of gender, musical style, and poetic genre. In particular, feminine literature and song were considered harmonically weak, formally unstructured, and poetically lacking. A number of musicologists have traced the historical development of these gendered categories often relied upon for music criticism, emphasizing their socially constructed and genre-specific nature. For instance, Susan McClary argues that in dealing with music criticism, "The concept of 'construction' is important here, for while the sex of an individual is a biological given, gender and sexuality are socially organized: their forms (ranges of proper behavior, appearances, duties) differ significantly in accordance with time, place, and class."⁷

In analyzing the gender connotations associated with *Fiançailles*, then, we must look through the lens of the early twentieth-century French conception of gender. During this time period, both politicians and war veterans emphasized the reinstitution of the traditional gender binary after women's involvement in previously male-dominated spheres during the First World War. This initiative supported the image of the woman as mother and wife, severely reducing women's rights in both political and economic sectors. The collapse incited by the Great Depression provided further ammunition to those advocating for the exclusion of women from these sectors to protect male jobs.⁸

Following McClary's lead, Jeff Kallberg suggests an intimate connection between gender and genre. In studying the reception of Chopin's work in relation to gender, Kallberg found that the connection between gender and music exists innately in the French tradition of music, due to the double meaning of the

corresponding French terminology. The word *genre* in French not only signifies genre of art or music, but also refers to the English word "gender."⁹ In writing on musical genre, then, French *musicologues* inherently suggest the idea of gender quality in each piece of music that they analyze. Kallberg's book *Chopin at the Boundaries* chronicles the troubling use of the term *genre* and how both listener and composer may interpret it, stating: "This formulation properly locates genre as a communicative concept, one that actively informs the experience of a musical work."¹⁰ The linkage of this concept of communication to the word *genre* as defined by the French, then, both communicates the gender-specific aspects of a musical work and perpetuates the gender association of such musical characteristics in the future.¹¹ Consequently, as Kallberg argues with respect to Chopin's music, many musical features are often construed or misconstrued in terms of gender. For example, certain piano genres, such as Chopin's nocturnes, were deemed "feminine"—i.e., appropriate for feminine consumption, domestic performance, etc.¹² This is a feature not just of musical genres in France, but literary genres as well, including poetry. Against the backdrop of this history, Bernac's remarks concerning the generic features failures of *Fiançailles* as a song cycle, as well as his particularly gendered take on it, acquire an added significance.

Bernac's gendered reception of Poulenc's composition thus suggests a complex web of relationships. Here, I will try to untangle and decipher some of these complex ideas in both the text and the music. In this paper, I will explore these connections in Poulenc's *Fiançailles pour rire*, arguing that the poems of this cycle come from a clearly feminine point of view, and the musical setting of these texts observes the same musical conventions as the rest of Poulenc's repertoire. I will do this by considering the contemporary reception and analysis of Louise de Vilmorin's literary works, the history of feminine music in France up to the 1930s, and the musical analysis of the songs that comprise this cycle.

9 *Dictionnaire français-anglais, anglais-français = French-English, English-French dictionary*, rev. ed., s.v. "genre."

10 Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1996), 5.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 124.

7 Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 36.

8 Susan Foley, *Women in France Since 1789* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 185-209.

RECEPTION OF VILMORIN AND LA LITTÉRATURE FEMININE

Louise de Vilmorin, both in her person and her poetry, was widely received as feminine by her contemporaries. Born of aristocratic parentage and widely notorious for her tumultuous personal relationships, Vilmorin's work was often dismissed as the product of luxurious boredom rather than the efforts of a true artist. She was referred to as "un navire en détresse [a ship in distress]"¹³ or sometimes "Notre Dame des Orages [Our Lady of Storms],"¹⁴ subtly mocking her as a damsels in distress and poking fun at her mercurial personality. Indeed, her sometimes unpleasant moods and "the most hectic love life of the century"¹⁵ inhibited the public from getting to know the supposed saint that her friends claimed her to be.

Poulenc himself very much adored the poetess for these allegedly feminine qualities. In his personal diary, Poulenc presents an enchanting portrait of Louise de Vilmorin from his own perspective:

Few people love me as much as Louise de Vilmorin: because she is beautiful, because she is lame, because she writes innately immaculate French, because her name evokes flowers and vegetables, because she loves her brothers like a lover and her lovers like a sister. Her beautiful face recalls the seventeenth century, as does the sound of her name. I can imagine her as a friend of "Madame," or painted by Ph. de Champaigne as an abbess, a rosary in her long hands. Louise always escapes childishness despite her country house where they play on the lawns.

Love, desire, illness, exile, and money difficulties were at the root of her genuineness.¹⁶

Poulenc's description of her echoes notions found in a number of her biographical texts, citing her as a

13 Jean Chalon, *Florence et Louise Les Magnifiques* (Châtillon-Sous-Bagneux, France: Rocher), 99. Chalon was a late companion of the poet who chronicled their personal telephone conversations in this book published post-humously.

14 Ibid., 132.

15 Ibid., 144.

16 Bernac, *Francis Poulenc*, 131.

true mixture between an overgrown aristocratic child and a highly intelligent and emotional seductress. He comments on her paradoxical traits, acquiring both modern and antiquated feminine characteristics.

Louise de Vilmorin indeed existed in a state of feminine transition, embodying aspects of both the nineteenth-century and the modern liberated woman. This paradox, according to her intimate friend Jean Chalon during her later life, helped to define the remarkable attractive quality of her personality. In his book *Florence et Louise Les Magnifiques*, Chalon outlines her contradictory feminine nature in detail for the reader.

Elle pleurait avec une facilité, une abondance qui laissaient pantois... Louise appartenait à une époque où les larmes des femmes étaient sacrées et venaient à bout des refus. Elle ignorait que les larmes n'avaient plus ce pouvoir et pleurait consciemment ses amours mortes, la fuite du temps, les contretemps, les tuiles arrachées par l'équinoxe à la toiture de sa demeure, les ratages, les "peines de paradis."

[She would cry with such ease, such abundance that she left one stunned... Louise belonged to a period when a woman's tears were sacred and came after a refusal. She ignored that tears no longer held this power and would consciously weep for her dead lovers, the passage of time, mishaps, roof tiles fallen off her residence, failures, "peines de paradis."]¹⁷

On the one hand, Louise retained many feminine beliefs and mannerisms of her aristocratic upbringing in the early part of the century, specifically in regard to emotion. Her frequent tears over many different events in her life, however, no longer influenced the public in the same way as they did before the Great War. Both individuals and the country itself had experienced previously unimaginable tragedy, and Vilmorin's sentimental sobs seemed, therefore, self-indulgent. The poetess paid no mind to public

17 Ibid., 130.

interpretation of her grief, however, and continued to express her deeply rooted feelings through tears. Evidence of her deep-seated emotion readily presented itself in her poetry through her exaggerated sentimentality, her melancholy subject matter, and morbid metaphors.

On the other hand, there was a multitude of scandal surrounding Vilmorin's love life. In fact, her love life provided plenty of gossip for the wealthy circles of Paris to chat about. She survived a broken engagement to author and pilot Antoine Saint-Exupéry, as well as two failed marriages. The first was at a young age to an American mobster in Las Vegas and the second to an adulterous Hungarian noble. Chalon remarks on her feminine wiles in the following quote:

Louise avait aussi des yeux superbes, bleu-vert piquetés d'or, et était aussi "excessivement" femme. Excessivement? Non. C'était une femme qui connaissait son métier de femme: faire marcher les hommes. Elle savait que les hommes ont des faiblesses qu'il suffit d'exploiter. Ils ont des peurs et des hontes que l'on croit uniquement réservés aux femmes... [Elle n'avait] honte de rien... Comme tout était facile avec Louise, elle épluchait les fruits, les coeurs avec la même [dextérité, habile] à lire les lignes du cœur...

[Louise also had superb eyes, green-blue dotted with gold, and was also "excessively" feminine, as she put it. Excessively? I don't think so. She knew that men have weaknesses that she could easily exploit. They have fears and shame that many believe to be reserved only for women...[She was] not ashamed of anything. As everything was easy for Louise, she peeled fruits and heart with the same ease, skilled at reading the lines of the heart...]¹⁸

Despite her infamous reputation, or perhaps aided by it, Vilmorin consistently attracted high-profile men to her disastrous love trysts. The flirtatious diction and clever plays on words that appear in much

of her poetry can be easily linked back to her innate seductive powers.

Conscious of the negative public opinion surrounding his sister's person and works, André de Vilmorin, in his biographical essay on Vilmorin, attempts to rehabilitate her image for the reader. He prefaces his *Essai* with an "avertissement," defined as a warning or short forward, about his intimate relationship with the subject at hand. For the sake of the credibility of his work, he refuses to engage in the gossip surrounding his sister, only recounting the facts of her life as he personally and truthfully knew them to occur. Citing the popular French saying, "Ceux qui veulent flatter feront d'un diable un ange [Those who flatter make devils into angels],"¹⁹ André assures the reader that he will not fall victim to this common mistake. He tells the reader that he approaches this biography with as objective a perspective as possible, only including events of which he had personal knowledge during her lifetime and refusing to cross the line of his own experience. He wants to allow the reader to take his statements at face value instead of viewing them as a more positive spin on the real facts of his sister's life. In this way, he is trying to remove her tarnished image from the public's memory, allowing them to see the real and loving person that Vilmorin was. By stripping this negative connotation, André perhaps also endeavored to inspire a wave of legitimate analysis and criticism of Vilmorin's body of work, which for so long had been pushed aside.²⁰

Much of this criticism and contemporary reception treated Vilmorin's femininity in a pejorative manner. We can see these feminine aspects in her poetry; however, these aspects have literary significance within the broader context of the history of French literature and within the broader context of *la littérature féminine*. This poetry, then, could be considered the latest installment in the genre at the time it was published. Indeed the poetry of Louise de Vilmorin shares many characteristics with the French tradition of *la littérature féminine*. This genre began with the introduction of female troubadours in the Middle Ages, reached its height of public attention during the reign of Louis XIV through the works of *les précieuses*, and is still created and studied today. Bea-

19 André de Vilmorin, *Essai sur Louise de Vilmorin* (Austria: Editions Pierre Seghers), 13.

20 Ibid., 13-14.

18 Chalon, *Florence et Louise Les Magnifiques*, 123-124.

trice Slama endeavors to help liberate modern female French authors from the constraints of this feminine genre by exposing the historical prejudices and societal constructs that have supported discrimination against them. She begins by thoroughly outlining the characteristics of this genre in order to refute them in a later section. She writes:

La “littérature féminine” est alors définie comme une littérature du manque et de l’excès. Manque d’imagination, de logique, d’objectivité, de pensée métaphysique; manque de composition, d’harmonie, de perfection formelle. Trop de facilité, trop de facticité, trop de mots, trop de phrases, de mièvrerie, de sentimentalité, de désir de plaisir, trop de ton moralisateur, trop de narcissisme. Littérature du “moi” enfermée dans ses limites, à l’écoute de ses sentiments, de ses impressions, de ses rêves: sans doute est-ce ce qui lui donne cet “odor difemina” (sic) que Barbey flairait avec une répulsion fascinée et cette couleur particulière que prennent les thèmes qu’elle met en scène.

Le style “féminine” est, selon la critique, fluide, gracile, gracieux, fleuri, floral. Mais parfois aussi inspiré, violent, surgi de forces profondes et incontrôlées. A l’image en somme de “l’éternel féminin.” Les femmes écrivains sont mal à l’aise dans les règles, les contraintes, le travail.

[“Feminine literature” is defined as a literature of shortages and excesses. Shortages of imagination, of logic, of objectivity, of metaphysical thought; a lack of composition, of harmony, of formal perfection. Too much ease, too much artifice, too many words, too many sentences, too much mushiness and sentimentality, too much of the desire to please, too much of a moralizing tone, too much narcissism. Literature of “me” enclosed in its own limits, listening only to its own emotion, impressions, dreams: this is without a doubt the reason for this “odor di femina” (sic) that Barbey sensed

with a fascinated repulsion and the reason for the particular manner in which Barbey directs her scenes.

The “feminine” style is, according to critics, fluid, slender, gracious, embellished, flowery. But sometime also it is inspired, violent, arising from deep and uncontrollable forces. These characteristics help to create the image of “the feminine eternal.” Female writers are uncomfortable with rules, with constraints, with work.]²¹

This sort of reception has long surrounded works of feminine texts. Recent scholarship has tried to reestablish la littérature féminine as playing a particular role in its particular social context.

We can similarly try to reclaim some of the feminine qualities Bernac believes are supposedly degrading Vilmorin’s writing. For instance, the use of natural and domestic imagery as a means of metaphorical expression pervades the poems of the song cycle *Fiançailles pour rire*. Vilmorin invokes the duality of the societal usage of flowers, using these images to represent inherent meaning in their contexts. On the one hand, flowers are attributed with positive meaning in the giving of a token of affection, the celebration of life, and the holy consecration of a marriage. The presence of a lush garden in “La Dame d’André” implies the budding of a questionable romance. On the other hand, however, flowers may also be used in mourning the death of a loved one. “Mon cadavre...” depicts the formality of flowers in the context of mourning and release. It is also interesting to note that the flower representing the monarchy and aristocracy of France, of which Vilmorin is a part, is also the flower most closely associated with making up funeral arrangements. Additionally, the poet makes use of the ephemeral nature of the flower’s beauty in her pictorial representation of relationships—while one may enjoy its bloom while it lasts, the flower eventually will wither away. While the promise that flowers represented in “Fleurs” may have been sincere at the start, they have all but turned to sand with the passage of time. In the poem “Il Vole,” Vilmorin sets the scene for the reader with a medley of household

21 Béatrice Slama, “De la ‘Littérature Féminine’ à ‘L’écriture Feminine’: Différence et Institution,” *Littérature* 44 (1981): 53.

objects. Through this domestic sphere she is able to create the first allusion to La Fontaine's "Le Corbeau et Le Renard," as the sun and knife on her kitchen table momentarily resemble cheese in a bird's beak. She is then able to further develop this metaphor throughout the rest of the poem, likening her lover to the fleeing bird. While these objects, along with the sewing needles referenced in the second stanza, set the stage for Vilmorin's literary cleverness, they also translate to the reader that the speaker is irrefutably female.

Vilmorin's themes expand upon this feminine imagery, using these images to discreetly intertwine the ideas of contract and law into the six poems. The melancholy speaker is frequently betrayed and her social contracts broken. For instance, a lover's unfaithfulness directly prompts the feeling of hysteria in "Il Vole." The speaker appears to only desire the reinstatement of the relationship contract as it was before, in insisting, "Ramenez moi, mon amant volage... Je veux que mon voleur me vole [Bring me back my adulterous/flighty lover... I want my lover to love me]"²² In these two texts, Vilmorin references "la Loi" (the Law), specifically notated with a capital L. The contract implied by the giving of flowers in the sixth song, "Fleurs," dissolved with the withering of these blooms and left the speaker with a heavy heart. The literal sense of Law and propriety extends further to the songs "Dans l'Herbe" and "Violon." Whether this references political or religious law is ambiguous for the reader; however, the result of breaking such a Law is very clear—death by hanging. The young man in "Dans l'Herbe" dies under "l'arbre de la Loi," which signifies a lynching tree in French idiom, connoted with the idea of being hanged. The reference to hanging in the verse "Aux accords sur les cordes des pendus" may become obscured in its English translation, incorrectly translated as "in the chords on the suspended cords," invoking the idea of sounds hanging in the heavy, smoky air of a Hungarian nightclub. Instead, though, this translation should read, "In the chords on the cords of the hanged," which is closely followed by talk about the quieting of the Law late at night. This connection also occurs in Vilmorin's "Le Garçon de Liège," a poem used in Poulenc's first song

cycle setting her texts, *Trois Chansons de Louise de Vilmorin* (1937). The recurrence of the hanged figures in her poems, closely aligned with the breaking of social contracts, shows her personally indoctrinated connection between love and death. In addition, the focus on these themes through the lens of the domestic sphere and the eyes of a woman give this pessimistic view a feminine twist.

The form of Louise de Vilmorin's poetry also takes on feminine qualities. Traditionally, feminine verse is structured in a more formal manner, making use of the normative figures established during the Classical period of French literature. When looking at "Mon cadavre...," for example, the influence of these classical practices is certainly evident. This poem contains five stanzas of four octo-syllabic verses featuring an ABBA rhyme scheme, termed "rimes embrasées" by the Académie Française, which is as classically formed as possible. Her classical approach to this poem serves the gravity of the subject well, giving a certain formality to her own metaphorical funeral that would no doubt be present at her physical one years later. Through the structure provided, Vilmorin cultivates a more serious tone than is represented in the other selected poems of *Fiançailles*. The parallel poem in the song cycle "Dans l'Herbe" does not present itself through the rules of academic writing, but instead forms a free verse poem. While this seems to be inconsistent with the very structured idea of femininity that Vilmorin presents in the other song texts, "Dans l'Herbe" simply interprets this femininity in a different way. In contrast to the depiction of her own death in "Mon cadavre...," this second song describes the unexpected death of a loved one and the speaker's visceral and emotional reaction to it. The form here, then, represents this outpouring of emotion, typical of the form of the female lament presented in early operatic libretto.

Last, the frequently biographical nature of Vilmorin's poems reinforces the feminine gender of the poems' speaker. For example, "La Dame d'André" ruminates on the relationship between her older brother André and his girlfriend of the late 1930s, of which the poet does not particularly approve. The most obvious biographical insertion into this cycle, though, may be found in the third song, "Il Vole," referencing her flighty fiancé from her youth, Antoine de Saint Exupéry, who left her to fly planes in the French military.

²² Francis Poulenc, *Fiançailles Pour Rire: Six Mélodies sur des Poèmes de Louise de Vilmorin* (New York: Salabert, 1940): 7-11.

Additionally, “Fleurs” subtly suggests the broken promises of Vilmorin’s first marriage to Henry Leigh Hunt. Promising to keep her in the lap of luxury, Hunt’s big talk fell through when he all but abandoned her and their children in the Nevada desert to take care of business affairs abroad. Left alone to care of family, the promises of grandeur made to the poet

eventually disintegrated into the hot sand. This places a strong connection between the extreme femininity of Louise de Vilmorin herself and the femininity represented in her works, a link that perhaps was not easily broken when critics looked at these poems in the context of Poulenc’s song cycle.

POULENC AND GENDERED MUSIC

Poulenc’s own treatment of Vilmorin’s texts proves the wrinkle in regards to the normative contemporary interpretation of her poems. Many of Poulenc’s original intentions for his compositions reflect a gendered quality, which are evident in published anthologies of his letters and diary entries. In searching for further understanding of this idea, it suffices to peruse through Poulenc’s *Journal de Mes Mélodies*, where he has offered a most thought-provoking statement on the matter:

J'avoue que lorsqu'une dame (bien intentionnée, je n'en doute pas) attaque "j'aime tes yeux, j'aime ta bouche...O ma rebelle, o ma farouche"...en dépit de la musique de Fauré, je ne suis pas convaincu par crainte de l'être trop. Les poèmes de Louise de Vilmorin donnent matière à de véritables mélodies féminines. C'est ce qui m'enchante.

[I admit that when a lady (with the best intentions no doubt) begins...“I love your eyes, I love your mouth...O my rebellious one, O my shy one”...in spite of Fauré’s music, I am not convinced, for fear of being too convinced. The poems of Louise de Vilmorin provide material for truly feminine songs. That is what delights me.]²³

Scholars insist he was as specific about the gender specification of his songs as he was about his scrupulously indicated tempo markings. Poulenc blatantly rejected the age-old practice of gendering non-specific text and the idea that masculine subject mat-

ter should be deemed normative and appropriate for all singers.²⁴ In composing the song cycle *Fiançailles pour rire* for soprano Denise Duval, Poulenc is able to create melodies that he feels are appropriate for the female singer, as their texts come from the female perspective and feature feminine literary characteristics.

An interest in the feminine, in fact, started early in Poulenc’s compositional career, utilizing many characteristically feminine musical gestures as a means of establishing a recognizable style. As a member of the French group of composers *Les six*, Poulenc consistently felt the need to challenge the conventional use of tonal material and to defy the aesthetic characteristics presented by Debussy and other Expressionist composers. Indeed, these composers acted in direct reaction to French Expressionism, turning to popular music halls, jazz composition, and Parisian nightlife for their inspiration.²⁵ Poulenc’s specific interpretation of these new sources of inspiration veered towards those musical characteristics historically attributed with a feminine connotation. In arguing for Poulenc’s interest in femininity, Clifton cites:

Poulenc’s interest in the feminine extends beyond isolated examples into the realm of an *idée fixe* that I have termed the Poulencian archetype of femininity. By this I mean Poulenc’s systematic avoidance of formal clarity for its own sake, as well as a harmonic language that celebrates the beauty of sound often far removed from traditional tonal relationships, a gesture sometimes viewed as feminine and thus

24 McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 36.

25 Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press), 37-66.

23 Francis Poulenc, *Diary of my Songs [Journal de mes Mélodies]*, trans. Winifred Radford (London: V. Gollancz), 36-39.

inferior (especially by German critics). Poulenc will often eschew convention for the sake of expression, and such gestures have colored the reception of the composer...²⁶

In making this distinctive statement, Clifton argues that not only was the musical setting of the text considered feminine in *Fiançailles pour rire*, but so too were his whole repertoire of songs, and by extension, all of his compositions that used these qualities. It is then evident that the femininity that Bernac refers to in this cycle is characteristic of Poulenc's compositional style.

In recent scholarship, critics have traced Poulenc's interest in the feminine further, connecting it to the expression of his homosexual identity. For instance, Christopher Moore has argued that Poulenc used camp in his early ballets *Les Biches* and *Aubade*, a network of rhetorical and stylistic devices. Referencing Susan Sontag's examination in her article "Notes on Camp," Moore cites the composer's admiration for popular music, his choice of frivolous subject matter, his attraction to contemporary modernist and surrealist movements, his tonal ambiguity, and "the general autobiographical theatricalization of experience" as typical of camp aesthetics.²⁷ The ballet dancers' ambiguous relationships, exaggerated playful atmosphere, and off-beat stress of the Hostess's "Rag-Mazurka" in *Les Biches* provide provocative and irresolvable contradictions that cause the audience to question the underlying meaning of such artificiality. In this way, the seemingly innocent female-female play may be interpreted as legitimate lesbian interaction. Additionally, the contradiction between the Hostess's feminine stance and the simultaneously aggressive and logical character of the music that accompanies her subtly suggests gender ambiguity in the character, implying that the Hostess is a drag queen or transgender. *Aubade*'s expression of its protagonist's conflicted emotional state and the musical juxtaposition of Mozart-inspired passages and semi-tonal friction allude to Poulenc's conflicted feeling

about his own homosexuality.²⁸ In this way, Poulenc's use of camp served as a "cultivated [reaction] to the oppression, silencing, and marginalization of [his] gay desire."²⁹

Other Poulenc scholarship has looked closely at the connection between Poulenc's feminine manifestations in his music, his Catholic reassertion at Rocamadour in 1936, and his homosexuality. Poulenc's revival of his Catholic faith falls at the tail end of the "reactionary revolution," a movement of Catholic conversion and conservatism by the intellectual and artistic elite in France during the first quarter of the twentieth century.³⁰ The most prominent figures in this movement, notably the Maritain family and those who worked out of No. 10 Rue du Parc in Paris, closely aligned themselves with the Fascist Action Française political party. Unfortunately for Poulenc and fellow devotee Max Jacob, the reassertion of traditional gender roles by the Fascist party and the Catholic Church's negative approach to homosexuality caused this movement to heavily crack down on what they deemed to be a perversion of nature.³¹ These ideals coincide with Poulenc's public expression of his sexual orientation; while Poulenc was always a well-known homosexual, he decided to take his homosexual identity out of the public sphere after 1936, refraining from both public displays of affection and public drag.³²

It is interesting, too, that Poulenc began composing songs for voice and piano in earnest in 1936, with his first song cycle, *Quatre Poèmes de Guillaume Apollinaire*, for voice and piano. Scholars like Burton believe Poulenc's feminine approach to his music and turn to vocal works served as an outlet for his personally repressed sexual identity. This idea presents itself in his later work *La Voix Humaine*, as Poulenc puts his own feminine identity into the protagonist. Clifton argues that "when we see [soprano Denise Duval] as Elle, we are really seeing Francis Poulenc himself, emotionally naked in the very public forum of the opera house."³³ He stipulates that Poulenc personally

28 Ibid., 24.

29 Ibid., 3.

30 Richard Burton, *Francis Poulenc* (Bath, England: Absolute Press, 2002), 43-60.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Clifton, "Mots Cachés," 76.

identifies with this character, not only in her despair at losing a beloved relationship, but also in her feminine way of dealing with the tragedy.³⁴

In comparison to Vilmorin, however, Poulenc's reception did not choose to address the idea of gender connotation for the majority of its history. Similarly, in the first edition of his correspondences, the editor omitted all references to Poulenc's homosexuality.

34 Ibid.

His wealthy lifestyle and the attribution of feminine characteristics to his music did not cause Poulenc to suffer the same kind of derogatory criticism towards his artistic output as his poetess friend. His status as a privileged white male of the upper class did not strip his works of their musical legitimacy in the eyes of the public, but instead allowed him to frequently premiere his music in the fashionable Paris salons of the day to which he may never have gained access otherwise.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TECHNIQUES USED IN *FIANÇAILLES POUR RIRE*

Just as we outlined the structure and gendered qualities of Vilmorin's poems, we can now look at how the music reinforces this structure and the gendered

nature of the texts. In terms of overall form and key relationships, the pieces are structured as follows:

<i>La Dame d'André</i>	<i>Dans l'Herbe</i>	<i>Il Vole</i>	<i>Mon Cadavre...</i>	<i>Violon</i>	<i>Fleurs</i>
<i>A minor</i> →	<i>A minor</i> →	<i>E-flat major</i> →	<i>A minor</i> →	<i>A minor</i> →	<i>D-flat major</i>

Poulenc's harmonic language in setting these poems reflects the influence of jazz and avant-garde music on the composer. Poulenc relies on a few devices in particular to convey the meaning of the text. Straying away from traditional tonal relationships, Poulenc uses coloristic harmonies and chordal progressions to express the color reflected in the text. For example, frequently appearing ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, and minor seventh chords create an ambiguous atmosphere that allows the duality of Vilmorin's words to be effectively expressed. These added intervals and non-chord tones contribute to the general feeling of tension that marks the thematic contradiction of love and loss. By contrast, the use of uncolored chords (in this case, usually E-flat major and A minor chords) resolves the suspensions created by the added color tones.³⁵ Taking inspiration from Stravinsky as well, Poulenc inserts instances of bitonality during which the right and left hand of the piano accompaniment

occupy separate keys with the voice floating above this clashing sound.

For instance, we can see how these devices are used in the first song, "La Dame d'André," to convey the speaker's lack of confidence in her brother's rapid match. Poulenc uses his characteristic jazz harmonies and reinterpretations of traditional chordal functions to bring the listener to an unexpected harmonic landscape, instilling the same instability in the music as in the couple's superficial bond. The first presence of this phenomenon in *Fiançailles*, in "La Dame d'André," happens in mm. 17–20. The song proceeds in a stylistically inflected but very solid A minor key up until this point, when Poulenc suddenly modulates to the key of E-flat major. Deciding to employ the augmented sixth in a dominant function rather than its usual pre-dominant function, Poulenc is able to smoothly transition between the two distant keys.

35 Terence Evan Dawson, *Unifying Devices in Poulenc: A Study of the Cycles *Banalités* and *Tel jour Telle Nuit** (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia, 1991), 55.

"La Dame d'André," mm. 17–20

"La Dame d'André," mm. (end)

The most significant usage of unconventional harmony in this song, however, occurs directly at its end. Poulenc refuses to resolve the diminished seventh chord in the final measure, instead allowing the build-up of tension and lingering dissonances to carry the listener over to the next song. Additionally, this musical uncertainty simultaneously reflects the upended inflection of the final question in the poem and leaves this question unanswered, “[giving] this song its particularity and... [successfully creating] a mood of unsurety about André’s relationship.”³⁶

Similar to “La Dame d’André,” the third song of this cycle, “Il Vole,” furthers these devices by continuing the relationship between A minor and E-flat major. While Poulenc uses un-notated key signature changes in the first song in this cycle to denote changes in key—that is to say, Poulenc switches from spell-

ing his harmonies with sharps to spelling them with flats, and vice versa—Poulenc begins the third song with the concrete establishment of the key of E-flat major. It is important to note that this is the first song in the cycle that features a notated key signature and that this key signature is the farthest possible key signature from that of the first two songs (A minor). In choosing the key of E-flat major for this song, Poulenc separates the manic character of “Il Vole” from the calmer mood in the earlier pieces while enhancing the relationship between A minor and E-flat major already established within the measures of “La Dame d’André.” To bring this key relationship even further, Poulenc definitively changes the key signature of “Il Vole” to A minor in m. 24 and then back to E-flat major at m. 34.

36 Renita Jane Rosser Koehn, “A Study of the Poems and Musical Settings of the Songs of Francis Poulenc on the Texts of Louise de Vilmorin for the Female Singer: A Performer’s Guide” (DMA diss., University of Kentucky, 2003), 69.

"Il Vole," m. 23 (key change)

"Il Vole," m. 34

The passage in A minor changes in character from the frantic and frenzied outburst to a lament of self-pity; thus, the key change serves the mood change inherent in the text (Appendix 3.14–17).³⁷

The fourth song, "Mon cadavre...," harkens back to the modern or jazz harmonies and coloristic non-chord tones first presented at the top of the cycle, adding the idea of abstraction to the mix. Poulenc's characteristic appoggiatura finds its roots in his jazz-inspired non-chord tones, specifically emphasizing this composition feature in "Mon cadavre..." These added seconds, ninths, and sixths resolving down to a consonant pitch in the accompaniment provide a generative basis for the appoggiaturas in the vocal line. Poulenc makes particular usage of this tactic in his second Vilmorin collaboration. The appoggiatura finds its most deliberate precepts in the piano part at

m. 14; while the voice features a descending resolution, the real melodic line has transferred to the top line in the right-hand accompaniment.

"Mon cadavre...," mm. 14–15

This motive comes to its full development in the voice on the last page of the song, where an ascending preparation to D5 is followed by a sweeping and beautiful descending pattern, embellished with multiple appoggiaturas. The tension created by the non-chord tones on each beat of m. 29 pull the vocal line, "[providing] harmonic momentum and a propelling motion to the song."³⁸ Demonstrating his remarkable sensitivity to the poetic inspiration and the French language, Poulenc uses this forward motion to propel the vocal line towards the word "gagnent [win]," emphasizing the futile human struggle against time and the morbid nature of the song text as a whole.

"Mon cadavre," mm. 29–30

In addition, Poulenc strategically places measures of bi-chordal harmony accompanying arbitrary verses

³⁷ Appendix referenced to note location of text in question during measure(s) discussed.

³⁸ Dawson, *Unifying Devices in Poulenc*, 56.

of the poem, further abstracting the sense of sadness and morbidity from the listener (e.g., m. 13 [Appendix 4.7]).

"Mon cadavre..." mm. 13

The idea of the text's abstraction has been expanded from the interpretation of this song to his entire song repertoire, permeating much of the literature predating the recent revival of Poulenc scholarship. In this school of interpretation, headed by critics like

Bernac, the singer must not read too far into the text of the songs, as these scholars insist that Poulenc intended them to be simply superficial and fun. Such arguments find their roots in the concept of camp as discussed earlier in reference to Christopher Moore, "a network of rhetorical and stylistic devices that simultaneously conceal and creatively exploit the secret of sexual identity."³⁹ While Poulenc's entire song repertoire falls out of the scope of this analysis, we may assess the validity of this interpretation in regard to *Fiançailles pour rire*. This song cycle treats a different and external subject matter than those works typically analyzed for camp influences, specifically the love and loss of a confident 1930s woman, Louise de Vilmorin. In this sense, Poulenc uses the idea of abstraction as a means to represent the core meaning of the text, in this case the utter emptiness and metaphorical death of the soul after a significant loss. In a final reference to "Mon cadavre...", similar passages of creative E-flat major tonicization occur in mm. 15–25 of "Mon cadavre...", further linking this individual song to the keys of those preceding it.

39 Moore, "Camp in Francis Poulenc's Early Ballets," 3.

"Mon cadavre..." mm. 15–25

The songs discussed previously all share common characteristics that may contradict Bernac's negative view of this Vilmorin cycle. Specifically, the standard of tonal closure is perhaps one of the reasons that Bernac did not consider this a true cycle, as he makes a vivid comparison to *Tel jour telle nuit*:

But let it first be said that this collection does not at all constitute a true cycle as does that written on the poems of Eluard. United under the title *Fiançailles pour rire*, which is that of the literary collection and has no bearing on the cycle as a whole, the songs form a well-constructed group for concert performance, nothing more; for there is no poetic or musical link of any kind between these effectively contrasted songs.⁴⁰

In response to this statement, I propose a closer look at the tonal diagram presented at the beginning of this section. At first glance, Poulenc's unconventional approach to the establishment of a key in song cycles in the absence of a key signature obscures the linkages between songs; however, in completing an in-depth analysis of the cycle, we have found that each of the songs, one through five, greatly emphasizes both the keys of A minor and E-flat major, not only through a formal key signature but also through modulatory passages within the measures of each song. On a secondary level, this integration of keys may now further integrate these songs into the "true" cycle Bernac desires. Furthermore, the emphasis of A minor and E-flat major juxtaposes two keys which are the furthest possible interval away from each other, a tritone. This parallels the inherent opposition of the two main themes of this cycle, loss and love, which occupy two completely different but interconnected parts of the human experience.

Interesting, too, are the observances of Terence Evan Dawson in regards to this tritone relationship. In analyzing Poulenc's earlier masculine song cycle *Tel jour telle nuit* (1937) for his dissertation at the University of British Columbia, Dawson remarks that the tritone bass progression in "Une roulotte couverte en tuiles" "gives a peculiar slant...to a standard IV–I plagal cadence."⁴¹ Historically, critics have long noted the notion of subdominant as feminine and dominant as masculine. During the nineteenth century, the intro-

duction and development of programmatic analysis of music furthered the association of specific musical gestures with gender. Theorists during this period characterized musical motives that strayed away from the established norm as "feminine," as they undermined the traditional predominant → dominant → tonic movement. The plagal cadences' omission of the dominant function (which had been defined as a masculine function) represented the most feminine ending to a phrase.⁴² Dawson's association of this movement with plagal motion and the historically gendered interpretation of cadences may then be extrapolated to *Fiançailles*. Harkening back to the issue of masculine and feminine musical gestures, this tritone motion lies one half-step above plagal, or feminine harmonic motion, and one half-step below authentic or masculine harmonic motion. Based on Poulenc's history with the queer aesthetics of camp, this relationship may imply that this harmonic emphasis might subtly reflect Poulenc's gender deviation and homosexuality without the cognizance of the listener.

The final song in the cycle, "Fleurs," poses the only inconsistency in this tonal relationship theory. Distinctly written in the key of D-flat major, this song ends the cycle in a completely different key than in which it started, denying the cycle the quality of tonal roundedness so hailed by Bernac in his analysis of *Tel jour telle nuit*. Poulenc, however, strategically uses the absence of tonal roundedness as a specific compositional tool to relate the text of the final song to the rest of the pieces in the song cycle. "Fleurs'"s half-pedaled high-register piano accompaniment places the text in a dream-like world of nostalgia, reflecting the pensive remembering of the singer's text. Poulenc chose the large deviation from the original A minor key to remain true to the text, placing the final song in a separate realm from the previous five.

The final song in Poulenc's cycle also provides material for speculation on the cycle's meaning as a whole to the composer. Poulenc confesses in his *Diary of My Songs* that he writes this cycle as a reminder of Vilmorin during her captivity in Hungary.⁴³ But what exactly did he want to say about Vilmorin in writing this? This final song presents some of Poulenc's religious influences; the piano notation "in a

40 Bernac, *Francis Poulenc*, 137.

41 Dawson, *Unifying Devices in Poulenc*, 59.

42 McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 60.

43 Poulenc, *Diary of my Songs*, 55.

halo of pedals”⁴⁴ appearing only after the revival of his Catholic faith in 1936.⁴⁵ Along with the ethereal orchestration of the piano accompaniment and the otherworldly key separation from the remainder of the work, Poulenc creates an almost heavenly atmosphere around this text.⁴⁶ In this song, then, Poulenc

44 Ibid., 47.

45 Wilfrid Mellers, *Francis Poulenc* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 75-76.

46 Poulenc, *Diary of my Songs*, 57.

may be resurrecting the deadened soul of his poetess friend, facilitating the resurrection of Vilmorin in her glorified state. This would serve a dual purpose for the composer: allowing him to think positively about his friend during her absence and presenting a more positive image of her to the public. In this sense, Poulenc may be trying to do the same thing for her reputation that her brother tried to do for her in his biography, showing audiences that she was indeed a capable author and sensitive soul.

CONCLUSION

While modern Poulenc scholarship has only briefly touched upon the partnership between Louise de Vilmorin and Francis Poulenc, this collaboration proved to be long and fruitful. Vilmorin’s feminine energy and literature helped to further develop Poulenc’s already untraditional style and helped him to explore composition for a differing perspective of speaker.

The Vilmorin collaboration proved to be only the beginning of Poulenc’s career in writing for the female voice. After this original foray into the feminine mindset, Poulenc went on to write two of his most famous and successful works as seen through the eyes of female characters. First, Denise Duval, the same soprano who premiered *Fiançailles pour rire*, played the protagonist in his first opera, *Tirseas*. The French

diva also starred as Elle in Poulenc’s collaboration with Jean Cocteau on the one-woman opera *La Voix Humaine*, discussed earlier. Finally, in the culmination of his late vocal work and religious interest, *Dialogue des Carmelites*, Poulenc features this feminine inspiration and his token soprano in the mis-en-scene of the execution of a Carmelite order of nuns during the Reign of Terror in France. *Fiançailles pour rire* provided Poulenc with a compositional playground with which he could make very important decisions defining his personal interpretation of the feminine text. In keeping with his own personal compositional style, Poulenc used jazz harmony, tension through non-chord tones, bitonality, and key association to affectively reflect the feminine perspective of the speaker in these poems in his music.

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Litigation, Legislation, and Lessons: “Operation Babylift” and International Adoption

Cindy Trieu

Huynh Thi Anh just wanted her four grandchildren back. She couldn't understand how or why they were no longer considered hers, but instead the children of strangers. She had never abandoned or neglected her grandchildren, but only done what was in their “best interest.” In *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi* (1977) and (1978), Anh and the uncle, Dao Thanh Linh, were trying to regain custody of four children from their new Michigan adoptive parents. The foster parents, Dennis and Margaret Arvidson and Jay and Beth Donaldson, had initiated adoption proceedings in local Michigan courts, which were interrupted by this suit. The case was brought up to both the United States District Court of Michigan in 1977 and to the United States Court of Appeals in 1978. Anh claimed that she “mistakenly signed papers releasing the children for adoption, but has never intentionally abandoned or released them.”¹ The plaintiffs wanted to prove the children ineligible for adoption, regain custody, and receive payment of damages totaling \$1,000,000. After being dismissed in the U.S. District Court of Michigan on the basis that federal courts did not have jurisdiction to make a custody determination, *Anh v. Levi* was again dismissed in the Sixth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals. This time, the case was dismissed because plaintiffs “have not exhausted their state remedies,” by addition to the Court’s “lack of jurisdiction,” if viewed as a case of habeas corpus.² In other words, the case may be filed in federal court only to challenge previous decisions based in state courts.³

At first glance, *Anh v. Levi* appears to be a simple child custody case, but it actually speaks to the larger issues surrounding international adoption and legislation.

¹ *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

² Ibid.

³ *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 427 F. Supp. 1281 (S.D. Mich. 1977), *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978), and Maryann George, “Vietnamese Relatives Fight For Custody of ‘Orphans,’” *Ann Arbor Sun*, July 1, 1976.

Operation Babylift, the airlifting of approximately three thousand orphans to the United States at the end of the Vietnam War, resulted in about nearly twenty child custody cases similar in nature to *Anh v. Levi*. Miscommunication and rash decision-making led to the adoption of many children who were in fact not orphans, but still had biological parents who claimed them. These cases were widely reported in newspapers like *The Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Times* and the *Ann Arbor Sun*. What these articles failed to mention, however, were the ways Operation Babylift and the Babylift court cases raised concerns about the lack of regulation surrounding international adoption. In 1975, there was no international body of law in place that specifically outlined the procedures to follow or the specific issues unique to international adoption. As a result, many problems that arose in the Babylift cases were relegated to state law and U.S. legal statutes that were unfit to deal with these problems. However, the international agreements that came into existence during and after the 1980s, show that Operation Babylift was a watershed in U.S. adoption. It compelled lawmakers to reevaluate and draft new legislation that specifically addressed issues of cultural relativism, documentation, and training in international adoption.

The United States has a long history of adoption that dates back to the founding of the thirteen colonies. English colonists who settled on the coast of North America to form the eventual thirteen colonies, brought with them English traditions, language, and culture. Included in this cultural inheritance were ideas about blood ties, inheritance, and religion. However, what differentiated the colonists from their English counterparts were the unique needs they faced that those living in England did not. English society rested on the foundations of blood kinship; as such, adoption was not desirable and as a result was not legally recognized until 1926. “The desire to

protect the property rights of blood relatives in cases of inheritance, a moral dislike of illegitimacy, and the availability of other quasi-adoptive devices such as apprenticeships and voluntary transfers," dominated English conceptions of family.⁴

Americans used private means of "adoption" through apprenticeship and indenture, but mainly for economic reasons. In the early part of American history, adoption was achieved through the process of "placing out," a term used to describe "all-non institutional arrangements to care for dependent children."⁵ This included, but was not limited to, orphan trains, apprenticeship, or indenture. Indenture was the practice in which children lived with families for a number of years in order to learn a trade and work.⁶ The first child indentured was in Massachusetts in 1636.⁷ There are two types of indenture: one in which agencies paid families to care for their children and another where children worked for their own keep.⁸ This form of "instrumental adoption" was useful, especially in cases where a parent's death or poverty left children without an adequate means of support.⁹

However, portraying children as economic necessities was also dangerous, for it turned them into "readily exchangeable commodities."¹⁰ One of the most conspicuous examples of this practice was "baby farming." This form of adoption was very common in late 19th and early 20th century cities, where infants were boarded for money and transferred and sold for profit. At first baby farming was portrayed as an "informal child care network of single mothers and laboring women."¹¹ Mothers who were poor,

unwed, or prostitutes would leave their children in the care of other women at these farms. However, baby farms soon became a business and an example of immorality [for reformers?]. Baby trafficking was protested because babies on these farms [often] died from epidemic diseases and unsanitary conditions. Baby farms became places where profit was placed before the overall worth of a child. In the words of one Chicago baby farmer: "It's cheaper and easier to buy a baby for \$100.00 than to have one of your own."¹² Another form of commercial adoption was commercial maternity homes where doctors and midwives made a profit by finding placement homes for children. Adoption ads were another form of commercial adoption and facilitated the formation of families without any public oversight. Though many reformers saw commercial adoption as unethical, others argued that it was only a reflection of the consumer culture and the rights that private individuals had in forming their own families.¹³

In the early 19th century, orphan asylums emerged as a primary way of caring for children from poor families.¹⁴ This marked a transition period between the types of childcare that served economic needs to one that emphasized the welfare of the child. For those who ran these institutions, the main concern was to prepare a child for his/her departure from the asylum by ensuring their safety and moral development. After a few years, these children were either returned to their original families, where they might be indentured, or they were placed with adoptive families. However, at this time legal documentation for all child placements was still done through indenture contracts, so the safety of the child was not necessarily guaranteed by adoption.¹⁵

The use of orphan trains to transport children from eastern cities to midwestern cities was another common form of "placing out" that did not necessarily guarantee the welfare of the child. Between 1853 and 1929, over 250,000 children were transported on these trains. By transporting children from urban cities to midwestern towns, those involved hoped to foster American values and religious morality while

4 E. Wayne Carp, ed., *Adoption in America; Historical Perspectives*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 3.

5 Ellen Herman, *Kinship By Design: A History of Adoption in the modern United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 23.

6 Eve P. Smith and Lisa A. Merkel-Hogbin ed., *A History of Child Welfare* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1995), 156.

7 Lorain County Children's Services, "A Brief History of Child Welfare in the United States," <http://www.library.georgetown.edu/tutorials/research-guides/turabian-footnote-guide#websites>, Accessed January 19, 2014.

8 Herman, *Kinship By*, 23.

9 Barbara Melosh, *Strangers and Kin: The American Way of Adoption* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 13, 15.

10 Ibid., 13.

11 Herman, *Kinship By*, 32.

12 Ibid., 36.

13 Ibid., 31, 33-34, and 39.

14 Smith and Merkel-Hogbin, *A History of Child Welfare*, 156.

15 Carp, *Adoption in America*, 39.

also reducing urban crime and poverty.¹⁶ In *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (2001), Linda Gordon details the 1904 events surrounding the orphan trains that brought forty Irish orphans from New York to two Arizona mining camps. The nuns belonging to the Sisters of Charity were primarily concerned with placing these orphans in good Catholic families and only did minor research into their background and socioeconomic status. Many of the families who were to adopt these children turned out to be Mexican Catholic families. Racial tension already existed between the Mexicans and the Anglo community in the Clifton and Morenci mining camps. It was so strong that organized vigilante groups and angry white mothers forcefully took back orphans placed in Mexican families. They argued that the Mexicans were morally unfit to raise a white child and that the best interests of the child would be with a white family.¹⁷ The relationship between race and perceptions of child welfare continued to emerge later throughout the history of adoption, both domestically and internationally.

Despite the private means of child transfer, state legislatures passed adoption laws in the mid-19th century in order to, “ease the legislative burden caused by private adoption acts and to clarify inheritance rights.”¹⁸ The first actual adoption law was passed in Mississippi in 1846, followed by Texas in 1850. However, these laws outlined only the legal procedures needed to authenticate and publicize records of private adoption agreements. The first modern adoption statute was passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1851 titled, “An Act to Provide for the Adoption of Children.” It preceded countries like France, which did not pass adoption legislation until 1923, Scotland in 1930, and Ireland in 1952.¹⁹

The Massachusetts Adoption Act of 1851 is often considered the first modern adoption law in history because it helped to shape modern conceptions of adoption. For example, legal ties between the child and its biological parents were officially severed so that any obligations owed to the parents were considered obsolete. In addition, the welfare of the child

was considered of utmost importance and judges were now required to decide whether prospective adoptive parents were “fit and proper” to adopt.²⁰ The definition of family was not defined by blood ties, but on the mutual relationship created by positive interactions between parent and child. These new regulations served to alleviate the fears of children being placed with unsuitable parents. The old child-placing mechanisms of the 19th century, which bypassed comprehension and control of adoptive families, was replaced by a more systematic and orderly way of ensuring the success of adoption.

The beginning of the 20th century was characterized by an emphasis on regulation in adoption that included management and specialized knowledge. The U.S. Children’s Bureau (USCB), a federal agency established in 1912, and the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA), a nonprofit private organization were two of the main policymakers behind the push for increased regulation and standardization of adoption practices.²¹ These organizations hoped to make adoption “a process over which state laws had much greater jurisdiction than in the past.”²² Attempts at regulation were made through “orderly-information gathering, investigation, supervision, and probation.”²³ Child welfare reformers believed that creating families could be done through a public systematic process instead of a private one.²⁴

Legislation also played an important role in the regulation of domestic adoption at this time. The 1917 Children’s Code of Minnesota made it “the first state to require an investigation to determine whether a proposed adoptive home was suitable for a child.”²⁵ It required that children in a new adoptive household undergo a six-month probationary period and led to the privatization of adoption records. These new changes in adoption history paralleled those in the Progressive and New Deal era that brought a new awareness to social welfare issues, as well as more governmental regulation of citizens’ private lives. A child was no longer valued by his/her economic potential but was seen as an object of public welfare that was

16 Herman, *Kinship By*, 24.

17 Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

18 Carp, *Adoption in America*, 5.

19 Ibid., 3, 5-6 and Herman, *Kinship By*, 8.

20 Carp, *Adoption in America*, 5-6.

21 Ibid., 9.

22 Herman, *Kinship By*, 2.

23 Ibid., 55.

24 Ibid.

25 Carp, *Adoption in America*, 8.

to be regulated publicly. Record keeping also made adoption traceable, whereas before it was invisible and based on private agreements.²⁶

Three other reforms mark the Progressive Era as one of the most important in adoption history. In order to protect children from condemnation due to their adoption, many states required that the word *illegitimate* be removed from birth certificates. Adoption records were also sealed from the public, but not from those involved and the courts. Children were also not to be removed from their biological families for “light and transient reasons.”²⁷ The Great Depression of 1929 also brought about an expansion of child welfare programs, including existing adoption programs. This new support for child welfare was such that by 1937, forty-four states had either enacted new adoption statutes or revised old ones. In addition, the Children’s Welfare League of America (CWLA) made attempts to reform existing structures like commercial adoption agencies and maternity homes that did not follow standard adoption practices and that “provided inadequate safeguards” for those involved in the adoption.²⁸ One of their biggest achievements was the publication of their first set of adoption standards in 1938, which outlined safeguards for children, adoptive parents, and the state.²⁹

The culmination of World War II marked another huge turning point in the history of adoption, both domestically and internationally. War brought with it postwar affluence, an increase in the number of children available for adoption, less stringent requirements on the “adoptable child,” and more liberal attitudes about race. The term postwar affluence refers to the general wealth shared by all Americans after the end of World War II. Paired with postwar affluence was a high increase in birth rates, especially illegitimate births, which increased the number of babies available for adoption. Media glorification of motherhood also compelled many infertile couples to fulfill the duties of parenthood through adoption. The results of this can be seen in the fact that between 1937 and 1945, adoptions had increased threefold, from 16,000 to 50,000 annually. These numbers

continued to increase, doubling to 93,000 in 1955 and 142,000 by 1963.³⁰

The definition of the “adoptable child” also broadened from those without any physical or mental handicaps to “any child...who needs a family and who can develop in it, and for whom a family can be found that can accept the child with its physical or mental capacities.”³¹ This new definition also included minority and foreign born children who came to be adopted through transracial and international adoption. Though most states did not explicitly mention or refer to race in their adoption laws, it was always implied that white babies were the preference of white adoptive families. Matching was a common practice through which social workers or experts determined which combination of family members and children would ensure the creation of a successful family.³² The purpose of matching was “the duplication of [the child’s] natural biological environment,” by placing them “with adoptive parents who could have naturally parented [them].”³³ But the practice itself was controversial because it ended up privileging certain children over others based on intelligence, sex, religion, and race.³⁴

This partially changed when Americans started adopting internationally, beginning with the adoption of European children at the end of World War II. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 made it possible to categorize “orphan immigrants” as a special category of refugee such that 4,065 orphans entered the United States under it.³⁵ The Refugee Acts of 1953 enabled 1,800-orphaned children to enter as “refugees.”³⁶ Japanese children were also adopted from 1948 to 1953 as a result of these laws. The second phase of international adoption began in the 1950s, this time with Korean children.³⁷ Pearl S. Buck and Henry Holt were two huge advocates of international adoption in Asian countries. Buck was the founder of Pearl S. Buck’s Welcome House

30 Ibid., 12-13.

31 Ibid., 14.

32 Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*, 51.

33 Rita J. Simon, Howard Alstein, and Marygold S. Melli, *The Case For Transracial Adoption* (Washington D.C.: The American University Press, 1994), 16.

34 Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*, 324.

35 Simon, Alstein and Melli, *The Case For*, 8-9.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 9.

26 Ibid., and Herman, *Kinship By*, 80.

27 Carp, *Adoption in America*, 8.

28 Ibid., 11.

29 Ibid., 8, 10, and 11.

founded in 1949 that placed about five thousand Ameriasian children with American adoptive parents. Buck herself was an adoptive parent of seven children. Holt, the father of an adopted child, established Holt International, which facilitated international adoptions in Korea and other countries.³⁸ One of the biggest issues brought about by international adoption was adoption finalized by proxy. The adoption of a child could be finalized by another country without the child ever having met the parent. The usual requirements for domestic adoption, such as screening of the parents or the probationary period were bypassed, such that the general welfare of the child was effectively put at risk. In response, an amendment was passed in 1957 that prohibited such proxies.³⁹ International adoption continued to expand during the 1970s in response to changes in domestic adoption. The reduced stigma on unwed mothers, in addition to a high infertility rate and the legalization of abortion produced longer waiting periods for those who wished to adopt.⁴⁰ As a result, more and more families began to broaden their requirements for the adoptable child. In addition to fulfilling their own maternal needs, women turned to international adoption as a gesture of American altruism.

Despite the various changes and developments in U.S. adoption history, it was not until the late 20th century that historians began to explore adoption as a research topic. E. Wayne Carp, in his book *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives* (2002), notes the lack of a comprehensive history of adoption in the United States, which he attributed to the difficulty in accessing adoption records. Carp's book is an attempt to create a historic overview of American adoption through a collection of various short essays written by scholars on the subject of adoption. These essays are ordered chronologically, beginning with Susan L. Porter's essay "A Good Home: Indenture and Adoption in Nineteenth-Century Orphan-

ages," which examined the use of orphanages as a transitional phase between indenture and adoption. Porter examined four private nonsectarian Protestant orphan asylums between 1800 and 1820 and the motivations of the female managers who ran them. The managers who ran these orphanages placed the children's welfare first in their effort to educate and find good placements for them. Seeing themselves as "surrogate mothers," they concluded that adoption was not the best solution but that when possible, returning these children to their original families was in the child's best interests. In addition to looking at these asylums, Porter also looked at demographics of adopted children and adoptive parents that supported the managers' views.⁴¹

In "Building a Nation, Building a Family," Carol J. Singley, a professor of English, looks at thirty adoption narratives written between 1850 and 1877. This literature reflects not only the culture and society of the time but also paints a picture of American attitudes and perceptions about children and family. Singley states that writers at this time portrayed adoption as a sentimental venture, reflective of Americans' benevolence. Coupled with these themes are the religious and moral undertones included in the stories that were meant to influence young children. This shows how the focus of adoption changed from religious meanings of charity and salvation to one more concentrated on economic values of labor and money.⁴²

Julie Berebitsky's essay "Rescue a Child and Save the Nation," highlights two important themes of adoption: adoption as rescue and as a female-oriented endeavor. Her essay focuses on a campaign held by a women's magazine called the *Delineator* to match up the nation's homeless children with families. The readers who responded to the campaign fit into the category of those who not only wanted to help the children out of a sense of social responsibility but also those whose participation was a personal matter. The *Delineator*'s campaign also helped to bring the issue of homeless children and adoption to a very public and visible level in the early twentieth century, thereby also transforming public perceptions of adoption

38 Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*, 192.

39 Kirsten Lovelock, "Intercountry Adoption as a Migratory Practice: A Comparative Analysis Of Intercountry Adoption and Immigration Policy and Practice in the United States, Canada and New Zealand in the Post World War II Period," *International Migration Review* 34, no. 6 (Autumn 2000), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2675949> (accessed December 17, 2013), 913.

40 Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*, 192.

41 Carp, *Adoption in America*.

42 Carol J. Singley, "Building a Nation, Building a Family," in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002).

and the personal experience of motherhood. Another essay in this book includes “Adoption Agencies and the Search for the Ideal Family, 1918-1965” by Brian Paul Gill, which discusses the increasing role of social workers in selecting and creating the best adoptive families. “When in Doubt, Count: World War II as a Watershed in the History of Adoption” by E.Wayne Carp and Anna Leon-Guerrero was also included, which uses case records from the Children’s Home Society of Washington (CHSW) from 1895 to 1973. This essay shows that World War II was indeed a turning point in the history of adoption because it changed Americans’ social values and expectations, as well as the U.S. role in foreign affairs.⁴³

Historian Barbara Melosh, whose essay “Adoption Stories: Autobiographical Narrative and the Politics of Identity,” was also included in Carp’s book, gives her own historical overview of adoption in *Strangers and Kin: The American Way of Adoption* (2002). Like Carp, Melosh characterizes adoption as a very American institution, concentrating on how adoption closely reflects changes in American society and purely “American” values. She draws upon a rich collection of adoption records from the Children’s Bureau of Delaware (CBD) to illuminate and color her discussion of adoption. Like adoption itself, Melosh touches on both the public and the private. The first chapter of her book talks about the older forms of child exchange that existed before adoption, such as apprenticeships and indenture, that focused more on the child’s economic value than on their sentimental value. Melosh also discusses the careful practices that the CBD put into place in order to regulate adoption, such as intelligence testing, observation, and home study that were used to reduce the risks of adoption. The next two chapters talk about how child welfare experts designed ways to assess both the “fitness” and “fit” of both children and prospective adopters. Matching, which meant matching adults with children in such a way that others would believe that the child was the natural child of the family, was one way in which a “fit” was achieved. Creating

families that looked natural was the goal of adoption in the mid early to mid-twentieth century, such that families indicated a certain sex or race of the child as preferences for adoption.⁴⁴

Chapter Four, “Redrawing the Boundaries: Transracial and International Adoption,” analyzes the transition to international adoption through transracial adoption, more specifically of African American children by white families and the personal as well as public manifestations of this change. For example, a Mr. P felt uncomfortable upon learning that his son had been born to a white woman. If it had been reversed, Mr. P stated he would have felt less uncomfortable about it. His discomfort stems from society’s stigma towards interracial liaisons, especially between white women and black men. Publicly, the National Urban League, a non-profit organization committed to advancing the rights of African Americans and other minorities, made plans to launch a national adoption program to help with the plight of black orphans who were unwanted by white adoptive parents and who suffered from a lack of black adopters. On the other end were those such as the National Association of Black Social Workers, who felt that black children should only be placed with black families. They argued that this type of placement was necessary because “African American children could develop healthy self-concepts and a positive sense of racial identity only within racially matched families.”⁴⁵

The second part of the chapter transitions to international adoption that transcends both racial and territorial boundaries. Melosh discusses important players in international adoption such as Pearl S. Buck and her organization, Pearl S. Buck’s Welcome House. Henry Holt and Holt International were equally, if not more, important in facilitating the adoption of Korean children which would become the most common inter-country adoption until 1991. Melosh’s discussion fits into the context of controversial issues that compares international adoption to imperialism or characterize it as “rescue and save.” The last two chapters of the book end with the more negative changes towards issues of disclosure and the negative effects of adoption. Questions such as how and when the parents should tell the child that they are

43 Julie Berebitsky, “Rescue a Child and Save the Nation,” Brian Paul Gill “Adoption Agencies and the Search for the Ideal Family, 1918-1965” and E. Wayne Carp and Anna Leon-Guerrero “When in Doubt, Count: World War II as a Watershed in the History of Adoption” in *Adoption in America: Historical Perspectives*, ed. E. Wayne Carp (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002).

44 Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*.

45 Ibid.

adopted, to issues of trauma, stress, and identity are analyzed in detail to conclude the book.⁴⁶

Following Melosh is Ellen Herman, whose book *Kinship By Design: A History of Adoption in Modern American* (2008) provides another historical overview of U.S. adoption. Herman uses a thematic approach to show how adoption is as much an attempt to avoid chance or uncertainty, as it is the creation of a natural lotoking family. She applies this paradigm into the four themes of regulation, interpretation, standardization, and naturalization. Each theme reflects four different periods in U.S. history and shows how they came to change adoption.

Her book is divided into three main sections. The first section is titled “Regulation and Interpretation As Forces in Adoption, 1900-1945,” that discuss child-placing mechanisms such as baby farms and maternity homes to organizations such as the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA). Issues such as matching and empirical research on adoptees reemerge in Herman’s second section titled “Standardization and Naturalization, 1930-1960.” The last part of the book called “Difference and Damage, 1945-1975” addresses problems faced by adopters, such as what type of children are acceptable to adopt. Chapter 6 focuses on the adoption of minority children, children with disabilities, and inter-country adoption. Chapter 7 is specifically about the issue of domestic transracial adoption that has plagued U.S. domestic adoption, especially when it comes to matching. The book *Damaged Children, Therapeutic Lives*, concludes by speaking about the risks for both parents and children who are involved in adoption, such as the difficulties with feelings of attachment and loss, as well as disclosure that Melosh spoke about in her book.⁴⁷

Writing on adoption has not been limited to that of a historic nature. In response to the public and pervasive nature of adoption in the United States, many authors have written how-to guides on adoption that address domestic, transracial, and international adoption. It is not surprising that such books exist considering the increased risks associated with adopting a child. Books with titles like *Yes, You Can Adopt! A Comprehensive Guide To Adoption* by Richard Mintzer (2003) attempt to portray adoption as

something any person can do, simply by following a handbook such as *The Adoption Resource Book* by Lois Gilman in 1984. One of the main advocates of international adoption, Henry Holt and Co., is the publisher of a book titled *The International Adoption Handbook: How to Make an Overseas Adoption Work for You*, by Myra Alperson (1997). This, coupled with guides like *Inside Transracial Adoption* by Gail Steinberg and Beth Hall (2000), help couples who want to adopt either internationally or transracially and provide advice on how to reconcile differences in culture and identity. These differences are more readily visible and more important to foster in these families. Ironically, these guides continue to portray adoption as a type of scientific formula or equation to be figured out instead of a genuine interaction between parent and child, human to human. However, for the majority of history, adoption has always been approached in this way, as the methodological attempt at creating the “as if begotten” family.⁴⁸

The December 30, 1976 edition of *The Washington Post* includes an in-depth window on adoption through a story titled “Life With A Large Family: The Seeleys’ 10 Children.” The article details the story of Jim Seeley, 39, and Jo Seeley, 38 and their experiences as a racially mixed and “as if begotten family.” The Seeleys have four children of their own, but they adopted six domestically and internationally. When asked how they felt about adoption, “They didn’t make a big deal out of it. It was just something they wanted to do.” They characterized the adoption process as “trouble-free” and “easy as their decision had been.” The writer describes the Seeleys’ lives as similar to the lives of any other American family. Jenny Lynn, 12, plays piano and loves soccer, Cindy, 11, plays the violin while the other children are described smiling, happy children. As with any family, there is the potential for sibling rivalry, but the Seeleys’ make sure to take “about 15 minutes with each child getting him or her ready for bed,” as well as making sure each one gets time to go shopping with mom. Mrs.

48 Richard Mintzer, *Yes, You Can Adopt! A Comprehensive Guide To Adoption* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003), Lois Gilman *The Adoption Resource Book* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), Mayra Alperson, *The International Adoption Handbook: How to Make an Overseas Adoption Work For You* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997), Gail Steinberg and Beth Hall, *Inside Transracial Adoption* (Indianapolis: Perspectives Press, 2000) and Melosh, *Strangers and Kin*, 104.

46 Ibid.

47 Herman, *Kinship By*.

Seeley said matter-of-factly that “the others never get jealous because they know their time will come.” The article is a commentary on how raising an interracial adopted family has its challenges, but that they are also like those any other family would have. It also portrays an adopted family as being potentially more rewarding because the children get attention and the Seeleys can still enjoy the luxuries of life, like going on a three-weekend vacation once a year while one child babysits.⁴⁹

Despite the article’s optimistic tone, the Seeleys do acknowledge the many issues that come with adoption. Mrs. Seeley recalls an instance where a little girl was mean to their daughter Gretchen. She states that, “Apparently her mother and father just don’t think black children belong in white families.” Jim says that Gretchen was called ‘chocolate face’ by another child but partially dismisses it by saying “Kids sometimes use bad words when they don’t even know yet what they mean.” However Gretchen’s experience points to the larger issue of society’s difficulty with accepting transracial adoption. For the Seeleys’, transracial adoption was never an issue. They adopted Christopher from Korea in December 1974 at the age of 4 or 5 and Todd, the child of a black American serviceman and Vietnamese woman. Todd was one of the many Ameriasian children who were airlifted out of Vietnam through Operation Babylift in April 1975. He arrived at the Seeleys in May 1975 after another family rejected him due to his “emotional problems.” According to one of his sisters, Todd one day jumped into a bush when a helicopter flew over their house. The Seeleys say that Todd doesn’t talk about Vietnam but he remembers it. Todd’s story is only one of the many stories coming out of Operation Babylift.⁵⁰

Operation Babylift itself was a product of what historian George Herring calls, “America’s longest war,” the Vietnam War (1949-1950).⁵¹ After World War II, Japan’s economy was suffering terribly and needed a way to recover. U.S. involvement in Vietnam began with their interest in Indochina as a region rich

in raw materials such as tin, oil, rice, rubber, and markets. Japan tried to conquer that region between 1931 and 1945 and U.S. officials feared that Japan would turn to the Communists for help if the region was not available to them. At that time, France controlled Indochina, which was put in danger, due to nationalists’ efforts, like that of Ho Chi Minh, who requested help from the United States in securing Vietnamese independence eight times, but never got a response. Instead, the country that was supposed to make the world safe for democracy backed their Western allies, the French. The United States needed France as an ally to build the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to rebuild Germany. Between 1950 and 1954, four billion in aid was given to France by the United States while Ho was labeled a Communist.⁵²

On May 7, 1954, the French were defeated at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. Peace negotiations were settled upon at the Geneva Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland. Two agreements were made under the Geneva accords. In the first agreement, both sides agreed to a cease-fire and Vietnam was temporarily divided along the 17th parallel. The French forces moved south of the line while the Vietminh (the forces fighting under Ho Chi Minh) moved to the north. The second agreement said that neither North nor South Vietnam could “join a military alliance or allow foreign bases.”⁵³ To reunite Vietnam, general elections would be held in 1956 and the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia were to be neutral.⁵⁴

However, the U.S. was not satisfied with the Geneva Accords or Vietnamese independence. In addition to not signing the Accords, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles installed their own political presence in South Vietnam. The Geneva Agreements stipulated that elections held in Vietnam in 1956 were to reunite Vietnam. However, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, “...to block the election of Ho Chi Minh and the reunification of Vietnam, sabotaged the 1956 elections mandated by the Geneva agreements.”⁵⁵ Instead, in 1955, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam

49 Marlene Cimons, “Life With A Large Family: The Seeleys’ 10 Children,” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 30, 1976, accessed February 12, 2014.

50 Cimons, “Life With A Large Family...”

51 Walter Lafeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), 630.

52 Ibid., 493-494.

53 Ibid., 523.

54 Ibid., 522 and 523.

55 Bernardine Dohrn, “Of Defeat and Victory,” *New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1975, accessed November 1, 2013.

was created with tons of U.S. military, political, and financial aid. Ngo Dinh Diem, an anti-Communist and Roman Catholic was elected the following year as President of the GVN.⁵⁶ In addition, Eisenhower created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization or SEATO in September 1954. SEATO included the United States, Britain, France, New Zealand, and the Asian countries of the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. Members of SEATO agreed that “in case of an armed attack against a Southeast Asia state or territory, it would respond ‘in accordance with its constitutional processes.’”⁵⁷ In other words, SEATO was created by Eisenhower as a way to justify “unilateral” U.S. involvement in Vietnam.⁵⁸

However in 1961, after \$1 billion in U.S. aid and 658 U.S. advisors sent to Vietnam, Diem’s government could only be described as failing. President Kennedy tried to improve the situation in South Vietnam by gaining control of Laos, which was supposed to be neutral. It also contained the Ho Chi Minh Trail, used by the Vietcong or Communist forces to send both people and supplies from the north to the south.⁵⁹ Despite his efforts in Laos, by the end of Kennedy’s presidency, Diem controlled only 40% of South Vietnam. Ho and his forces, the National Liberation Front or Vietcong “began organizing revolts against Diem.”⁶⁰ Kennedy sent in his special forces or the “Green Berets” to fight the revolutionaries and 500 additional advisors to help the failing government. This broke the 1954 Geneva agreement, which stated that no more than 658 advisors could be sent to South Vietnam. On November 1, 1963, South Vietnamese generals overthrew Diem’s government. They captured and killed Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu with seemingly no resistance from the United States. That is not surprising, for at this time there were already 10,000 troops in Vietnam which did nothing to stop the riots, protests, and voluntary self-immolation of Buddhist monks.⁶¹

After the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson now took on the responsibility

56 Lafeber, *The American Age*, 523 and Robert K. Brigham, “Battlefield Vietnam: A Brief History,” PBS, <http://www.pbs.org/battlefieldvietnam/history/>, accessed April 8, 2014.

57 Lafeber, *The American Age*, 523-524.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., 525 and 561.

60 Ibid., 562.

61 Ibid., 562-563 and 563-565.

of handling the conflict in Vietnam. In his desire to act rapidly, Johnson ordered airstrikes against North Vietnam in 1965. He also dispatched two U.S. Marine combat units and put forth a 1 billion dollar aid program. However at the same time Johnson was increasing U.S. commitment to Vietnam, the discontent and displeasure with the war was also growing at home. At the end of 1965, there were 160,000 troops in Vietnam yet the South Vietnamese government was still unstable under the new President Nguyen Van Thieu. College students were protesting at rallies and “teach-ins.” The violence of the war and its destructiveness was also mentioned in negative terms. For example, “After the village of Ben Tre was burned, a U.S. officer declared, ‘It became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it.’”⁶² Even leaders such as George Kennan and General Matthew Ridgway (of the Korean war) seriously began to doubt whether the viability of the war.⁶³ The turn of the war occurred on January 1968 during the Lunar New Year or Tet Offensive. It was expected that during this time no major fighting would occur due to the celebration of the New Year. However, the Communists took the opportunity to launch a massive offensive. Though both sides suffered massive losses, Ho’s troops were repelled two times. General Westmoreland claimed this as a massive victory but “news...leaked that he had asked the president for 206,000 more U.S. troops.”⁶⁴

When Nixon became president, he decided to withdraw from Vietnam through Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine (1969). Through Vietnamization, U.S. forces slowly withdrew and were replaced by “well-supplied Vietnamese.”⁶⁵ The Nixon Doctrine stated that, “in the future the United States would aid allies but would be the only nation to defend militarily and financially all the other nations of the world.”⁶⁶ In other words, the United States wanted to prevent another Vietnam. While stating his intent to withdraw, Nixon also began a massive bombing campaign in Vietnam that lasted from 1969-1973. Attempts at peace negotiations failed in 1972 but an agreement was finally reached between Kissinger and the North Vietnamese representative Le Duc Tho in

62 Ibid., 583.

63 Ibid., 578-583.

64 Ibid., 584-585.

65 Ibid., 605.

66 Ibid.

1973. The agreement stipulated a ceasefire on both sides, the withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces in sixty days, and the Communist withdrawal from Laos and Cambodia. All U.S. prisoners were also to be released and the U.S. was to recognize the unity and independence of Vietnam. Thieu's government was also to remain in power until an election where the Communists could participate as well.⁶⁷

By March 1974, all U.S. combat troops had left Vietnam. In total 58,015 Americans died and 150,300 were wounded. The Vietnamese suffered massive losses with 2 million dead and 4 million wounded. Within a year after U.S. troops had left, the South Vietnamese government fell on April 30, 1975.⁶⁸ North Vietnamese troops attacked Ban Me Thuot in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese had not bothered to defend the town even though it lay near the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a very important "network of supply lines that the North Vietnamese had built over the past three decades."⁶⁹ This provided a secret route through which about thirty thousand North Vietnamese troops entered the South defended by just a measly four thousand South Vietnamese soldiers. In two days Saigon fell, and with it, the sanity and order of its citizens. The South Vietnamese president, Nguyen Van Thieu, withdrew all his troops from the north in an effort to consolidate them for a last ditch effort. However, many Vietnamese read this as a sign of defeat and fled in large numbers, soldiers and civilians alike.⁷⁰

Freddy Nguyen, an Ameriasian who eventually settled in the U.S., remembers waking up to people shouting, "The Communists are coming! The Communists are coming!" He remembers running to the river where rumors of U.S. ships were heard to have been.⁷¹ He and his family were only a few of the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing at this time. Refugees desperate to escape tried to board U.S. helicopters leaving from the U.S. Embassy while many others tried to escape aboard Vietnamese

67 Ibid., 606 and 630-633.

68 Ibid., 633-634.

69 Dana Sachs, *The Life We Were Given: Operation Babylift, International Adoption and the Children of War in Vietnam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 4.

70 Sachs, *The Life We*, 3-4.

71 Joanna Scott, *Indochina's Refugees: Oral Histories from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 1989), 23.

and U.S. Navy ships with as many as 30,000 people total.⁷² Within a few days "Highway 7, a narrow, barely usable mountain pass, had filled with half a million people surging towards the coast."⁷³ Like many people, Freddy and his family took everything. He describes the chaos surrounding his escape, with people everywhere, on top of each other and ships so tightly packed that there was no room to move. Ships stank of human waste and dead people lined the streets.⁷⁴ Ironically what many Vietnamese were worried about was not the reality that surrounded them in the streets, but the fate of their children.

Vietnamese mothers and foreigners feared for the safety of Ameriasians because rumors were circulating that threatened their safety. During the war, relationships between American servicemen and local Vietnamese women often led to children.⁷⁵ These children were called Ameriasians or con lai.⁷⁶ According to some, the "Communists [especially] hated the con lai and they would kill these children when they took over the country."⁷⁷ There were also rumors that "whoever had a mixed-race child would have their stomach opened up and their eyes and heart taken out."⁷⁸ Adding to these rumors were even more horrific stories coming out of Vietnam. One such story noted that mixed race girls were being raped and killed because they were not a hundred percent Vietnamese.⁷⁹ Ameri-asians were supposedly harshly discriminated against because "the dark-skinned, stocky kid, the blonde child, the girl with the Afro, [or] the boy with blue eyes," often served as ugly reminders of the American involvement in a war that would have rather been forgotten.⁸⁰ In addition to an Ameriasian's conspicuous appearance and the threats received against them, most of these children were

72 Edward Marolda, By Sea, Air and Land, Department of the Navy-Navy Historical Center, <http://www.history.navy.mil/seairland/index.html>, accessed October 22, 2013.

73 Sachs, *The Life We*, 4.

74 Scott, *Indochina's Refugees*, 24.

75 James Dao, "Vietnam Legacy: Finding G.I. Fathers, and Children Left Behind," *New York Times*, Sept. 15, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/16/us/vietnam-legacy-finding-gi-fathers-and-children-left-behind.html?_r=1&t, accessed March 15, 2014.

76 Sachs, *The Life We*, 12.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 214.

79 Ibid., 61.

80 Ibid., 12 and Dao "Vietnam Legacy..."

also left without fathers. Many of the American servicemen who had fathered these children had left or were leaving at the end of the Vietnam War.⁸¹

While the danger Amerians faced by staying in Vietnam was used to justify Operation Babylift, only 20 percent of the Babylift children were racially mixed.⁸² In the Christian Science Monitor Catholic Archbishop of Saigon, Nguyen Van Binh explained, “Instead of sending these orphans overseas, the foreign governments and benefactors should aid these poor children in their own country.”⁸³ In her book Dana Sachs shows that while staying in Vietnam as an Ameriasian was dangerous, it did not guarantee death or poverty. Phung is an Ameriasian whose mother had decided to keep him in Vietnam. People had tried to persuade her to send Phung away but she refused. However, she felt fearful for her son because she had heard the rumors and burned any records that showed evidence that Phung’s father was an American soldier. Phung’s family was poor but he married into a financially stable family. Him and his wife are currently trying to emigrate to the U.S. under the Ameriasian Act that accepts Ameriasians of the Vietnam War.⁸⁴

In comparison, Thuy was an Ameriasian woman who stayed in Vietnam. Her mother sent her to relatives in Danang to care for her but no one did. She could not remember who took care of her until the age of eight. At that age, Thuy took care of herself working as a maid in several households. She had very negative memories of her childhood and stated that she was not on the Babylift because “no one cared enough to sign her up.” Her husband was a man whom no one wanted to marry because he was deaf and mute, so Thuy did so in the hopes of starting a family. They eventually had three children but lived in poverty as scavengers, picking up bottles and trash for resale. Thuy and her family were also trying to immigrate to the United States in the hopes of a better life.⁸⁵ It is difficult to say if staying in Vietnam

81 Sachs, *The Life We*, 65.

82 Ibid.

83 Daniel Southerland, “Orphans Airlift Stirs Protest in South Vietnam,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 23, 1975, accessed November 12, 2013.

84 Sachs, *The Life We*, 214-215 and Department of Homeland and Security, “Definition of Terms,” <https://www.dhs.gov/definition-terms#0>, accessed April 29, 2014.

85 Sachs, *The Life We*, 215.

would have benefited the majority of Ameriasians or orphans of the Babylift. However, it is clear that the mothers of these children had a very difficult choice to make.

Ameriasians were not the only children who faced danger by staying in Vietnam. By 1975, South Vietnam was home to a total of 134 orphanages that cared for approximately twenty thousand children.⁸⁶ Most children ended up in orphanages through unexpected ways. For example, parents sometimes left an unwanted child near the front gate of an orphanage or a “vendor from the market might bring a child she’d found left among the stalls that morning.”⁸⁷ Children who were often orphaned by war were also often cared for in these facilities. However, there were some major differences between local orphanages and foreign run orphanages in Vietnam. Vietnamese orphanages were known to be very small facilities in very rural areas that often had too many children to care for with too little resources. These places were often run by a variety of different organizations from local charitable groups, Buddhist communities or the Vietnamese government. These different groups also had different beliefs when it came to raising children. For example, the Buddhists believed in raising the children in Vietnam while the Catholic-run orphanages believed that “the best hope for their children lay in overseas adoption.”⁸⁸ As stated by Judith Coburn, a journalist who visited Go Vap Orphanage, the largest orphanage in Saigon, regardless of ideology, these orphanages were too overcrowded and understaffed to take care of such a large amount of children.⁸⁹

In comparison, foreign-run orphanages had more resources because they often received financial support from overseas. The Allambie nursery divided its children into groups of six or eight where each group “has its own room and the same childcare workers assigned. The night-duty ‘mother’ [slept] in the room with the children.” Compared to local orphanages, the death rates in these facilities were much lower.⁹⁰ Ironically the two main adoption agencies behind Operation Babylift were Friends For All Children (FFAC), and Friends of the Children of Vietnam

86 Ibid., 5-6.

87 Ibid., 6.

88 Ibid., 7.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

(FCVN), two foreign run orphanages.⁹¹ Both agencies were very similar; Both were based in Colorado, dependent on donations and volunteers and received their orphans from Catholic-run orphanages.⁹² However, the two main figures behind each of the orphanages were unrelated in many ways.

Rosemary Taylor, the in-country director of Friends For All Children (FFAC) located in Saigon, had a long history of working in Vietnam.⁹³ Taylor, an Australian woman, came to Vietnam in 1967 where she lived for eight years in Phu My, a shelter for the poor in Saigon as an educational social worker.⁹⁴ It was here that she began working with abandoned children, helping them to find new homes and adoptive families. In 1968 she began organizing international adoptions, sending a total of a hundred and fifty children abroad. In 1972 Taylor was already considered an authority on adoption policy for U.S. officials in addition to the facilitator of over a thousand overseas adoptions.⁹⁵ Taylor eventually joined Friends of the Children of Vietnam in the summer of 1973.⁹⁶ However, differences within the organization resulted in its division into Friends of the Children of Vietnam (FCVN) and Friends For All Children (FFAC). The former concentrated more on services provided to children in Vietnam while the latter focused on international adoption.⁹⁷ By 1975 Taylor was running four nurseries collectively sponsored by FFAC in Saigon.⁹⁸

Both Taylor and Cherie Clark, the Saigon director of FCVN, had no prior training in international adoption before arriving in Vietnam.⁹⁹ However, unlike Taylor, Clark had only arrived in Saigon eleven months before Operation Babylift. Clark's staff was also very small and consisted of a few American volunteers and Vietnamese staff.¹⁰⁰ Taylor's departure had left FCVN in disarray but it still managed to survive. By April 1975 FCVN was in charge of two facilities—one located in the South Vietnamese capital

91 Ibid., 5 and 9.

92 Ibid., 34.

93 Ibid., 5.

94 Ibid., 5 and 35.

95 Ibid., 35.

96 Ibid., 38.

97 Ibid., 39.

98 Ibid., 5.

99 Ibid., 10-11.

100 Ibid., 41-42.

and one that "housed older children in Thu Duc, on the outskirts of the town."¹⁰¹ FCVN also ran a foster care system that placed children with local families before they were adopted overseas.¹⁰² Both Clark and Taylor, like the mothers of Amerasian children, had the difficult decision of trying to care for the children in the post-war atmosphere of Vietnam or in their changes abroad.

On April 4, 1975 at 4:15 pm, the first 243 orphans left Tan Son Nhut airport aboard a U.S. Air Force C-5A Galaxy plane, in addition to 44 volunteer escorts and 18 crewmen who would eventually land in Oakland International Airport in California.¹⁰³ The orphans that were aboard this flight were Rosemary Taylor's and belonged to FFAC. However, the majority of orphans would not live to see their new adoptive families. As the plane was lifting off from the Saigon airport, "the back-loading door of the Galaxy ripped open at 23,000 feet...and the captain, probably hampered by control problems, failed...to nurse it back to safety."¹⁰⁴ At about 5 pm the plane itself crashed a mile and a half away in a swamp where, depending on various reports, at least 178 children and adults perished.¹⁰⁵

Despite the tragedy, the humanitarian effort resumed immediately within twenty-four hours. Three hundred and twenty four orphans from FFAC, including those who survived the crash, boarded onto a PanAm flight headed to America.¹⁰⁶ President Ford himself, who strongly supported the Babylift was said to have been "deeply saddened by the crash, [but] said 'Our mission of mercy will continue...This tragedy must not deter us but offer new hope for the living.'"¹⁰⁷ In fact, Ford himself was at the San Francisco International Airport on Saturday April 5 at about 10 p.m. to welcome the orphans on the Pan Am flight.¹⁰⁸ News

101 Ibid., 42.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid., 49, 57 and 73, "'Operation Babylift' Will Continue Despite Tragedy," *The Irish Times*, Apr. 5, 1975, accessed November 11, 2013 and "Ford Vows To Continue Operation Babylift: Survivors Sought at Crash Scene Near Saigon," *Los Angeles Times*, Apr. 4, 1975, accessed November 11, 2013.

104 "'Operation Babylift' Will Continue..."

105 Sachs, *The Life We*, 75, "'Operation Babylift' Will Continue..." and "Ford Vows To Continue..."

106 Sachs, *The Life We*, 90.

107 "Ford Vows To Continue..."

108 Sachs, *The Life We*, 94.

cameras took pictures of Ford carrying a baby from the plane and some accounts state that he “looked close to tears.” (96dana) The children were received for medical treatment at the Presidio while the more critically ill children were placed in ambulances.¹⁰⁹

The United States wasn’t the only country that airlifted orphans out of Vietnam after the fall of Saigon. In the previous day before the Galaxy crash, the Australian Air Force had evacuated “87 South Vietnamese orphans to Bangkok...and at least 120 more were expected last night.”¹¹⁰ After hearing Ford’s announcement that he would provide two million dollars and transportation for Operation Babylift, Canada “offered to cover the cost of transportation for the rest of the adoptees destined for Canada,” and Ontario even announced an airlift for 500 orphans.¹¹¹ In total, between two thousand and three thousand orphans were airlifted out of Vietnam as a result of Operation Babylift to the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and a few other European countries.¹¹²

The hasty evacuation of such a large amount of children resulted in many issues, especially with documentation. Many of the children at the orphanages had arrived without any birth information with them. To solve this problem, orphan workers assigned “nursery names” or made up names to the children such as Elizabeth, Roy, or Caesar Chavez. When they ran out of normal names, these children were assigned historical or unique names like Aristotle, Julius Caesar or even Nguoc-Mam, which in Vietnamese means “fish sauce.”¹¹³ Attempts to correctly document information about the children were done in a hasty and inefficient manner. Halfway through a Pan-Am flight to the United States containing about 324 orphans,

“a Red Cross nurse began...trying to fill out a U.S. immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) I-94 form for each child, which would enable them to enter the country without visas or passports.”¹¹⁴ Many of these I-94 forms were later found to be incorrect.¹¹⁵ Inaccurate paperwork and information were not the only errors made by those running Operation Babylift. The discovery that many of the children were not orphans was made soon after the children started arriving in the United States.

The first case coming out of Operation Babylift was *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger* (1975), a class-action lawsuit that sought investigation into the status of each individual child and the return of any non-orphans to their biological parents. The plaintiffs of the case—Nguyen Da Yen, Nguyen Da Vuong and Nguyen Da Tuyen—were three siblings who had complained to a Vietnamese nurse, Muoi McConnell that “they wanted to go home.” In the final days of the war they had been separated from their parents due to the ongoing chaos and had ended up in an orphanage where they were eventually flown to the United States.¹¹⁶ Judge William Spencer in *Yen v. Kissinger* had initially decided in favor of the plaintiffs and ordered an investigation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) into the status of the Babylift children by checking files, conducting interviews and by developing a plan to reunite any non-orphans with their parents.¹¹⁷ The results of the INS indicated that of the 1,830 children investigated, 274 were found not eligible for adoption. However, despite this momentary success, in February 1976 Judge Spencer threw the case out on the grounds that it could not be argued as a class-action lawsuit. Spencer said that the problem was in managing an investigation of over two thousand children and instead advised litigants to file cases on an individual basis. As for the three children involved, the International Red Cross tried but failed to contact their parents, making them eligible for adoption.¹¹⁸

109 Ibid., 95 and 99.

110 “‘Operation Babylift’ Will Continue...”

111 Veronica Strong-Boag and Rupa Bagga. 2009. “Saving, Kidnapping, or Something of Both? Canada and the Vietnam/Cambodia Babylift, Spring 1975.” *American Review Of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 3 *America: History & Life*, EBSCO-host (accessed March 27, 2014), 276 and Tarah Brookfield, “Maverick Mothers and Mercy Flights: Canada’s Controversial Introduction to International Adoption.” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19 no. 1 (accessed March 27, 2014), 323-324.

112 Sachs, *The Life We*, vii. and Strong-Boag , “Saving, Kidnapping, 271).

113 Ibid., 62-63.

114 Ibid., 92.

115 Ibid., 93.

116 Ibid., 190-191 and *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger*, 528 F. 2d 1194 (9th Circ. 1975).

117 Center For Constitutional Rights, “*Nguyen Da Yen, et al. v. Kissinger*,” <https://ccrjustice.org/ourcases/past-cases/nguyen-da-yen,-et-al.-v.-kissinger> (accessed January 20, 2014).

118 Sachs, *The Life We*, 208-209.

From its beginning, international adoption advocates sought to bypass the standardized procedures that those wishing to adopt domestically had to follow. One example was adoption “finalized by proxy,” where an adoption could be completed without the child ever having met the parent. Adoption by proxy was eventually prohibited through legislation in 1957.¹¹⁹ By the time the first Babylift case, *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger* (1975) was being contested in the courts, there did exist a semblance of an international law that addressed the issue of adoption and the custody of alien children called the Hague Convention. Despite the existence of the Hague Convention, there was not an international body of law in place that specifically outlined the procedures to follow and the specific issues unique to international adoption. As a result, many problems that arose in the Babylift cases were relegated to state law and U.S. legal statutes that were unfit to deal with these problems. However, the international agreements that came into existence during and after the 1980s show how Operation Babylift compelled lawmakers to reevaluate and draft new legislation that partially addressed the issues surrounding international adoption.

Vietnamese refugees in the Babylift cases could not use existing international legislation because they were incompatible with the U.S. legal system. In *Anh v. Levi* (1977) and (1978), the plaintiffs referred to many different international treaties like the Hague Convention (1971), the Geneva Convention (1949), the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1967), and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) to address issues of choice of law, parental rights, and child custody in general.¹²⁰ The Hague Convention (1971), was a modification of the 1902 Hague Convention which states that “a child’s status is governed by the law of its nationality or its parents’ nationality,” adding that the law of the child’s “habitual residence” be taken into account as well.¹²¹ There were two problems with the application of the Hague Convention to Anh’s case, the first being that the United States had not ratified either Convention¹²² because it conflicted with U.S. legal principles. For example, U.S. law states that in cases concerning adoption, state law is applied and that “Anglo-Ameri-

can law...disfavors choice-of-law principles based on nationality.”¹²³ Because of their inability to apply the Hague Convention to the case, the court also disqualified the use of Vietnamese law to a case involving a Vietnamese plaintiff and child. The same theory applied to Article 24 and 49 of the Geneva Convention (1949), which states that “education of children separated from parents by war should be entrusted to ‘persons of a similar cultural tradition,’ which could not be used either, because neither the Geneva Convention nor the UN Declaration of Human Rights was ratified in the United States at the time.¹²⁴

Even if the documents had been ratified by the United States, the language of these documents was criticized for being too “ambiguous,” “general,” or not clear enough to “...answer the custody question.”¹²⁵ However, one could argue that the problem lay less in the language of the document than in its expressed purpose. The legislation that was used by plaintiffs was meant to apply to children separated by war and not to children who might be eligible for international adoption. For example, Article 24 of the Geneva Convention states that,

The Parties to the conflict shall ensure that children under fifteen, who are orphaned or are separated from their families as a result of the war, are not left to their own resources, and that their maintenance...and their education are facilitated in all circumstances.¹²⁶

What is meant by “not left to their own resources?” When children of the Babylift were orphaned or separated as a result of war, parents in the United States adopted them. That was one way in which the children were not left to their own resources and that their education was fulfilled. However, this guideline could also have been fulfilled by the return of the orphan to their natural parents. Therefore, even if the Geneva Convention or the other laws had been rati-

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid. and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (Fourth Geneva Convention), 12 August 1949, 75 UNTS 287, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36d2.html> [accessed 28 March 2014] and *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978).

125 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

126 Red Cross, Geneva Convention Relative To The...

119 Lovelock, “Intercountry Adoption...,” 913.

120 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

fied in the United States, their language renders them useless in these cases.

Rather than entirely depending on the criteria of the child's "best interests," the international context from which Operation Babylift originated also compelled U.S. courts to also consider aspects of Vietnamese law and tradition that they would have otherwise ignored. The court opinion of *Anh v. Levi* stated that there was evidence that in 1972, South Vietnam adopted a law that gave relatives (for example grandparents) the same rights as that of a parent in the United States.¹²⁷ The other court cases similarly referenced Vietnamese law and its relation to the case at hand. For example in *Hao Thi Popp v. Lucas* (1980), the trial court found that the agreement signed by Popp was not revocable under Vietnamese law.¹²⁸ To make such a claim, the court would have had to know what the law was in Vietnam at the time. Article 250 of the Civil Code of the Republic of Vietnam was also brought up in *Yen v. Kissinger* that questioned the validity of Vietnamese release forms.¹²⁹ The United States Court of Appeals, in its assessment of the *Yen v. Kissinger* case, considered plaintiffs' assertions that some children "were merely left in orphanages for safekeeping [and that] Vietnamese orphanages allegedly serve some of the functions of day care centers." They also stated "the Vietnamese do not understand the Western concept of being an orphan"¹³⁰ and other possible instances of misunderstanding where children "were allegedly released with the understanding that the parents would be reunited with the child."¹³¹

Despite the fact that Vietnamese law and tradition were introduced into these proceedings, the impact they made was minute at best. As stated before, the U.S. legal system disfavors choice of law based on a child's nationality, such that any consideration of different legal standards or cultural traditions remain merely a consideration.¹³² The *Anh v. Levi* court

127 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

128 *Hao Thi Popp v. Lucas*, 182 Conn. 545 (S.C. 1980).

129 *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger*, 528 F. 2d 1194 (9th Circ. 1975)

130 Ibid. and Center For Constitutional Rights, "*Nguyen Da Yen, et al. v. Kissinger*," <https://ccrjustice.org/ourcases/past-cases/nguyen-da-yen,-et-al.-v.-kissinger> (accessed January 20, 2014).

131 *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger*, 528 F. 2d 1194 (9th Circ. 1975)

132 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

opinion of 1978 stated that even if the law of nationality was considered, the court was "uncertain what the law of the Republic of South Vietnam is or was at the time of its conquest by the North."¹³³ In addition to their ignorance of Vietnamese law, they are also unsure about the existence of the extended family as either a temporary measure or something deeply embedded within Vietnamese tradition¹³⁴(5anh2). In the 1977 court opinion of *Anh v. Levi*, it was stated that Vietnamese tradition placed special importance on the children of a mother's first-born son, in this case, the four grandchildren involved. However, the Court acknowledged that some defendants may take this statement as "more argumentative than factual."¹³⁵ In the *Yen v. Kissinger* case, the impact of Vietnamese releases on child custody will "...ultimately be for the court to determine."¹³⁶ Rather than leading to a further investigation to either confirm or deny such claims, they ended up not being used at all.

In dealing with domestic issues such as adoption, the United States generally refer to the states involved. As was mentioned earlier, every state has different laws that apply to adoption and child custody. In cases of domestic adoption, the parties involved were most likely long time residents of that state and justly subject to the laws of that state. However, in cases of international adoption, particularly cases involving children from Operation Babylift, the plaintiffs are those who were subject to the laws of Vietnam and not the United States. Why should they be subject to the laws of a foreign country of which they are not even residents? What is even more problematic is the fact that the outcome of a case was dependent on the state the case was brought up in. Instead of subjecting such individuals to laws under which they have no knowledge of, international legislation that applies to all such cases involving parties of different countries should apply and therefore simplify an unnecessarily complex and controversial issue.

In *Popp v. Lucas*, Hao Thi Popp signed a relinquishment document on April 15, 1975 that effectively terminated her parental rights. The English transla-

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 427 F. Supp. 1281 (S.D. Mich. 1977).

136 *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger*, 528t F. 2d 1194 (9th Circ. 1975).

tion of the document clearly states that “I, the undersigned...relinquish all my parental rights and custody of the said child to Friends For All Children, Saigon...I hereby waive any rights which I now have as a mother to the child.”¹³⁷ Ms. Popp, described as an “English-speaking Catholic,” most likely understood most of the document.¹³⁸ This does not justify the external circumstances that could have compelled her to sign the document nor does it hint at the extent that she understood it. However, under Connecticut law, this document was deemed invalid because “the termination of parental rights cannot be effected through private contractual agreements.”¹³⁹ Ms. Popp was fortunate to have that benefit of Connecticut law, but it does not discount that problems with translation or documentation could have been prevented with a consistent and uniform method of practicing international adoption.

The case of Doan Thi Hoang Anh versus adoptive parents Johnny and Bonnie Nelson is another example of the problem with deciding custody in state courts. Doan Thi Hoang Anh, the mother of seven children, appealed to the Iowa District Court to regain custody of her son Binh. In March 1976, the court found in her favor but the child’s adoptive parents, Johnny and Bonnie Nelson, refused to give the child back. They appealed all the way to the Iowa Supreme Court, who six months later affirmed the district court’s decision. The court’s decision was based on an earlier court’s definition of “abandonment.” The definition of abandonment was defined as “both the intention to abandon and the external act by which the intention is carried into effect.” The court found that even though Hoang Anh had given her children to the Friends of the Children of Vietnam (FCVN), this does not indicate that she abandoned them. Instead, her search for them after she reached the United States indicates the exact opposite. In all, it took 18 months for Hoang Anh to regain custody of her son.¹⁴⁰

Duong Bich Van v. Dempsey (1976) and *Le Thi Sang v. Levi* (1977) were cases that resulted in a favorable rul-

ing for the biological mother. Like the other Babylift cases, both Van and Sang were advised to appeal their cases to state courts. In both cases the judges decided to use the “best interests” of the child as the criteria for deciding child custody. Both Judge Richard Kuhn of the Sixth Judicial Circuit Court and Judge Dozier of the Superior Court of California ruled in favor of Vietnamese plaintiffs because they found that the best interests of the child were with the biological mother. In domestic adoption, the “best interests” of a child were commonly used as criteria to determine child custody. It is assumed that what is best for a child is something that can be universally agreed upon. However, the judges of these cases employed different methods to determine whether the best interests of the children would lie with their biological or adoptive parents. This is problematic because what a judge decides is in the best interest of a child can be subjective and can change depending on what method the judge chooses to employ. Such variability further provides support for a need to have an international piece of legislation that specifically outlines what methods can be used to determine a child’s best interests, such as a background check of parents or a home study.

In the closing days of the Vietnam War, Ms. Van had heard rumors that the Communists would kill English-speaking Catholics. Ms. Van, an English-speaking Catholic, was afraid, not only for herself but for her child, Duong Quoc Tuan. She had a visa, but her son did not, so Ms. Van was faced with a dilemma. Either she could place Tuan in an orphanage, knowing that he would be evacuated in the Babylift and risk being separated from him or she could risk both their lives trying to escape on the U.S. evacuation ships.¹⁴¹ What she was trying to make clear in court was that she never intended for him to be adopted and she never signed a release. Three affidavits were produced, one unsigned, to get Tuan out of Vietnam but they were not eligible releases for adoption. The Friends of the Children of Vietnam (FCVN), a Denver-based adoption agency, placed Tuan in an adoptive home with Mr. and Mrs. Pederson. Meanwhile Ms. Van, under the sponsorship of the Catholic Social Services, made it to the United States where she began searching for her son, in places like San Francisco, California; Green Bay, Wisconsin; and

¹³⁷ *Hao Thi Popp v. Lucas*, 182 Conn. 545 (S.C. 1980).

¹³⁸ Maryann George, “Vietnamese Relatives Fight For Custody of ‘Orphans,’” *Ann Arbor Sun*, July 1, 1976, accessed March 1, 2014.

¹³⁹ *Hao Thi Popp v. Lucas*, 182 Conn. 545 (S.C. 1980).

¹⁴⁰ Sachs, *The Life We*, 203-204.

¹⁴¹ “Vietnamese Relatives Fight...”

Denver, Colorado. FCVN told Ms. Van that they did not know where her child was but nevertheless pressured her to sign a release for his adoption. She finally found Tuan at the Pedersons and proceeded to file a suit to regain custody in the Oakland County Circuit Court. At this time, the Tuan's would-be adoptive parents were already in the process of filing for adoption in the Oakland Count Probate Court. The first showcase hearing to decide if Ms. Van's case should take precedence over the Pederson's adoption proceedings in the probate courts took place on June 15, 1975.¹⁴²

The court did find in favor of Ms. Van and trial proceedings began on June 21, 1975. In *Duong Bich Van v. Dempsey*, Judge Richard D. Kuhn of the Sixth Judicial Circuit Court in Oakland County specifically concentrated on the question of the child's best interest. Lawyers for both the plaintiff and the defendant made similar arguments about the child's best interest, either for or against the biological mother. Henry Baskin of the American Civil Liberties Union and lawyer for the Ms. Van argued that even though the Pedersons did not know of Tuan's true identity or Ms. Van until recently, why did they continue to go on with the adoption if they knew of her desire to regain her son? In a sense he was saying a child's best interest is with their natural parent, especially if the parent did not abandon the child. James Elsman, a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in Michigan, on the other hand, argued that relocation now would be psychologically damaging for Tuan, or Matthew, as he would be renamed. Elsman said, "Why, after he has found love and affection, should they press the issue of relocation?"¹⁴³ Not only did Tuan have bad memories of Vietnam, but he also "spit at pictures of his mother."¹⁴⁴ Elsman was suggesting that Tuan himself would rather stay with his adoptive parents instead of his biological mother.

Ironically, Elsman's advice to the Pedersons was what cost them the case. Even though they had no release, the Pedersons were advised to keep arguing and delaying in the hopes that doing so would complicate the case. The case was not decided until a year later in June 1976, with custody being awarded to Ms. Van. Judge Kuhn asked, "Who really was concerned with

the child in question in this case?" He wrote that if the Pedersons were really concerned with the best interests of the child they have "brought the case to the court for a quick decision instead of 'stonewalling.'"¹⁴⁵

In comparison *Le Thi Sang v. Levi* and the best interests of the child was determined in only a matter of months. Le Thi Sang had worked for her son's would be adoptive parents, William and Elizabeth Knight in Vietnam. Tuan Anh or "Dean" as the Knights called him, was Ameriasian. Rumors were circulating in Vietnam that the Communists especially hated Ameriasians and would kill them when they took over the country. Sang, like many other mothers, feared for her child, so she handed him over to the Knights who she believed could save him. However, the Knights believed that Sang had given her son to them for adoption. Both Sang and Tuan Anh got to the United States at around the same time and Sang immediately located the Knights and asked for her son back. However, the adoptive parents and the boy refused.¹⁴⁶

Sang's first attempt to regain custody of her child was in *Le Thi Sang v. Levi* (1977) in the United States District Court of California. With the assistance of Thomas R. Miller and Neil Gotanda, lawyers of the California Rural Legal Assistance of Oakland, California, Sang filed a petition for writ of habeas corpus. The plaintiff "seeks to have the defendants deliver custody of the minor child Le Tuan Anh from their custody to the custody of the plaintiff."¹⁴⁷ The fact that Anh was born to Sang and her husband, an American soldier, raised questions about his Ameriasian status. The Court found that the child, "may or may not be an alien subject to the jurisdiction of the Immigration and Naturalization service (INS)" and may be an American citizen.¹⁴⁸

The court found that the child was in the territorial jurisdiction of the court and subject to the court's ruling. However, the federal court stated that they, "do not exercise jurisdiction in child custody contests" because domestic issues are reserved to the state courts.¹⁴⁹ Issues of state law and jurisdiction were also applied to this case. The court did find that

145 Sachs, *The Life We*, 201-202.

146 *Le Thi Sang v. Levi*, 426 F. Supp. 971 (E.D. Calif. 1977)

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

Anh's custody was consistent with state law acceptable to the INS and recommended that they bring the case to the Superior Court of the State of California for the County of San Joaquin, the county of the child's current residence.¹⁵⁰ In *Le Thi Sang v. William Knight and Elizabeth Knight* (1977), Judge Bill Dozier of the Superior Court of California devised a creative way of determining the best interests of the eight-year old Tuan Anh. He sent him to live with his biological mother in Ohio for three months. Dozier would award Sang custody if she could prove in that time that her son was better off with her. The court opinion stated:

The first six weeks of the visit were a shambles. Tuan Anh talked to his mother only through his aunt, informed her that he hated her, and kicked the walk [sic] or threw tantrums whenever his mother thwarted his wishes. The mother was faced with the formidable task of reestablishing her mother-son relationship with the boy and also setting the limits to his behavior despite repeated threats to "tell the judge" or run away to the Knights.

In this guerilla war, the mother LOST 14 pounds in the first two months. Significant as an insight into Tuan Anh is the fact that he GAINED six. Though some magic elixir of patience, resilience, and mother love, plus an inner need in the 8-year-old boy not therefore perceptible, the mother won the battle. He began to communicate with his mother, call her "Mom," and appreciate how hard she was working, how tired she was, and how much she loved him.¹⁵¹

Though things worked out for Ms. Sang, the three-month period that the judge allotted her might not have been adequate to prove that the boy's interest would be with his mother. Dozier described the boy as "handsome and likeable but clever, materialistic, self-willed, and...a management problem to any parent." If he had not shown affection to his mother, it would speak more to his personality, which, "has a flattened capacity for affection," rather than to Sang's

ability as a mother.¹⁵² The case might have turned out differently because the term "best interests" can be a matter of subjectivity as much as it attempts to be a term of objectivity.

The United States legal system made it difficult not only to contest custody state to state but also in applying jurisdiction over a large class of individuals. Operation Babylift consisted of almost three thousand orphans who were questionably eligible for adoption. The division of the United States Federal Circuit into thirteen circuit courts, each of which only has jurisdiction over certain states, makes it difficult for all the plaintiffs of a class action to reap the benefits of a decision if they fall outside of the court's jurisdiction.¹⁵³ For example, California is part of the 9th circuit that has jurisdiction over the states of Washington, Nevada, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Alaska, Arizona and Hawaii.¹⁵⁴ Of the four Babylift cases examined in this paper, all four appealed to a U.S. Court of Appeals. For example, in *Nguyen v. Kissinger*, the 9th circuit made a decision to conduct an investigation into the children's status. However, they could only do so with the children under the court's jurisdiction that included only nine states on the West Coast. This was helpful because most of the orphans from the Babylift were "processed through the Northern District of California" and were in the court's jurisdiction when the complaint was filed. However many orphans now lived in states in the Midwest or East, so they would be exempt from the Court's decision.¹⁵⁵ Afterwards, Judge Spencer decided the case could not be tried as a class action; any decision regarding the orphans could only be made on an individual-to-individual basis.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, cases that could benefit from the overarching reach of a class action, like Operation Babylift, were instead relegated to a slow process of cases tried state by state, individual by individual.

International legislation, beginning in the 1980s, began to address international adoption, first by ad-

152 Ibid., 203.

153 "Court Jurisdiction," United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, <http://www.cafc.uscourts.gov/the-court/court-jurisdiction.html>, accessed March 22, 2014.

154 "Court Locator," United States Courts, http://www.uscourts.gov/court_locator.aspx, accessed March 20, 2014.

155 *Nguyen Da Yen v. Kissinger*, 528 F. 2d 1194 (9th Circ. 1975)

156 Sachs, *The Life We*, 208.

150 Ibid.

151 Sachs, *The Life We*, 202-203.

dressing the issues raised by Operation Babylift. The first issue that was addressed was the large number of orphans that were displaced (almost three thousand and possibly more) as a result of the Vietnam War. On December 3, 1986, the United Nations completed the Declaration on Social and Legal Principles Relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, With Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally.¹⁵⁷ The written text of the document states that one of the reasons for its drafting was the “large number of children who are abandoned or become orphans owing to violence, internal disturbance, armed conflict ... or social problems.”¹⁵⁸ This document was the first step in acknowledging that the number of children affected daily by war and violence is enough of a reason to have some type of protocol in place to help them in an effective way.

This document also takes another step forward in acknowledging the alternatives available to children other than adoption. Western concepts of childcare often hold that if a parent is not able to care for their child, adoption by a [nuclear?] relative or a stranger is often the best option. However, an alternative for children in many countries was the extended family. In Vietnam, children were viewed as a member of both the nuclear and extended family. Many children were kept off the streets because when one family member was unable to care for a child, another relative or grandparent usually took the child in. Article 27 of the Vietnam Marriage and Family Law of 1986 states “Grandparents shall be bound to support and educate under-age grandchildren if they become orphans.”¹⁵⁹ Just as grandparents cared for children in times of need, children were expected to care for their parents and/or grandparents after they reach a certain age. Children are? very important in Vietnamese society because they also contribute to the family economically. Article 23 of the Vietnam

157 United Nations General Assembly, “United Nations Declaration on Social and Legal Principles Relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally,” Dec. 3, 1986, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r085.htm>, accessed March 2, 2014.

158 Ibid.

159 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, “Vietnam Marriage and Family Law,” Dec. 29, 1986, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b54dc.html>, accessed February 15, 2014.

and Family Law of 1986 states that, “Children under the age of 16 or over living with their parents shall contribute to the family’s livelihood, and contribute part of their earnings to meet the family’s needs.”¹⁶⁰ Vietnamese society is all about the duty each family member has to each other, so much so that people in Vietnam often use kinship references such as *anh*, *chi* or *em* more often than names when speaking to one another.

Article 4 of the Declaration on Social and Legal Principles acknowledges the extended family, stating that if a child can not be raised by their natural parent, “care by relatives of the child’s parents, by another substitute—foster or adoptive—...[or] by another appropriate institution, should be considered.”¹⁶¹ Article 5 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) also states that State Parties shall respect the rights and responsibilities of not only parents but also of members of the extended family as applicable by “local custom.”¹⁶² In *Anh v. Levi*, Ms. Anh was probably viewed as the parental equal of her four grandchildren, whereas in U.S. courts, her parental rights and the role the extended family played in Vietnamese society was questioned.¹⁶³ Under the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, Ms. Anh’s rights as a grandmother of the four children would have been viewed more seriously when considering the important role relatives play in the Vietnamese family.

The Hague Adoption Convention, completed on May 29, 1993 and active in the United States in April 2008, was drafted to prevent many of the issues that occurred not only with Operation Babylift, but also with international adoption in general.¹⁶⁴ The purpose of the Convention was to “create rules and guidelines for countries to follow when processing in-

160 Ibid.

161 United Nations, “United Nations Declaration on Social...,”

162 United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child,” Nov. 20, 1989, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professional-interest/pages/crc.aspx>, accessed March 3, 2014.

163 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978).

164 Elizabeth Long, “Where Are They Coming From, Where Are They Going: Demanding Accountability in International Adoption,” http://www.cardozolawandgender.com/uploads/2/7/7/6/2776881/long_formatted.pdf, accessed November 2, 2014, 828.

ternational adoptions, so there can be legal uniformity and consistency” and to “...assure parents that their child was not a victim of unscrupulous adoption practices but was a child eligible for adoption.”¹⁶⁵ As shown in the court cases mentioned before, adoption of a child who was not an orphan was one of the biggest issues raised by international adoption. Operation Babylift was only one example of a situation that led to the adoption of non-orphans. The high demand for adoption in the United States has also resulted in baby trafficking, false promises, and misrepresentations of the effects of adoption to both biological and adoptive parents.¹⁶⁶

The Hague Convention acknowledges the complex nature of international adoption by ensuring the specialization of Convention workers, the background of the child, and communication between the countries involved. Both Rosemary Taylor and Cherie Clark, two important figures behind the organization of Operation Babylift, had no professional training in international adoption. At that time “professionals” in the field were not expected to have any type of training.¹⁶⁷ All staff members of the Convention are required to hold a Masters degree in Social Work.¹⁶⁸ The importance of the consent and the culture of the receiving country are also outlined in the Convention. Article 16, subsection B states that, “due consideration [is given] to the child’s upbringing and to his or her ethnic, religious and cultural background.”¹⁶⁹ In a similar way, Article 17, subsection C indicates that in order for an adoption to go through, both countries have to consent.¹⁷⁰ In Operation Babylift, orphans were taken without the consent of the Vietnamese government.

Recent legislation clarified not only the role of the extended family but also what conditions qualify as abandonment. Operation Babylift raised questions about the function of orphanages in Vietnam and about the validity of relinquishment documents, among other things. In 2002, the Department of

165 Ibid.

166 Ibid. 831.

167 Sachs, *The Life We*, 10-11.

168 Long, “Where Are They Coming From...,” 847.

169 “The Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-Operation In Respect of Intercountry Adoption,” May 29, 1993, http://www.hcch.net/index_en.php?act=conventions.text&cid=69, accessed February 22, 2014.

170 Ibid.

Homeland Security’s definition of abandonment addressed both issues, stating that abandonment does not occur if the parent only intends to place the child temporarily in an orphanage while retaining the parent-child relationship, but when “the parent(s) entrust[s] the child permanently and unconditionally to an orphanage.”¹⁷¹ Legislation that attempts to clear up any confusion or misunderstanding when it comes to the signing of documentation relinquishing parental rights was also a huge step in the increased regulation of international adoption. The Department of Homeland Security thoroughly addresses the issue of using documentation to prove abandonment, stating that:

If any written document signed by the parent(s) is presented to prove abandonment, the document must specify whether the parent(s) who signed the document was (were) able to read and understand the language in which the document is written.¹⁷²

If the parent is not able to read or understand the language in which the document is written, then the document is not valid unless the document is accompanied by a declaration, signed by an identified individual, establishing that that identified individual is competent to translate the language in the document into a language that the parent understands and that the individual, on the date and at the place specified in the declaration, did in fact read and explain the document to the parent in a language that the parent understands. The declaration must also indicate the language used to provide this explanation.... Any other individual who signs a declaration must sign the declaration under penalty of perjury under United States law.¹⁷²

In *Anh v. Levi*, problems with documentation caused a lot of confusion because relinquishment documents for the four children were signed by the director of an orphanage in Vietnam without the knowledge of the grandmother and were later found to be invalid.¹⁷³ In *Popp v. Lucas*, the document signed clearly stated that the plaintiff would be terminating all her rights

171 Department of Homeland Security, “Definitions,” <http://cfr.vlex.com/vid/204-301-definitions-286271915>, accessed March 2, 2014.

172 Ibid.

173 *Huynh Thi Anh v. Levi*, 586 F. 2d 625 (6th Circ. 1978)

and custody as a parent," yet she argues that the document was signed under duress and was revocable under Vietnamese law. This definition addresses this issue in very specific language and renders a document valid only if both parties understand the terms, whether through translation or in some cases, counseling. Article 15 says that counseling should be provided to the biological parents, the adoptive parents, and the child's parents when considering adoption.¹⁷⁴ In this way, nothing is done without the knowledge of the other party and the child's best interests is the primary concern.

As can be seen through the personal stories, court cases, and newspaper articles included in this paper, Operation Babylift and international adoption were both professional and personal processes that needed regulation. Operation Babylift was a product of the longest war in American history, the Vietnam War. The existence of Ameriasians and the displacement of large numbers of adults and children created a unique refugee situation where there was no clear-cut answer.

Vietnamese mothers had to make very important but hasty decisions on whether to hand over their child to adoption agencies such as FFAC or FCVN in order to ensure their safety or risk their lives in an independent but politically divided Vietnam. For adoptive parents in the United States, international adoption was a means of both fulfilling their own maternal wants in addition to ensuring the well being of orphans and Ameriasians. However, when faced with the question of custody versus relinquishment of a child to their natural mother, adoption often turned into more of a personal want than a necessary endeavor. Joan Thompson, an adoptive parent stated,

If there were requests from Vietnamese gals, that they really wanted their kids back, that [was] hard. But you know most of us have had our hysterectomies and all and we can't have any children of our own. The Vietnamese have so many kids—8, 10, 13—and we don't have any. We want them. We think this is the best country possible—the kids have so much better chance to grow here, be what they

want. In Vietnam they would be a fisherman or dirt farmer.¹⁷⁵

Others like Wilfred Antonsen, who has a nine-year old Babylift son named Clay, from the Holt Adoption Agency says, "I'm sure the grandmother loved him." When asked if he found out the grandmother was alive and able to support Clay and wanted him back he said, "Well, I don't make any human plans for the future...I trust our lives to the Lord Jesus. Whatever He decided, we would do...He would speak to us through the Bible...Over there Clay would probably be Buddhist."¹⁷⁶

The disagreements, the controversy, and the public nature of Operation Babylift caused lawmakers to reevaluate whether the type of regulation that existed for domestic adoption should indeed also exist for international adoption. The U.S. legal system and its overall structure were incompatible in dealing with international adoption on a class action basis. On an individual basis, court cases show that state law was too varied to address the overarching scope of international adoption. U.S. law of choice principles rendered cultural and international law inapplicable to what were international cases dealing with citizens of a foreign country. International legislation that was in existence at the time, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, were too general and barely addressed the complex concerns that were raised by international adoption. Approximately a decade after Operation Babylift, new laws such as the Declaration on Social and Legal Principles Relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children and the Hague Convention emerged that directly addressed such issues. The role of the extended family, the importance of reunification, and the emphasis on mutual understanding between the parents and countries involved show that these laws were put into place in order to avoid another Operation Babylift. Whether by Vietnamese or American standards, it cannot be understated that the existence of such laws will ensure the best interests of all children.

¹⁷⁴ United Nations, "United Nations Declaration on Social..."

¹⁷⁵ Tracy Johnston, "Torment Over the Viet Non-Orphans: Non-Orphans," *New York Times*, May 9, 1976.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

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The Silent Epidemic: A Spatial Study of Obstetric Fistula in Ethiopia

Chloe Fernandez

ABSTRACT

Objectives: To show how Geographic Information Systems (GIS) be used to promote awareness and motivate international action to make informed global health decisions. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to describe the prevalence and factors associated with Obstetric Fistula (OF) in Ethiopia and to define areas in need of aid. *Methods:* Choropleth maps were generated to geographically analyze both contributing factors and prevalence of obstetric fistula. Select by location functions were implemented to define measureable distances of accessibility to health facilities. *Results:* Distribution of accessible health facilities and primary roads are concentrated around

Addis Ababa. The Tigray Region is in a transitional phase with both a high prevalence of aid and cases of obstetric fistula. Both the SNNP region and the Somali region experience high rates of OF with limited access to health care facilities and infrastructure.

Conclusions: GIS can be used to spatially analyze and represent contributing factors and occurrences of obstetric fistula. Obstetric fistula in Ethiopia is directly influenced by contributing causes that when targeted, decrease the prevalence of this epidemic. Furthermore, the distribution of infrastructure in Ethiopia is both irrational and inequitable to service the country's far reaching health service needs.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) were established in September 2000 in the United Nations Millennium Declaration (UNMD). Nations abiding by the UNMD commit themselves to the eradication of global poverty by the year 2015. Within the eight designated goals are MDG four and MDG five. Millennium Development Goals four and five strive to reduce child mortality by two-thirds by 2015 and improve maternal health by reducing the maternal mortality ratio by three-quarters by the year 2015 (WHO, 2013). Important to the completion of these goals is the eradication of Obstetric Fistula within developing countries such as Ethiopia.

Obstetric Fistula (OF) is a medical condition that is caused by prolonged obstructed labor and smaller than average pelvic size. OF is characterized by a tear in the bladder (vesicovaginal) or rectum (rectovaginal) opening into the vagina which generates fecal and urinal incontinence. Depending on the geographic location of the victim this incontinence can then lead to social stigmatization leaving the wound-

ed with long-term psychological, physical and social issues. Although OF was once a global problem, advances in health services and medical operations soon made OF an issue faced only by developing countries, particularly Africa and South Asia. At least two million women in developing countries are currently living with OF (Biadgilign, 2013).

The one cause of Obstetric Fistula is poverty. Low-income countries prone to OF exhibit political factors such as limited access to health care and poor infrastructure along with social factors such as low literacy rates and low use of modern methods of contraceptive. In order to eradicate this epidemic in developing countries, home-to-hospital interactions involving infrastructure, skilled technicians and changing social norms must be developed by policymakers (Bailey, 2011). Geospatial technologies such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are important to visualize the relationship between these factors and the prevalence of OF.

In order to promote awareness and motivate international action to eradicate OF and complete MDG's four and five it is important to spatially analyze the contributing factors of Obstetric Fistula. This study analyzes the relationship between the physical, social and political causes of OF and the occurrence of this

disease within Ethiopia on a regional level. The aim of this study is to geographically describe this relationship in order to better allocate aid, infrastructure and resources to regions in need of short and long term obstetric assistance.

STUDY SITE AND DATA

The study area chosen spatially analyzes the occurrence and contributing factors of Obstetric Fistula in Ethiopia, Africa. Landlocked on the East Coast of Africa, Ethiopia is divided into 11 administrative regions: Addis Ababa, Afar, Amhara, Benishangul-

Gumuz, Dire Dawa, Gambela, Harari, Oromiya, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP), Somali and Tigray. Health facilities within the country are centered on the urban region of Addis Ababa (Figure 0.1)

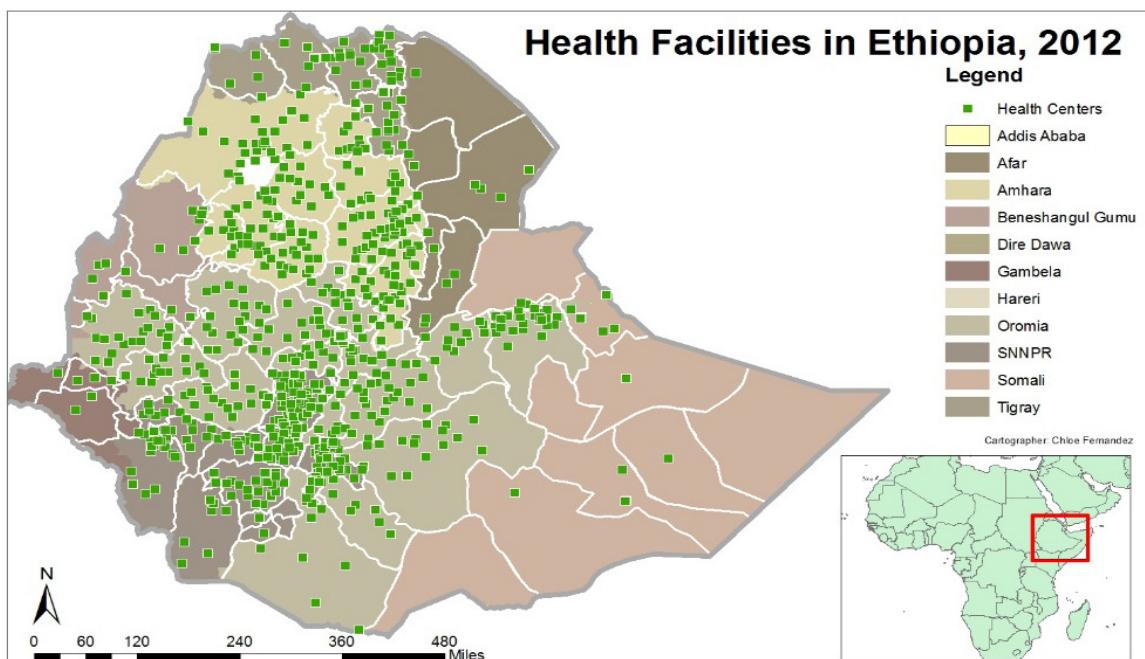


Figure 0.1: Health Facilities in Ethiopia, 2012

DESCRIPTION OF DATA

Quantitative data was taken from the 2011 Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey. From this survey physical, social and political conditioning factors of Obstetric Fistula were found and described on a regional level. Physical factors include stunting and nutritional status, social factors include literacy rates and use of modern methods of contraception, and political factors include exposure to community conversation programs and assistance delivered. Furthermore, geocoded locations for health centers, roads and administrative boundaries were used (Table 0.1).

Layer Name	Type	Projection	Source
Eth_adm1	Polygon	GCS_WGS_1984	diva-gis.org/data
Eth_roads	Line	GCS_WGS_1984	diva-gis.org/data
Health Centers	Point	WGS_1984_Web_Mercator_Auxiliary_Sphere	ArcGIS Online

Table 0.1

METHOD

In order to spatially analyze all six contributing factors choropleth maps were generated. First, the data from the 2011 EDHS must was added to an existing table. The table selected was that of the Ethiopian administrative boundaries because the table data was regionally based.



Figure 0.2 Spreadsheet Data Entry into GIS Attribute Table

After generating the attribute table for all six conditioning attributes a graduated colors map was generated for each attribute entered in order to spatially analyze patterns and relationships (Figure 0.2). The graduated colors map was created by right clicking

the administrative regions, clicking properties then Symbology and then Quantities. Each different map was created by switching the Value Field to a specific attribute generated by our spreadsheet data in the attribute table.

Next, by overlaying the health center points and the road lines onto the administrative boundary layer relationships concerning infrastructure and transportation could be analyzed. First preformed was a Select by Attribute function to categorize roads from primary, secondary and unknown. After locating these roads a layer was created from a Select by Attribute function of Primary and Secondary roads labeled “Major Roads” within Ethiopia. Next a Select by Attribute function was generated from the Health Center layer in order to delineate health centers, clinics and hospitals (Figure 0.3).

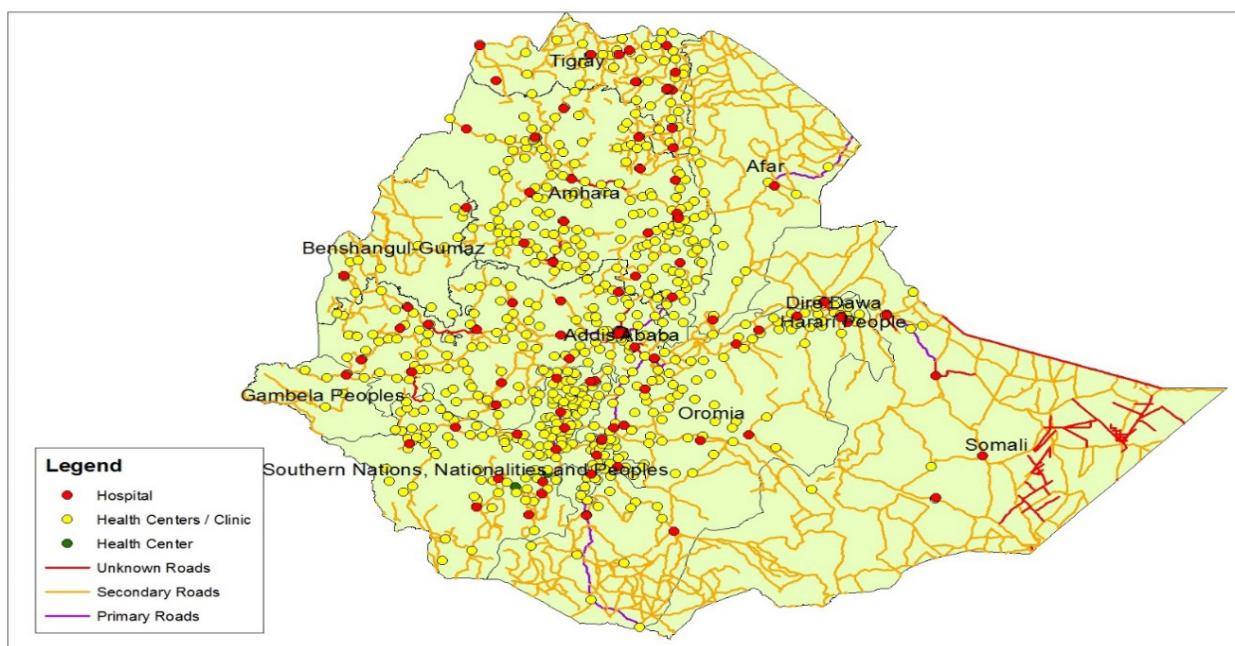


Figure 0.3: Distribution of Health Facilities and Roads

In order to spatially analyze accessibility to health care facilities a layer was generated using Select by Location. The source layer chosen was Health Centers within a five mile distance of “Major Roads.” Five miles was chosen as the number of miles one can walk comfortably. As a result a “Walkable Clinics” layer was created delineating health facilities within a five mile distance of major roads within Ethiopia. The point symbols were changed to a dark red to make

the points more visible. Finally a mean center and a standard distance were created to find the directionality and distance of the roads within Ethiopia (Figure 0.4). The symbology of the mean center point was changed to increase the size and the color was switched to purple to differentiate this point from the clusters of walkable clinics around it.



Figure 0.4: Spatial Analyst Tools to find Mean Center and Standard Distance

RESULTS/DISCUSSION

The spatial analysis of Reported Household Obstetric Fistula within Ethiopia holds that 5.9–13.4 percent of women who have given birth within this region

have OF. Following Tigray, 4.0–5.8 percent of women in the Somali and SNNP regions have obstetric fistula (Figure 1).

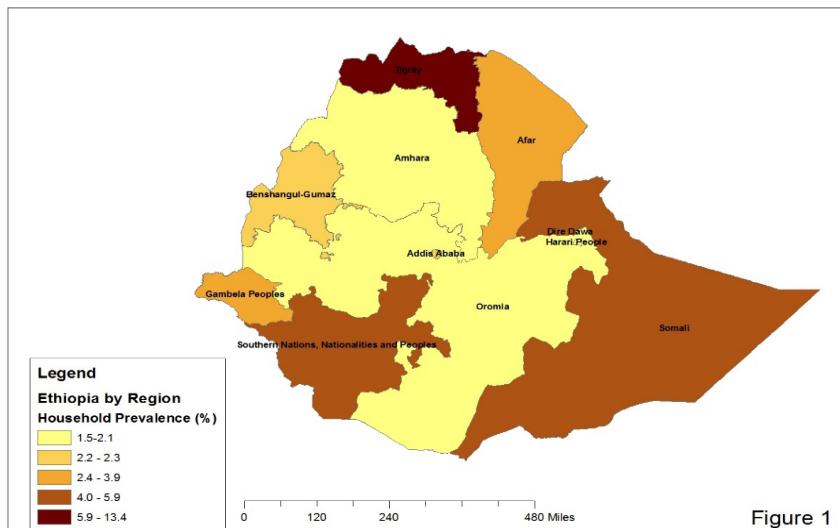


Figure 1: Regional Distribution of Prevalence of Reported Household Obstetric Fistula

Of these three regions both Tigray and SNNP exhibited 43–52 % of their children age five or below to be too short for their age. Somali region followed as

a close second with 36–42% of children exhibiting stunted growth (Figure 2).

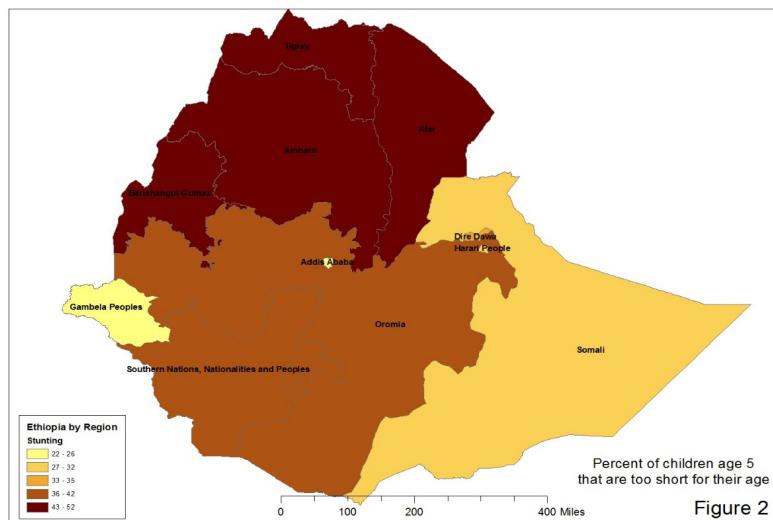


Figure 2: Regional Distribution of Stunted Children

Next, the regional distribution of the percent of women with a body mass index below 18.5 was found. Again, Tigray, accompanied by Afar, had the

highest percent of women (34–44) to exhibit these conditions. Followed by Somali with 28.01–33.00 % and SNNP with 15–22% (Figure 3).

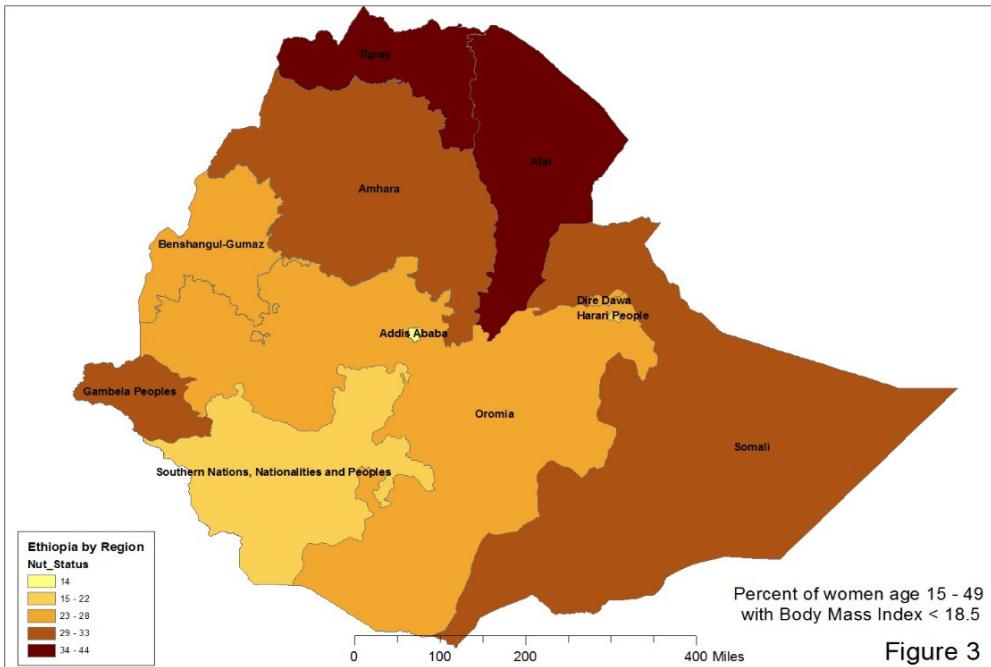


Figure 3: Regional Distribution of women with a BMI < 18.5

Social factors analyzed included literacy rates and use of modern contraceptive. Here, Tigray was the most literate region, accompanied by Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Harari (Figure 4). In regards to modern contraceptive, 22–26 % of currently married wom-

en use modern methods of contraceptive in SNNP while only 10–21% do in Tigray and only 4–9% do in Somali. Meanwhile, Addis Ababa experiences the highest modern contraceptive use at 33–56 % (Figure 5).

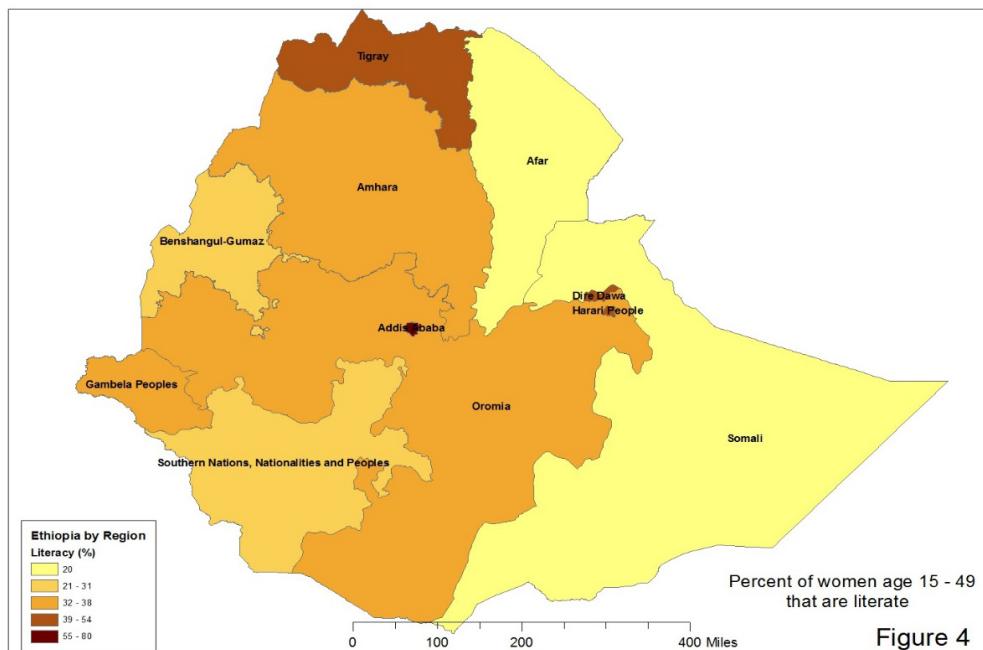


Figure 4: Regional Distribution of Percent of Women ages 15–49 who are Literate

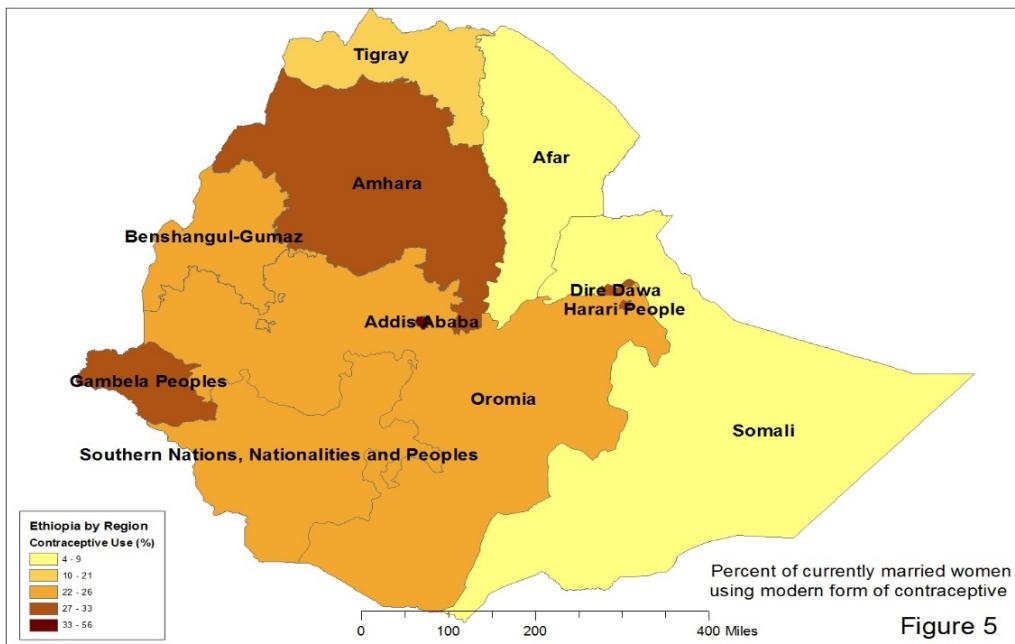


Figure 5: Regional Distribution of % of Currently Married Women Using Modern Methods of Contraceptive

Finally, political factors such as exposure to a community conversation program and medical assistance delivered was regionally analyzed. Tigray and Addis Ababa exhibited the highest rate of exposure to the CCP with 47–56% of women having heard of the program while just 21–23% had heard of the pro-

gram within Somali and SNNP (Figure 6). Meanwhile, Tigray experienced a relatively high percent of skilled assistance delivered during labor with 9–12% while Somali experienced 8–9% and SNNP 6.–% respectively (Figure 7).

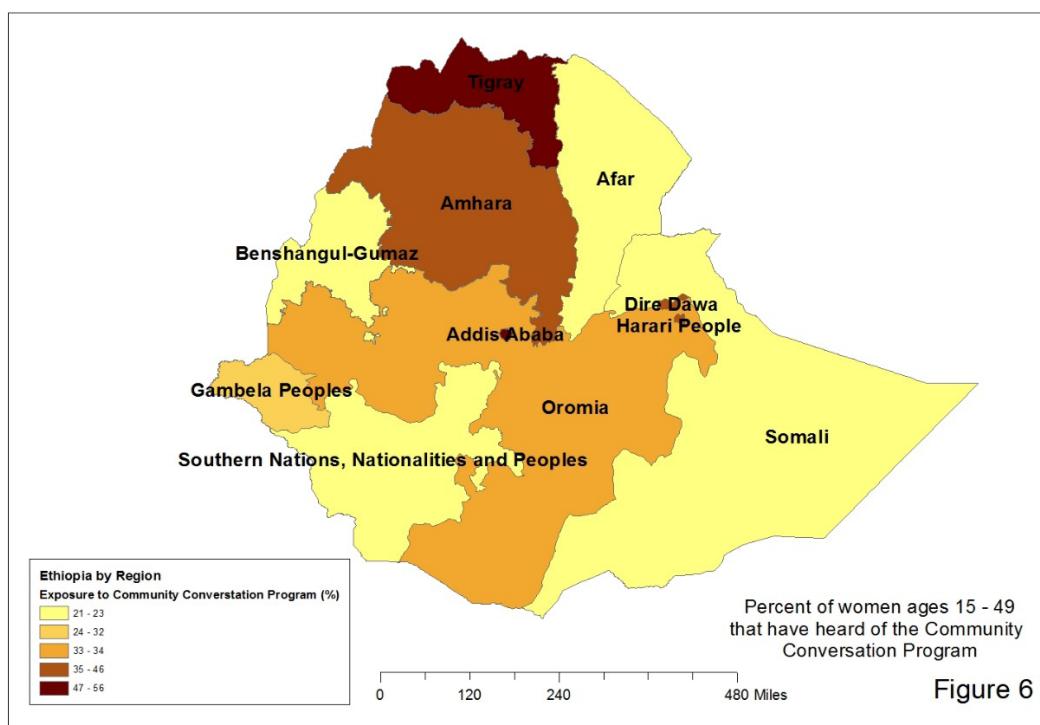


Figure 6: Regional Distribution of Women ages 15–49 who have heard of the Community Conversation Program

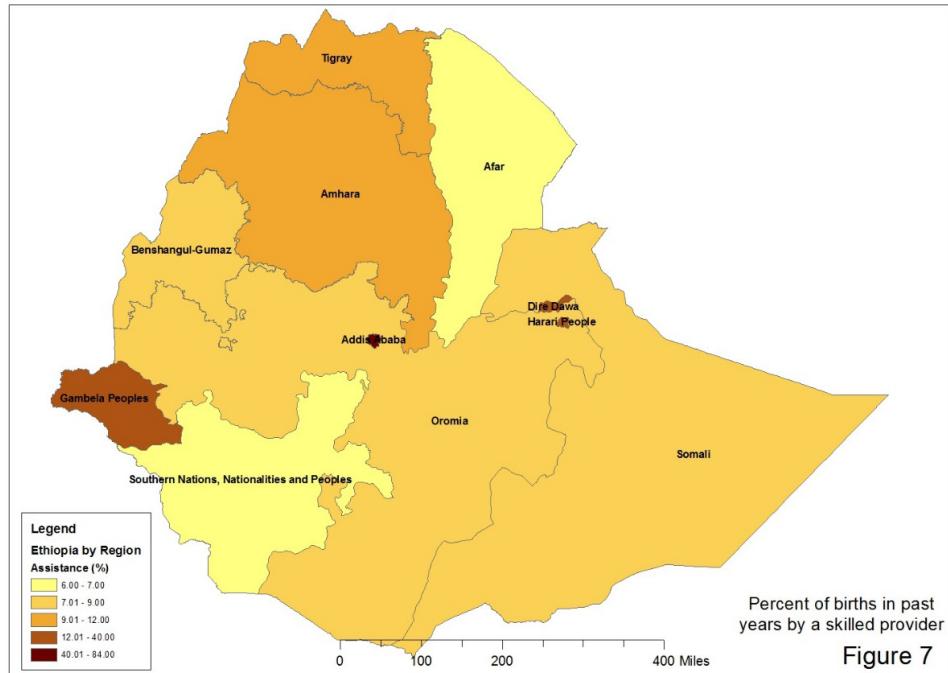


Figure 7: Regional Distribution of Births in Past Years Assisted by a Skilled Provider

In addition to conditioning factors, health service infrastructure and transportation infrastructure was analyzed. Highly accessible “walkable clinics” were centered around Addis Ababa and throughout the Tigray and SNNP regions with only eight in Somali. Walkable Clinics generally clustered around roads

and existing infrastructure (Figure 8). The mean center of the major roads was shown to be in Addis Ababa. Roads in Ethiopia are clustered in the center of the country with a North West distribution (Figure 9).

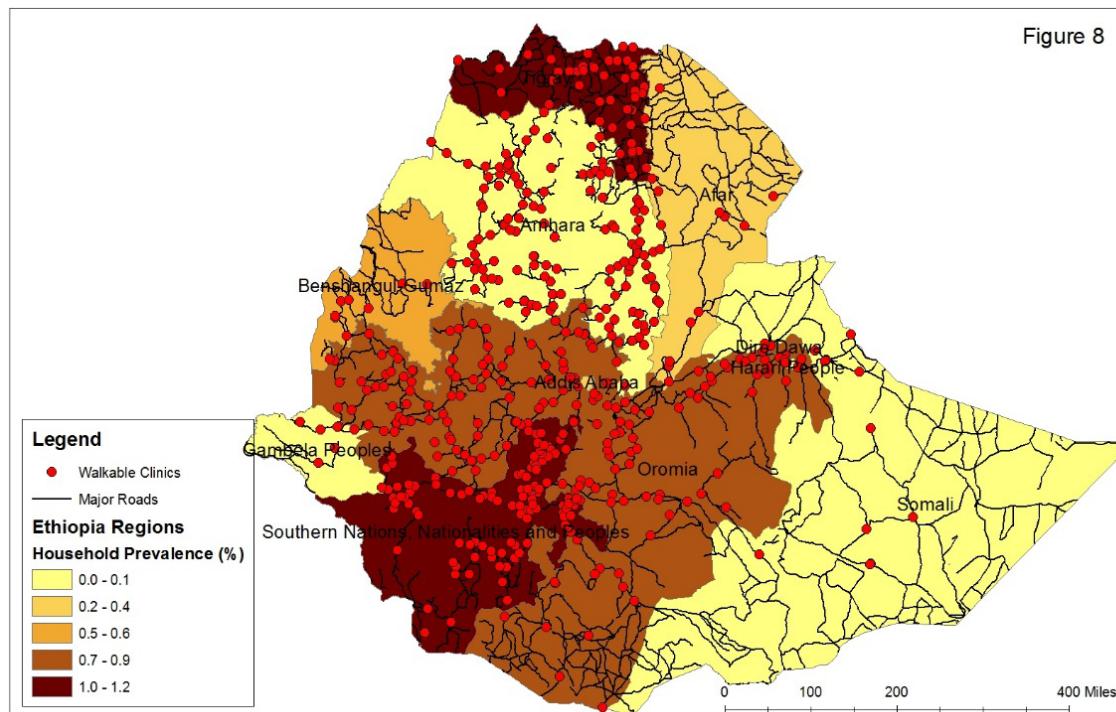


Figure 8: Walkable Clinics within a 5 mile radius of transportation infrastructure

Figure 8

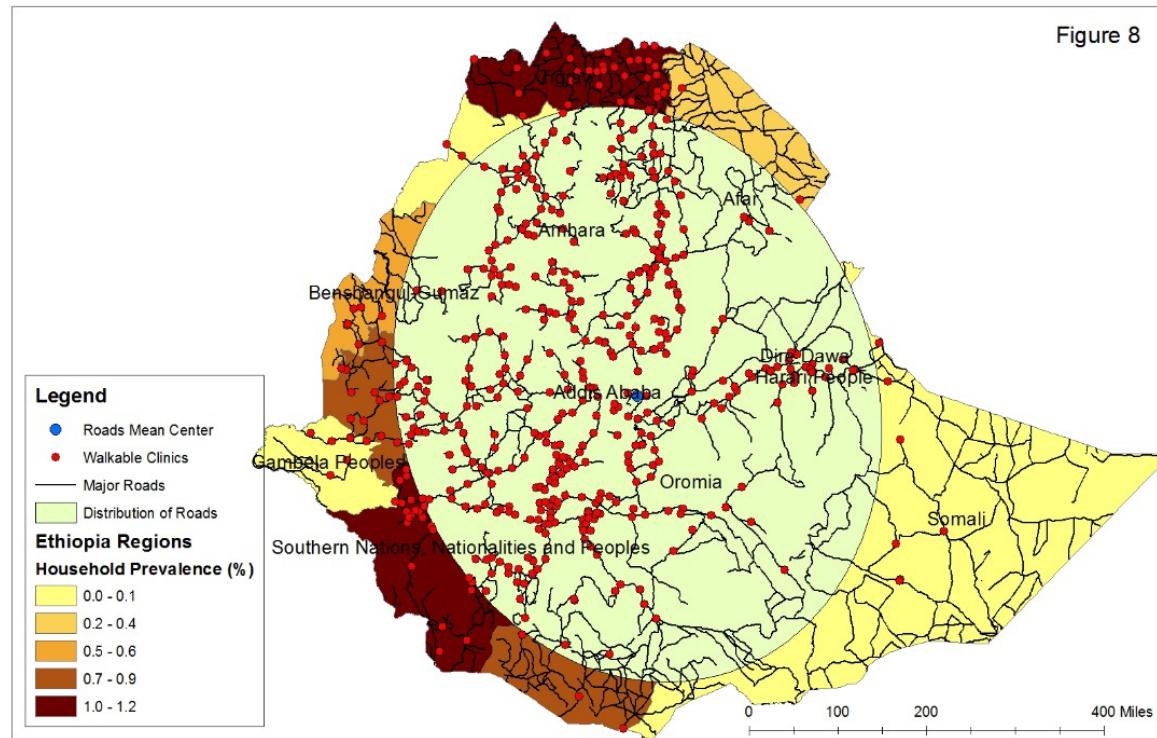


Figure 9: Directional Distribution of Major Roads and Walkable Clinics

CONCLUSION

Results proved that the prevalence of household obstetric fistula is directly influenced by contributing physical, social and political factors. The Tigray Region contradicts this hypothesis as it has the highest reported prevalence in the country but boasts high literacy rates, exposure to crucial community outreach programs and is abundant in both transportation infrastructure and health services. In order to accommodate this negative correlation I believe that Tigray is in a transitional phase. Tigray's eastern neighbor, Afar, exhibited a high prevalence of OF until Community Outreach Programs and Clinics were implemented. Currently this appears to be occurring within Tigray.

Results also prove that the distribution of infrastructure within Ethiopia is irrational and inequitable. Since most of the infrastructure and one of the two primary roads in Ethiopia center around Addis Ababa many of the regions are not serviced with accessible and functional infrastructure. The majority of the roads within Ethiopia are Secondary Roads at best. This study has shown that in order to effectively eradicate obstetric fistula infrastructure must be updated.

Limitations in this study include limited access to Health Center Data through ArcGIS online. Also, there were limitations on the quality of data gathered from the 2011 EDHS. Questionnaire based survey data is often based on qualitative data and is subjected to bias and misinformation. Finally, limitations were placed on the access of development data through the Ethiopian government. Access to geocoded data through measuredhs.com was granted on a study by study bases and I was not granted access to the geocoded data through the Ethiopian Demographic Survey.

Assumptions based on this survey include a stagnant migration pattern implying that those who answered survey questions in a particular region were from that particular region. Therefore, this study does not account for urban versus rural differences in prevalence or conditioning of obstetric fistula. Next, the assumption was made that all transportation infrastructure mapped was accessible to all OF patients. Finally, the assumption was made that all health services accounted for were willing to take obstetric fistula patients. Because the nature of this disease encourages

social stigmatization many of the women appearing at health clinics or hospitals would be turned away.

Future research in this topic includes research conducted on the prevalence of rectovaginal and vesico-vaginal fistula separately. Research on rural versus urban environments based on the region of origin rather than location at time during a questionnaire could be valuable to track the origin of the epidemic. Terrain, seasonality, access to transportation infrastructure and distances willing to walk could be research to make this study more robust. Data accounting for the prevalence of specialized fistula clinics such as the one founded in Addis Ababa and population distribution could be researched as well. Finally, the quantifying of social stigmatization of OF patients is crucial to implementing the Community Conversation Program within regions in Ethiopia in order to decrease psychological and social damage associated with this aspect of the disease.

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Dilemma Between Definition and Morale: Were Korean Independence Fighters Under the Japanese Colonial Rule Terrorists?

*Case Studies of The Korean Provisional Government and
Kim Il-Sung's Korean People's Restoration Army*

Uiheang Hur

ABSTRACT

This paper concentrates on two specific Korean independence movements to analyze if they can be defined as terrorist groups. It is a very controversial and emotionally sensitive topic of discussion within South Korean society. The two selected groups are the Korean Provisional Government (KPG) and the Korean People's Restoration Army. The historical context in which the two groups emerged will be explained in detail, since a clear historical context must be provided to help the reader achieve a good understanding of Korea's unique historical setting. The two groups will then be analyzed in the light of political analyst Bruce Hoffman's definition of terrorism

and the distinction between old and new terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism. The groups' endings will be dealt with by some of the ideas set forward by Audrey Cronin. The paper will end with a brief case study on George Washington to see if he can be defined as a terrorist. A comparison between George Washington and Kim Ku of the KPG shows how emotionally, and intellectually, it is uncomfortable to consider the Korean freedom fighters as terrorists. History is written by the victors. I accept the international norm of terrorism, first to create a starting point for an alternative view to the characterization of the KPG as a terrorist group.

INTRODUCTION

In 2007, a British professor described the last leader of the Korean Provisional Government, Kim Ku, as a terrorist (*The Korea Herald*, August 29). South Korean students refuted this description, but the British professor did not understand the problem. South Korean people still remember the brutal colonial rule of Japan during the 20th century; the scars are still healing. A non-Korean individual may ask why such anger is still present in the 21st century. The answer is that colonization only ended a few decades ago when South Korean grand- or great-grandparents were still young. Much as it would be intellectually and emotionally uncomfortable for American people to char-

acterize George Washington as a terrorist, it is also difficult for South Koreans to characterize their heroes and patriots as terrorists. Nevertheless, it is true that many of the Korean independence movements did involve violence that Hoffman would define as terrorism. In particular, the Korean Provisional Government (KPG) and the Korean People's Restoration Army (KPRA), selected for case studies, can be defined as terrorists according to Hoffman's definition. It is emotionally uncomfortable to accept the definition, but it is intellectually necessary to acknowledge an established international norm.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA

Until the 19th Century, the Chosun Empire, under the rule of Lee Dynasty, governed the Korean peninsula for five hundred years. In the late 1800s, Chosun opened up some of their ports to foreign trade. Because of the geopolitical location between China and Japan, the abundance in underdeveloped natural resources and large population size, numerous strong states began to extend their influences into Korean peninsula including the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and Japan. Three of these states were particularly interested in maximizing their power over the Korean peninsula—Russia, China, and Japan. Nevertheless, during this period, China was politically unstable with its own civil conflicts and therefore, their policies toward Korea were insignificant in the beginning. Within two decades of Korea opening some ports, the Russo-Japanese War erupted. Japan had long been interested in occupying the Korean peninsula ever since the 1500s, and had already carried out two invasions that almost succeeded in destroying the Korean empires. In July 1905, the Taft-Katsura Agreement was made between the Japanese government and U.S. government. U.S. President Roosevelt concluded that, “Japanese control over Korea was an appropriate means to prevent the further expansion of Russian power” (Yi 309).

Thus, the agreement allowed Japan to occupy the Korean peninsula as a result of the Russo-Japanese War.

In September 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth officially ended the Russo-Japanese War and Japan was victorious. Japan consequently proceeded with their imperialism to occupy the Korean peninsula, forcing the Chosun Emperor Kojong to sign the Protectorate Treaty on November 17, 1905. The Treaty allowed the Japanese parliament to send a governor general to take full authority over all of the Chosun's foreign relations. It completely destroyed Chosun's standing in the international community as an independent state. Following this, the Japanese government took over the Chosun government and General Governor Ito Hirobumi was titled the chief executive.

In October 1909, An Joong Keun, a young Korean nationalist, assassinated Ito Hirobumi using a gun. It was the first major Korean nationalist violence as an attempt to protect the nation from the Japanese colonization. In August 1910, the last Korean Emperor, Soonjong, was forced to abdicate from the throne and yield the country to the Japanese parliament. The Chosun Empire officially collapsed (from here on, ‘Korea’ is used instead). The Treaty of Annexation that extinguished Korea as an international personality was signed (Simons 125) and the Japanese annexation of Korea was complete (Yi 313).

THE RISE OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

Between 1910 and 1919, the Korean people formed some peasant-based movements to liberate the country. The major event that sparked the rise of Korean nationalism occurred when the U.S. President Wilson declared his Fourteen Points, which enunciated the doctrine of self-determination (Lee 101). The idea of self-determination stimulated the passions of educated Korean students and religious leaders.

However, when Japanese rule did not end after World War I, Korean nationalism for self-determination quickly increased. The Korean patriots in exile organized the New Korea Youth Association in Shanghai and sent its representative to Paris Peace Conference in 1919 to appeal for Korean independence. A few other similar cases followed. However, these appeals

were all rejected by the Western powers. They were not interested in giving the Korean people self-determination.

As a result, various religious organizations including Christians and Buddhists decided to proclaim Korean independence to attain international support. These organizations sent their representatives to sign the Korean Declaration of Independence in Seoul. On March 1, 1919, thirty-three Koreans officially promulgated the Declaration of Independence in the center streets of Seoul. A massive street demonstration followed, led by Korean students who shouted, “Taehan tongnip manse!” (“Long live Korean Independence!”). The news of the Declaration of Independence spread out to the whole peninsula and

stirred more than two million Koreans to join the street demonstration (Yi 344).

However, these peaceful demonstrations were brutally crushed by the Japanese police forces, army, and the navies that arrested 46,948, killed 7,509, and injured 15,961 Korean demonstrators (Yi 344). Nevertheless, the Western powers remained quiet toward such inhumane repression. After World War I, Japan's standing in the international community

was strong, and consequently, these demonstrations, known now as the March First Movement, "failed to win the support of the Western powers" (Yi 344). The last resort of peaceful struggle for independence had failed. Such failure led to the formation of numerous independence movements in Korea, Manchuria, and China. Among them were the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai and the Korean People's Restoration Army of Kim Il-Sung.

CASE STUDY 1: THE KOREAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: IS IT A TERRORIST GROUP?

CHARACTERISTICS

In April 1919, the Korean Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (Taehan Minguk Imsi Chongbu, the KPG) was established in Shanghai. The KPG was a structural government that imposed democracy, electing officers such as the Premier (Syngman Rhee) and the Ministers of various departments. Between 1919 and 1925, the KPG actively sought foreign support through diplomatic means. Premier Syngman Rhee put in his best effort to sway U.S. support for Korea's liberation.. However, their appeals once again failed to gain the interests of the Western powers.

In 1926, Syngman Rhee lost the support of the members of the KPG and was ousted. Afterwards, Rhee stayed in the U.S., naming himself the representative of all the Korean revolutionaries. In 1926, Kim Ku was elected as the next President of the KPG. He was a rightist revolutionary who had been a prominent freedom fighter since the late 19th century. Kim Ku was one of the more aggressive revolutionaries and he directed several cases of violence for the first time after the establishment of the KPG.

In 1932, Kim Ku directed two events that could be labeled as terrorist actions. First, on January 8, 1932, a young member of the KPG, Yi Pong-Chang, threw a hand grenade at the Japanese emperor outside the Sakurada Gate of the palace in Tokyo. The attempt failed and Yi Pong-Chang was sentenced to death. The second took place later that year on April 29. Another member of the KPG, Yun Pong-gil, threw a bomb in Shanghai at a large-scale military parade. The explosion seriously injured the Japanese minis-

ter, Shigemisu Mamoru, and many other Japanese government officials.

TERRORISM BY DEFINITION

Was the KPG a terrorist organization? Bruce Hoffman laid out his definition of terrorism by providing five criteria by which to determine acts as terrorism. The criteria follow as such: Terrorism is:

- 1) ineluctably political in aims and motives, 2) violent—or, equally important, threatens violence, 3) designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target, 4) conducted either by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure...5) perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity (Hoffman 40).

First, the KPG certainly had political aims and motives. The primary reason for the KPG's establishment was because, "a government was needed in order to obtain public support at home and abroad and to prepare...attaining independence" (Lee 130). By 1919, there was no Korean government; it was extinct with the annexation of the country. Thus, even though the legitimacy of the KPG is very controversial, the leaders of the March First Movement attempted to establish a rightful Korean government for the Korean people while in exile.

Second, the KPG began to use violence into the 1930s. Two of the main reasons that the KPG chose to use terrorist tactics were the increasing domina-

tion of the Japanese Empire in Northeast Asia as well as the 1931 Korean massacre of Chinese people in Korea. On July 1931, some Koreans massacred many Chinese residents in the Korean peninsula and destroyed their property.

The cause of the massacre was due to exaggerated reports of a dispute between some Korean and Chinese farmers. This degraded the attitude of the Chinese public towards the KPG in Shanghai; it became much more hostile and suspicious environment against the KPG. On the other hand, some Japanese troops attacked Chinese troops in Mukden in December. It signaled to the KPG that the Korean nationalists engaging in independence movements in Manchuria might face extinction if the Japanese troops successfully occupied Manchuria. Within such context, Kim Ku commanded the two terrorist plans in 1932 to fight back against the Japanese expansion and hopefully regain the support of the Chinese public.

Third, the bombings targeted the symbols of Japanese expansionism, the Emperor, and the government officials. These symbols were specifically targeted to show that the KPG was fighting against the Japanese colonization in Korea. It was certainly expecting to bring about a larger goal than merely assassinating the targets—that of Korean independence. Although it is unclear how other members of the KPG were involved in organizing the two bombings, Hoffman's fourth criteria is satisfied by the command of the KPG's leader, Kim Ku.

Last, was the KPG a subnational group or a non-state entity? It was certainly a subnational group. There is confusion as to whether the KPG should be regarded as a state or not. The definition of 'state' as accepted by the international community follows:

The state is a sovereign actor with a central government that rules over a population and territory and protects and represents that population in international politics (Henderson 28).

This is offered by the 1933 Montevideo Convention. Although the convention was held after the establishment of the KPG, the definition of statehood accepted by the current international society is the definition set by the Montevideo Convention. Thus, it is unavoidable to look into history from the es-

tablished, accepted international perspective about a legitimate statehood.

According to this definition, the KPG was a government in exile without a population and territory to protect and represent. The Korean population and the territory were under the direct control of the Japanese colonial government in Korea. It can be argued that the Japanese rule in Korea was illegitimate. However, according to the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, the Protectorate Treaty, and the Annexation Treaty are accepted as international law. Treaty is accepted as "an international agreement concluded between states in written form and governed by international law" (Henderson 65). Therefore, even though the Protectorate Treaty and the Annexation Treaty were signed under the oppression of Japan, the treaties unfairly gave the Japanese rule over Korea legitimacy. Furthermore, it is important to understand that the international concept of colonialism was alive at this point of history. Most of the major powers had their own colonial empires; hence, the Japanese occupation of Korea would not have been seen as exceptional from the international society back then. In short, the KPG was a non-state entity and because it eventually used terrorist tactics to further their goals, the KPG turned into a terrorist group into the 1930s under such a frustrating historical context.

It is important to note that the KPG was not organized to perpetrate terrorist acts. In fact, Kim Ku necessarily directed the two terrorist tactics, because the KPG "carried on a tenuous existence in the shadow of the Kuomintang" (Paige 20) in Shanghai. The matter was concerned with the group's survival, as well as the achievement of their ultimate goal. The KPG was an independence movement, pursuing a national independence. That is why the group started as a structurally democratic government, which did eventually perpetrate terrorism because of the historical context it existed under. Therefore, it is incorrect to characterize the KPG to similar, modern, terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda. The two groups are significantly different in their motivations for perpetrating terrorism. For al-Qaeda, they have the "obligation to wage war against the far enemy...whenever possible" (Booth and Dunne 52), which suggests that the main purpose of organizing the group was to perpetrate terrorism.

On the other hand, the KPG partially represented old terrorism. There are two key features that distinguish old terrorism from new terrorism, according to Hoffman. First, old terrorist groups used old media, which was used to attract attention to the group's cause (Hoffman 194). The KPG had their own newspaper publisher, the *Independence News*, which was used to share information and bring nationalism to the Korean patriots in Korea, China, and Hawaii (Simons 136).

Second, the KPG was active before the hijacking of the Israeli commercial flight in 1968, which Hoffman indicates as the end line of old terrorism. Hoffman argues that the event allowed the terrorists to realize that the "operations perpetrated in countries other than their own...were a reliable means of attracting attention to themselves and their cause" (Hoffman 64), which eventually led to the internationalization of their activities. The KPG did indeed hope for the internationalization of their goal; however, the group did not use terrorism to achieve it.

THE ENDING OF THE KPG

Upon the liberation of Korea on August 15, 1945, the main goal of the KPG had disappeared. However, the legitimacy of the KPG as a rightful government was rejected by the Allied Powers and instead, the Republic of Korea was established with Syngman Rhee as the founding father. Hence, when the leaders of the KPG, including Kim Ku, had to return to Korea on November 29, 1945, they were recognized

as ordinary citizens. It is possible that Syngman Rhee was not keen on accepting his former political rivals as esteemed freedom fighters in his newly established country, Republic of Korea. The KPG was thus disbanded, and it failed to develop into a legitimate Korean government after liberation.

According to Audrey Cronin, when terrorism succeeds "it yields benefits for those on whose behalf it is undertaken" (Cronin 74). It suggests that although Korean independence was not achieved by the KPG's struggle, the Korean people still benefited from the liberation itself and therefore, the core reason for the KPG's struggle for independence was satisfied. Furthermore, the KPG seems to have achieved their strategic aim, but not tactical aims. Audrey Cronin claims that "most organizations have used terrorism as a means to achieve either short-term, tactical (proximate) aims or long-term, strategic (ultimate) goals" (Cronin 77). For the KPG, the short-term, tactical aim of perpetrating the first terrorist act would have been assassinating the Japanese emperor, which failed. However, the KPG was not an organization established for violent motivations. The core goal of the group (the long-term strategic goal) was national independence, which did eventually occur. Therefore, it would be partially correct to claim that the KPG's strategic goal was achieved. It would not be fully correct to say so, because Korean liberation was achieved by the Japanese surrender to the Allies after the U.S. nuclear bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and not by the KPG's nationalist activities.

CASE STUDY 2: KIM IL-SUNG AND HIS KOREAN PEOPLE'S RESTORATION ARMY

CHARACTERISTICS

The Korean Communist Party was first established in Seoul in 1925. However, it ceased to exist by 1928 because of the strong repression by Japanese police forces (Paige 19). Many members of the Community Party fled to Manchuria, where they set up guerilla groups, one of which a communist freedom fighter, Kim Il-Sung joined. In September 1931, the Japanese troops invaded Manchuria, which threatened the Korean guerilla fighters. In response, Kim Il-

Sung, organized the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army (AJPGA) in early 1932.

The AJPGA was reorganized into the Korean People's Restoration Army (the KPRA) in March 1934. The main goal of the KPRA was "to overthrow the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in Korea and bring national independence and social emancipation to the Korean people" (Simons 143). Until the early 1940s, Kim Il-Sung led the KPRA and engaged in several guerilla warfare attacks against the Japanese

troops and police forces at Taipingkou, Lao-heishan, and Shantungtun (Simons 144). During the 1930s, the Chinese Communist Party commanded many of Kim Il-Sung's anti-Japanese guerilla activities. Into the 1940s, Japanese expansionism strengthened and

Japanese forces marched into China's territory. In response to this, Kim Il-Sung and the KPRA moved into the Soviet Union for protection, where the group was supported by the Soviet Union to continue fighting against the Japanese forces.

TERRORISM BY DEFINITION

In light of Hoffman's definition, Kim Il-Sung was a terrorist. Through the KPRA, Kim Il-Sung used violence to achieve the liberation of Korea, guerilla tactics to consistently shake the Japanese colonial rule in Korea, and the KPRA was definitely a non-state entity. The KPRA can be seen as an insurgency. Audrey Cronin says, "to assert terrorist organizations and insurgencies can be neatly distinguished would be foolish" (Cronin 153), which suggests that there are not many differences between an insurgency and a terrorist organization. Nevertheless, the KPRA's activities are similar to those of the Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) of Cyprus that is considered to represent old terrorism. The KPRA used guerilla tactics, but not a full-scale war, which was also widely utilized by the EOKA to fight against the British troops. Moreover, Hoffman's second category says, "terrorism is violent—or, equally important, threatens violence" (Hoffman 40). The existence of the KPRA under the Japanese colonial rule threatened to use violence against the Japanese authori-

ties—which was certainly terrorism from a Japanese perspective. The KPRA was so efficient that when they expanded their activities to a general offensive throughout the country, it was expected that "the whole of Korea would have fallen to Kim Il-Sung in August 1945" (Simons 151) if the foreign powers had not engaged Korea.

The KPRA was supported by the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union. This can be characterized as state-sponsored terrorism. China and the Soviet Union were both threatened by Japanese expansionism. Therefore, their support for Kim Il-Sung and the KPRA can be understood as state-sponsored terrorism from Hoffman's description, because Hoffman claims that states may "embrace terrorism as a deliberate instrument of foreign policy: a cost-effective means of waging war covertly..." (Hoffman 258). With this view in mind, China and the Soviet Union were utilizing the KPRA as an instrument to oppress the Japan's expansionism from inside the territorial jurisdiction of Japan.

THE ENDING OF THE KPRA

The ending of the KPRA was similar to the KPG's ending, in that the KPRA's main goal of Korean independence was indirectly achieved with the surrender of the Japanese emperor. However, the KPRA was not disbanded, unlike the KPG. After the surrender of the Japanese emperor in August 15, 1945, there were some Japanese troops who rejected the return to Japan and had ambitions to continue the Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Red Army and the KPRA cooperatively fought against the last Japanese troops in northern Korea. Afterwards, with the support of the Soviet Union, Kim Il-Sung founded the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, which established the structural foundation for the development of North Korea.

In February 1946, the North Korean Provisional People's Committee was established with Kim Il-Sung as chairman, which became the People's Committee of North Korea a year after. By September 1948, Kim Il-Sung was no longer a terrorist. He was the Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Thus, Kim Il-Sung achieved statehood, which he built using the foundations of the KPRA. Since terrorism must be perpetrated by a non-state entity, Kim Il-Sung and the KPRA were no longer terrorists and thus, their terrorism came to an end. Nevertheless, it may be argued that North Korea is now perpetrating terrorism on its own people. Cronin argues that "when they deliberately target innocents...that behavior is wrong and...is 'terrorism'" (Cronin 164), which can be used to argue that the current North Korean regime's suppression over their citizens using

indoctrinations, cult of personality, and various restrictions in the lives of the innocent North Korean people can be characterized as terrorism. Therefore, to a certain extent, the terrorism that had begun with

Kim Il-Sung's independence movement during the Japanese colonial era seems to have passed down the generation to this day.

UNDERSTANDING THE SOUTH KOREAN PUBLIC'S EMOTIONAL DISCOMFORT IN CHARACTERIZING THE KPG AS A TERRORIST GROUP

WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON A TERRORIST?

George Washington (1732-1799) became the first President of the United States of America after six years of leading the Continental Army against British rule on the American continent. He is respected by the American people as the founding father of the country. According to Dr. Victoria Farmer, George Washington can be defined as a terrorist (October 25, 2013). However, it would be very uncomfortable for the American public to acknowledge that Washington may fit into Hoffman's definition of terrorism.

First, George Washington's Continental Army was driven by political aims and motives to oust British rule in America. Second, George Washington's Continental army did use violence, and did threaten violence by its very existence against the British authority. Third, the various attacks the Continental Army launched against the British were aiming for the independence of American people, rather than merely defeating the British troops in certain regions. Fourth, the Continental Army was a very well organized group of militants under the leadership of George Washington, and the support of the Continental Congress. Last, the Continental Army was certainly a non-state entity. By Hoffman's definition, which is definitely widely accepted by the current

international society regarding terrorism, George Washington may well be a terrorist.

However, the general view of George Washington is that he is not a terrorist. Moreover, I personally do not consider George Washington as a terrorist. Thus, if the KPG and Kim Ku are perceived from a similar point of view, I believe it would be easier for the American people to sympathize with the South Korean public when it comes to deal with the definitional dilemma. It is socially difficult to recognize people who fought for our rightful freedom, the rightful Wilsonian self-determination, as terrorists.

The main reason that George Washington is respected as a hero is because he successfully ousted the British rule from America and attained the statehood of his nation. Is it not similar to how Kim Il-Sung used the KPRA to establish the statehood of North Korea? Nevertheless, we do not consider Kim Il-Sung and George Washington equally as heroes. They are almost the two contradicting political figures in history. As such, if Kim Ku had been successful in his leadership as the president of the KPG and achieved Korean independence, Korean history would be different. The KPG would not be considered as a terrorist group anymore, because it would then be considered as the foundation for the Republic of Korea by the current history.

CONCLUSION

Because of its geopolitical location, Korea has experienced many tragedies throughout history. During Japanese colonialism, numerous Koreans stood up to protect their country from being annihilated by Japan. Among those Koreans were strong leaders, such as Kim Ku and Kim Il-Sung, who organized separate independence movements in different forms.

Kim Ku's Korean Provisional Government started off as a democratic institution without legitimacy. But it eventually used some terrorist tactics for the survival of the group and the desperate desire for national independence. On the other hand, Kim Il-Sung started off as a terrorist. His Korean People's Restoration Army was a guerilla militant group, which used similar tactics to those used by the EOKA in Cyprus. However, even though the two sides were active dur-

ing the same time period, and for the same cause, the KPG and the KPRA ended differently. The KPG was disbanded upon the liberation of Korea for failing to attain acknowledgement from foreign powers as the legitimate government of Korea. The KPRA on the other hand, achieved statehood under the leadership of Kim Il-Sung, and large support from the Soviet Union.

It is always difficult to acknowledge the heroes of independence as terrorists. For us South Koreans, considering Kim Ku as a terrorist is exactly the same as when Americans have to accept the fact that George Washington can also be defined as a terrorist. However, it would be important to accept what has been set up by the international norm to function as an independent state, with good standing, and effectively assert for our legitimate rights in the international society.

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An Intersectional Analysis of Disability Experience in Thailand

Hannah Hunter

BACKGROUND

Each senior at SUNY Geneseo with a Women and Gender Studies Concentration or minor is required to design a research project that pulls all of our years of study together into something meaningful. For me, my direction for this project really hit close to home.

I am a Childhood/Special Education major at SUNY Geneseo with a concentration in Women and Gender Studies and a minor in Asian Studies. I have been traveling to Asia since 2008 and I have completely fallen in love with the multiple cultures that make up the beautiful place called Thailand. I have always had a passion for International Disability Studies. For the past four summers, I traveled to China to work at an orphanage for children who have disabilities and this past winter break, I spent a few weeks volunteering at the Father Ray Foundation's School for the Blind. Not only is this work my passion, but it is also a professional interest area that I hope I will figure into my life in the future. In addition to this, just last August, my parents decided that they would sell our house and move to Thailand after my mom was offered an

incredible teaching job at an International School. Upon my graduation from Geneseo, I want to continue my studies of Asian culture, Disability Studies, and what it means to live in this world when you don't fall under society's lens of "normal." Through my experiences in Thailand and my passion for disability studies, I have decided to research disability in Thailand. This project will explore what it means to experience a disability in Thailand where factors that include gender, religion, and culture are also considered intersectionally. Initially, due to Thailand's very welcoming and accepting views of foreigners and sexual orientation, I was under the impression that Thailand would be advanced in the field of disability rights, but this is not the case. There are multiple constraints both structurally and socially in Thailand; the current beliefs are engrained into their culture. I hope to highlight the importance of challenging the prominent understanding of disability as well as the ways that disability can challenge what we understand about human rights. This research is up and coming and I can only hope the more people talk about equal rights for all, that more changes will come.

DISABILITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY

In order to fully understand what it means to have a disability in Thailand, we need to look at this issue through an intersectional lens. Intersectionality theory argues that there is power in examining issues in a simultaneous critique. Most people make the mistake of only examining one variable at a time, rather than recognizing that variables work in groups. Patricia Hill Collins states that intersectionality examines the many "interlocking systems of oppression" which give the true meaning of how one is living in today's society. There is never just one layer of oppression, but rather, it is encompassed by a criss-cross system of

oppression though race, class, gender, sexuality, and culture (Kidd, 7). The African American Policy Forum published an instructional document, "A Primer of Intersectionality," stating that intersectional beliefs were, "initially conceived as a way to present a simple reality that seemed to be hidden by conventional thinking about discrimination and exclusion. The simple reality is that disadvantage or exclusion can be based on the interaction of multiple factors rather than just one (African American Policy Forum)." There are so many intersectional factors that come into play when dissecting what it means to have a dis-

ability in Thailand, or anywhere for that matter. No layer of this research can stand on its own to provide a full picture of the experience. In the sections that

follow, I consider some specific influences that I view as valuable for my analysis.

DEFINING NORMAL AND BUDDHIST INFLUENCES

The overarching theme for my exploration into the cultural implications of disability in Thailand is the prominence and influence of Buddhism. For many, Buddhism is more than just a religion; it is a way of life. There are two opposing sides to how Buddhism affects Thai views of disability: karma and compassion. Karma can be described in many ways, but through my research, I am referring to karma using a definition from Dictionary.com, which refers to, “an action seen as bringing upon oneself inevitable results, whether they be good or bad, in this life or in reincarnation.” In other words, karma is the result of what happens to you through your past good or bad actions, to either reward you or punish you. It is perceived by Buddhist teachings that disability is a result of karma or sins committed in a past life (Vongkiatkajorn, 2011). This understanding is widely accepted, and may help explain why disability rights have only recently emerged as a major topic of discussion in Thailand. Beliefs about karma are engrained into their culture, and the steps needed to reevaluate cultural understanding from an outsider and Western tradition is tough. Teachings of karma show that our past actions affect us, either positively or negatively, and that our present actions will affect our future (BBC). According to Kanyakrit Vongkiatkajorn, “An inclusive society can only be achieved when people with disabilities are allowed to define their needs and the ways in which they should be addressed—become agents of their own lives rather than ‘objects to be taken care of.’” (Vongkiatkajorn). Buddhist societies, just as any other, are raised seeing certain things as “normal.”

Our Western societies define “normal” as informed by various historical influences which often results in the creation of lines to separate who is and who is not “normal.” The disability studies scholar and author of *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body*, Lennard Davis discusses this concept in depth. He examines how “normalcy” plays a major factor in our daily lives, whether we realize it or not. Think about it: there’s a normal curve in math, there’s an av-

erage height and average weight curve, there’s a normal cholesterol level, there’s an intelligence norm, but who decides what actually constitutes as “normal”? According to Davis, “We live in a world of norms.” In the instance of disability, Davis adds, “The ‘problem’ is not the person with disabilities; the problem is the way that normalcy is constructed to create the ‘problem’ of the disabled person” (Davis, 24). These ideas of what is “normal” only push more and more people out of this small realm. Davis establishes that the word “normal” has not always been in our vocabulary, and suggests instead if we would exchange the word “ideal” in place of “normal” things would make much more sense. An example of Davis’s definition being put into place can be seen when you analyze the meaning behind ‘an ideal body,’ rather than a ‘normal body,’ or an ‘ideal’ weight instead of a ‘normal’ weight. In Thailand, it is “normal” to not yell or call out, to not touch another person’s head, and to not point to things with your feet. This is just a small list of cultural practices held in high regard. However, if you do not follow these social structures, you will be judged by society in a different light—through your difference. This leaves human beings with disabilities forced to follow these societal and cultural practices in order to be understood as “normal.” According to Winfield Clark, a student of Tibetan Buddhism who was a composer and paraplegic for 40 years, “much of the suffering that comes with disability stems from the constant attempt to measure up to purported social norms. Disability causes invidious comparisons with ‘normal’ people and reveals our ‘inadequacy’ as members of society.” We “should” never become sick or disabled, age or die, but in reality, these things will happen to all of us (Bruno). Some also believe that Buddhists have a great deal of compassion for all people, showing that this relationship is a positive one. According to Vorapanya, “The fact that Thailand is predominantly a Buddhist society made the role of compassion for every living being and the consideration of ‘karma’ in relationship to disability key influences in Thai attitudes about children with special needs” (Vorapanya, 2008).

Another important aspect of Buddhism, which influences the understanding of disability, is the idea of dependence. According to Buddhist philosophy, disability is seen as a personal tragedy, which requires a person to be dependent on another. This has placed people with disabilities in an inferior role in Buddhist

societies, just as understood in Sawadsri's thesis, "Accessibility and Disability in the Built Environment." A person with a disability represents the "client" in the patron-client system, where the clients require help from the king or upper class (Sawadsri, 144).

HISTORY

According to Thailand's Constitution, disability is defined as, "persons who encounter certain limitations in performing their daily activities or social participation due to their impairment in vision, hearing, mobility, communication, mind, emotion, conduct, intellect, learning or any other impairment/disabilities along with various difficulties, and specifically need some assistance to enable them to perform their daily activities or social participation same as ordinary persons" (2007b, chapter I, section 4).

Although the above is taken from Thailand's Constitution, it was only inserted as recently as 2007. Disability rights have not always been central to a rights discussion in Thailand, but this isn't because people with disabilities did not exist. It is because they were not accounted for in the national census. In 2005, the International Disability Rights Monitor reported that only 0.4% of buildings were accessible to persons with disabilities, showing exclusive societal trends. Thailand had many clauses about non-discrimination of people with disabilities in their Constitution, but these rights were more so on paper than in practice. According to a national quota system, 1 out of 100 employees in both public and private companies must be a person with a disability, but if businesses do not follow this regulation, they must donate to an established governmental fund. This sets up a system that allows for companies to never hire people with disabilities as long as they set aside money for the governmental fund. This is not just because it fails to allow people with disabilities to enter the work force, especially if they don't have access to an education. People with disabilities in Thailand have access to an education, but if they are poor and live in a village far from a school, this right is compromised. What if education is not enforced in their family, but working in the field is important so that they can provide for their family? These are common situations, given that many people who live in the countryside of Thailand cannot consume access.

During my time volunteering at the Father Ray Foundation's Vocational School (FRF) in Pattaya, Thailand, I interviewed a teacher about the students in his classroom. He told me that most students come from the countryside of Thailand where education isn't discussed as an option because due to their disability or poverty level, their parents were not educated due to their disability or poverty level, so this cycle is continued. All of these students are physically disabled, and they come to Pattaya for two years to live at the Vocational School, but they leave speaking English fluently and with training experience to work in business or computer science. People with disabilities who are registered with the government in Thailand are eligible to receive 500 baht a month, in addition to access to services like free health care and government hospitals (Vongkiatkojorn, 2011). Five hundred baht is equivalent to around 16 USD, but one dollar goes much further in Thailand than it would in New York.

According to Antika Sawadsri, there was a Thai man named Hui who lived in his town years ago and had cerebral palsy on one side of his body. He would sell sweets and lottery tickets on the side of the street each day and his community would support him because they knew that he was supporting his family with that money. Years later, the state called Hui and asked him to register as a "Kon Pi-Garn," or "Disabled Person," and he would begin to receive a stipend of 500 Baht a month. The community recognized that he would begin to receive this money each month, so his business slowly disappeared and Hui began to stay inside his home each day, rather than be outdoors with no income (51). This is a prime example of the way that the Thai society views disabled people, only allowing them to receive enough to survive, but not recognizing that they should have the right to employment as well. Overall, prior to seven years ago, people with disabilities in Thailand had rights on paper, but not in reality.

THE YEAR OF INFLUENCE: 2007

The most influential time for Thailand's disability rights was between 2007 and 2008. In 2007, a national standard was issued, stating that nearly two million women and men in Thailand (3% of the population) had a disability, and most of these people lived in rural areas (Pozzan, 2009). The National Statistics Office 2007 Survey also stated that 65% of persons with disabilities over the age of 15 were unemployed, but of the unemployed, about half worked in agriculture and fishing (Pozzan, 2009). In addition, men with disabilities were more likely to have jobs than women with disabilities (43% of men with disabilities and 28% of women with disabilities). This high unemployment rate shows that people with disabilities are not being accepted into society in the way that other citizens are. If you are a disabled Thai male, you are more likely to work on a wage than a disabled Thai female. This confirms with the cultural norm that the male is permitted to leave the house and move into the public sphere to work before the female is permitted such freedom. To understand the culture of living with disability in Thailand means that these intersectional ideas of race, class, and gender all further reinstate the definition of shame in Thai culture. If you are a male, even if you are disabled, you are still more likely to work outside the home than a disabled woman. If you are in a higher class, these chances of employment increase even more. A disabled person's opportunity to work and use their skills in a positive way is compromised by cultural stigma—social class and cultural stigma in this instance.

Many people with disabilities also lack an education, which makes it very hard for them to get a job. It is common for many to end up selling lottery tickets on the side of the street, which is a very unstable and difficult thing to do (Vongkiatkojorn, 2011). The statistical report in 2007 was the first time that a statistic came out showing that Thailand was not caring for all of its population, so the government reacted

quite strongly to this, and quickly sought to remedy the situation. Although many people were on board to make change for the rights of those with disabilities in Thailand, there had never been a major social movement to officially make these changes in their society. After the statistics of 2007 came out, change began to occur, and the Thai government has added five legislations concerning the rights of people with disabilities. One of the biggest positive moves that the Thai government made was signing on to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (hereafter, CRPD). The CRPD is an international disability treaty that was written and advanced by international norms, which derive from a Western cultural norm, in recognizing the rights of people with disabilities. This is the first major step towards positive change for disability rights in Thailand.

The CRPD was approved for ratification in 2008, and the Royal Thai government regards the CRPD as an effective tool to transform our charity-based society into a rights-based society for persons with disabilities (Department of International Organizations, 2011). The government of Thailand has also implemented many laws and regulations in regards to the rights of people with disabilities in Thailand, most recently the National Persons with Disabilities' Quality of Life Development Plan and the National Persons with Disabilities Education Act (Pozzan, 2009). The Persons with Disabilities Education Act B.E. 2551 (2008) is intended for persons with disabilities to access education services and other resources at all levels and to improve the Thai educational system in order to enhance their quality of life and independent living through empowerment. The National Persons with Disabilities' Quality of Life Developmental Plan (Volume III) B.E. 2550-2554, is an integrated approach and holistic support and guidance for disability development practices for all authorities concerned (Department of International Organizations, 2011).

TOURISM

The main reason that disability rights became a publicized issue in Thailand was due to the census statistics that came out in 2007, showing that something needed to change. However, the reason these changes continued to attract attention and remain a topic of

continued discussion in Thailand, is due to primarily to tourism and second, to education through inclusion initiatives. It is clear that tourism is the key factor in the situation. In 1997, Thailand's economic crisis became a major starting point for accessibility.

There was a major drive to draw in greater interest in generating tourism in Thailand, so the government pushed to improve access through urban and rural development. Through this development, they considered access for visitors with physical disabilities, but this is not something that was considered right away, but rather grew with the increase in tourism. I interviewed Tom Bristow, who launched "Accessible Thailand," (accessiblethailand.com). Bristow discussed what the tourist improvements have been like for people traveling with disabilities. When Bristow was 12 years old, he was involved in an accident that left him unable to use the right side of his body. This accident left life-long effects on his body, causing him to walk with a limp and unable to use his right arm. He stated:

For years I was very upset that this accident had happened to me and perhaps wallowed in my depression. This was until I started travelling. I am now 36, and have pretty much traveled the world...
(February, 2014)

Bristow came to Thailand to be an English teacher and was welcomed by the "Land of Smiles" with such a welcoming attitude, despite his disability. This inspired him to start "Accessible Thailand," an organization that encourages people with disabilities to come and travel in Thailand with no limits. They raise awareness for accessibility by posting accessibility rankings on their website for hotels, restaurants, clubs, and transportation, medical and popular

events. Accessible Thailand has created a community for people with disabilities who want to travel the world, specifically Thailand, and not have any worries during their trip about accessibility. This is just one example of how tourism is growing, but this organization is really helping to raise awareness on the importance of accessibility because it shows the importance of realizing there is not one stereotypical traveler, and they too are all unique with unique needs.

When examining disability experience in Thailand, it is very important to look at the intersectional relationship of class and culture, rather than look at them individually. This experience is complex and goes across many dimensions, but in order to fully understand the disability experience, all layers must be analyzed together. In addition to accommodating tourists with disabilities, Thai tourism targets a male audience. Thailand, especially Pattaya, is very well-known for their "bar girls" and prostitution profession. This caters to men (of all sexualities), and most of the money from foreigners comes in through this venue. Thailand's economy receives about 7% of its GDP from international tourism revenue, which is a substantial 550 billion baht (or 16 billion USD) (Amazing Thailand). Thai culture is starting to shift so that it caters to foreign visitors, more so than its own citizens. Nonetheless, major changes for people with disabilities in Thailand happened because of the increase in tourists coming into Thailand who have disabilities.

EDUCATION

The increase in tourist activity also has resulted in a shift to an inclusive education model in the schools. According to Jacqueline Hunter, my mother and a Special Education teacher at the Regents International School in Pattaya, "The influx of expatriates in the country that are working for big corporations has impacted inclusion. Parents are coming with kids that have a diagnosis and an Individualized Education Program. The international schools are now providing special education services for these students that they did not provide at one time" (March 2014). In an article posted by the Guardian in 2012, "Thailand Takes First Steps on Long Road to Inclusive Mainstream Education", the author discusses what it

means to have a disability in the Thai schools today. The journey towards a fully inclusive education system in Thailand is at the beginning stages, but with strong commitment from those in the field of education, changes can continue to occur.

Between 2000 and 2004, the number of students with disabilities accessing education increased from 145,000 to 187,000 and they were taught at more than 18,000 inclusive schools (Chambers, 2012). According to the National Education Act of 1999, any disabled person was technically able to go to school if they wished, but it is not until recently that these opportunities are proven in government-collected statistics collected by the government. Again, here

we are looking at disability experience through the intersectional influences of race, class, and culture. One of the major responses from the teachers in districts who do not teach all students is that they do not have enough “training, resources, or money.” Although this is true in public schools, there is this misconception that the training to teach students with disabilities would be rigorous and impossible. Yet in reality, experience is where you would learn the most about educating all students informed by inclusive pedagogy.

International Private Schools have had more success in the beginning stages of the shift to inclusive education due to their funding, but according to Jacqueline Hunter, the funding for this is coming straight from the parents in the International Schools. Jacqueline noted that, “Our schools do not have the services available to them that are provided in the schools in the United States. The parents need to pay separately for services. Only one international school in our area provides free special education support. The schools do not have OT, speech, PT, or school psychologists. They need to contract outside of the school and pay extra” (March, 2014). I found this

fact to be extremely interesting because here in the United States we tend to complain about the services our students are receiving in special education, yet in Thailand, these services are not even included in the large tuition it requires to enroll in an international school. According to Sermsap Vorapanya’s A Model for Inclusive Schools in Thailand, the major reason Thailand is still in the beginning stages of this change is because there hasn’t been a monumental movement yet. In the United States during the 1960s and 1970s we had a Civil Rights movement in order to make the final push towards these educational rights for all, but Thailand has yet to have a movement like this. The principals of the schools are on board, but due to the limited resources and funding, they can only do so much at this point. Thailand is on the right track to an inclusive education system, but unless the government or the Thai people rise up together to make real changes, laws are only on paper, and ideas are just thoughts. Disability Rights in Thailand have continued to grow and shift more due to an increase in tourism, which has led to the slow process into an inclusive education system where all are given equal opportunities.

THE HIERARCHY OF ABILITY

The term *disability* encompasses various stratifications of ability, and includes a hierarchy of ability that defines where citizens actually stand in society. In Thailand, there are four major levels in this hierarchy: visible disability, high-class disability, hidden disability, and learning disability.

VISIBLE DISABILITY AND HIGH CLASS DISABILITY

Visible disability refers to someone with a physical disability or deformity that all outside people can automatically assume means that they are “unable.” This is not always the case, but many people view people with visible disabilities as weak, incapable, and needy. According to Tom Bristow from Accessible Thailand, “If you have a noticeable disability in Thailand, the broad perspective is that you are looked down upon even more. I think this is for two reasons. The first being the Thai belief in Buddhism and the cycle of birth and death, meaning if you are a disabled person in this life, you must’ve done something very bad in

your last life and therefore you should get treated accordingly. The second reason is fairly simply, it all comes down to money; which earns you respect So if you are a dark skinned Thai disabled person, with no money, life is going to be very unforgiving” (February, 2014). In the public sphere, disabled people are mostly poor. When looking at the hierarchy of ability, we are looking at the intersectionality of culture, race, and class.

In addition to the stigma associated with the visibility of your disability, material wealth and the complexion of one’s skin also plays a huge role. “Hi So” (people with light skin and wealth) are considered high class in comparison to “Low So” (people with dark skin who perhaps do what is considered a labor job). This is something that has been engrained in the culture for years, so when you add disability into the mix, skin tone and money still will play an important role when it comes to a person with a disability stands in the hierarchy of ability. A person with a disability who is “Hi So” will have access to more rights,

privileges and opportunities, but will they recognize the need to push this for others when they stand so high in the society's hierachal structure? Something very interesting that came up in my interview with Tom Bristow however, was the idea that this caste system applies to Thai people with disabilities, but if you are a foreigner, or 'Farang,' with a disability in Thailand, the Thai people can't seem to do enough for you, showing their country in the most positive light and reflecting good face for those visiting. This just further instates the importance of looking at each individual layer intersectionally in order to understand the true meaning of experience. For example, if you just look at two layers (wealth and disability), yet the individual is also Thai and Buddhist, we are not recognizing the cultural implications that define their beliefs, rights, and lifestyles. If you are a foreigner with a disability in Thailand, your status and rights will be exponentially different than that of a Thai disabled person, simply because the Thai culture caters to their tourist population in order to improve their economy.

HIDDEN DISABILITY

Hidden disability in Thailand refers to those who have a disability but you wouldn't know by just looking at them. In Thailand, they are very much centered on the medical model of disability. They define disabled people as "Kon Pi-garn" which is a category decided by medical professionals. Three out of five of these categories are hidden disabilities, with visual disabilities and physical/mobility disabilities being visible. Within the realm of hidden disabilities comes what it means to be an "ideal Thai citizen." According to Samuifiner's guide to good behavior in Thailand, it is very important that you: "Don't touch someone's head, don't complain loudly or shout, and don't point at things or people with your finger, and never touch things with your feet." (Samuifinder, 2006). This is just a small list of examples, but for students, who have hidden disabilities such as emotional disturbance, imagine how these students must be viewed in a Thai society.

According to an interview I did with Theresa Montenarello, a Geneseo Alum and Peace Corps Volunteer in Thailand, she has noticed this in her school. Theresa stated that:

[She has] one boy in kindergarten at [her] school whom has an emotional disorder and the teachers let him run around the school during class yelling and throwing things because they don't know how to help him (and it's very not Thai like to show emotions like that) its all really sad (December, 2013)

This is a perfect example to show that teachers feel like they don't have the training to support disabled students, so they just let things be and try to ignore it, thinking that there's nothing they can do. If it's not very "Thai like" for students to run around screaming or complaining loudly, imagine how helpless that student must feel, trapped in a school where nobody will support him. It is also important to think about this in terms of adults. If it's not very Thai like for adults to run around being loud or complaining, are there any rules about being publicly drunk?

In Pattaya, there are tourist police in charge of, and ensuring that intoxicated foreigners are not causing any problems or fights. Thailand is a very safe place, and through my personal experience, I feel safer walking on the streets in Asia than I do in the city here in New York. So although they hold students to the standards of being "Thai like" in the schools, these cultural characteristics also hold true for adults. You shouldn't expect to see people going against these norms without repercussions. In order for hidden disabilities to be understood and accepted into Thai culture, there will have to be a cultural shift.

LEARNING DISABILITIES

Learning Disabilities in the classrooms of Thailand have this same need for a cultural shift. Learning Disabilities can manifest in numerous ways, but typically they refer to a lack of intellectual understanding of certain subject areas in the classroom. These are usually specific and cause difficulty for the student to sustain progress in the classroom, but in most cases, you would never know this until you were working with the student through informal assessments in the classroom. This is something that has been changing in the last few years in Thailand. According to Jacqueline Hunter, "I see it changing here in the eight months I've been here mainly in the international schools. We are starting a SENCO (Special Educa-

tion Needs Coordinator) organization in the Pattaya area that will support parents and the community. We have a board that is made up of special educators in the surrounding international schools. We are creating a website that will have resources and other services for parents, such as Occupational Therapy, Physical Therapy, Speech, and evaluations for parents to contact" (March, 2014). This again shows the ded-

ication of the teachers into shifting towards a more inclusive education system. Over the next few years, if Jacqueline has seen changes in just the past eight months, we will hopefully see even more positive change. The hierarchy of ability within the disability spectrum is something we could continue to break down into even smaller groups.

ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

There are many organizations that are trying to push for disability rights in Thailand. The Father Ray Foundation (FRF) is an organization in Pattaya, Thailand that runs a Vocational School, a School for the Blind, a Children's Home, a Drop-In Center, a Children's Village, a Day Care Center, and a Center for Children with Special Needs. Many passionate people power this organization and I had the opportunity to volunteer at the School for the Blind and the Vocational School this past December through January. Many of the students in the Vocational School come from rural areas where education is not seen as an option for a person with a disability. At the School for the Blind, these students also live here for schooling, and they have a very structured day consisting of school, play, swimming, and sports. This organization provides a very welcoming and positive environment for the students so that they can gain the education that will help them become successful (Fr-Ray.org). As mentioned before, Accessible Thailand, created by Tom Bristow, is another organization that is advocating for disability rights in Thailand through promoting accessibility for those with disabilities who want to/deserve to travel the world (Bristow, 2013). This organization is continuing to grow as more and more people with disabilities choose to travel the country of Thailand.

Always Reading Caravan was an organization created by Yoshimi Horiuchi, a blind woman, which is committed to promoting the joy of reading and learning. The average literacy rate in Thailand is 92.3%, but the average number of books a child reads per year is five (Horiuchi, 2011). The organization focuses on rural villages and promotes reading for enjoyment, including students with disabilities. They encourage children with and without disabilities to interact with one another through education to remove any pre-conceived barriers. This organization is very important because it is not only promoting the acceptance of students with disabilities in rural villages, but is also promoting their right to an education.

The Global Campuses Foundation in Northern Thailand is an organization that has been around for eight years and focuses on day-to-day skills and work training for those with disabilities who would otherwise not receive an education. They are very similar to the FRF's Vocational School, and their curriculum focuses mostly on disability pride, celebration of ability, confidence, and workforce training. This organization also functions in very rural areas of Chang Mai, but they reach more than 1,000 adults per year. All of these organizations are key contributors to the up and coming disability rights movement in Thailand.

CONCLUSION

Race, class, gender, religion, and culture may seem to be straight forward intersectional concepts to consider when looking at the effects they have on human rights in Thailand, but when you throw disability into the mix, you are only discussing what its implications are in this present moment. Things are constantly changing and we are constantly changing. Other countries, such as Thailand, are basing their "norms" on Western "norms," but with our "norms"

changing, it is very hard to predict what "normal" actually means going forward. During such a changing and influential time, where will these "norms" shift? Western "norms" have fueled funding and rights for people with disabilities worldwide, causing a movement where people have the right to stand up for change, which has fueled the global impulse to be like the Western society. We are changing the norm for the world's view on "normal", but how long will

this take? Thailand is currently in the beginning stages of disability rights and inclusive education, which is why this research is so important.

Not only are these thoughts just beginning to be talked about, but they're also starting to reach governmental authority. Disability brings everything in our being into question, because when you think about it, as we grow older, we are all really heading to acceptance of our innate "brokenness." A quote that will remain salient with me comes from Ajahn Chah, a Thai Buddhist teacher, who states:

You see glass? For me, this it is already broken. I enjoy it. I drink out of it. It holds my water admirably, sometimes even reflecting the sun in beautiful patterns. But when the wind knocks it over or my elbow brushes it off the table and it

shatters, I say 'Of course.' When I understand that this glass was already broken, every moment with it is precious (Bruno)

Once we accept that everything and everyone on this earth, including the universe that contains us, will change and pass away, we are recognizing the truth in potential suffering. We are all already broken, but when society defines you as more broken than others, that is when you fall under the hierarchy of abilities. Disability brings everything that we are and think we know into question, and it's important to think of yourself when discussing disability rights and the importance of compassion for those that don't fit our current definition of "normal." For "normal" is changing, just as we are, and by recognizing the imperfections of life and humanity, together we can fight for human rights around the world.



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Never Ever Getting Back Together?: Post-Relational Dissolution Communication

Emily C. Wagner

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the communication of ex-relational partners, known as post-relational dissolution communication, in college-aged dating experiences. Interviews were conducted with participants who had recently experienced break-ups and post-relational dissolution communication. Employing facework (see Brown & Levinson, 1987; Cupach & Metts, 1994; Goffman, 1959) as a lens, the research reflects the face-threatening situations of ex-relational partners. Through a qualitative analysis, the face-

work strategies of avoidance, politeness, apologies, negative identity management, de-escalation, and disclosure are identified in the study. Ex-relational partners apply these forms of facework in communication with one another and others following the termination of their romantic relationship. A possible supplement to the existing Knapp and Vangelisti (2000) relational stages model is also introduced, with the goal of outlining post-relational stages of communication.

FACE MANAGEMENT IN POST-RELATIONAL DISSOLUTION COMMUNICATION

Throughout a college career, undergraduate and graduate students will experience and develop a wide variety of interpersonal relationships, ranging from platonic, professional, academic, online, and romantic relationships (O'Hair & Weinman, 2009). Existing research shows that these relationships provide individuals with companionship, communication, and the opportunity to achieve goals that are either personally and/or mutually beneficial. While each interpersonal relationship is distinctive, the relational stage model created by Knapp and Vangelisti (2000) outlines the basic, common pattern that most romantic relationships follow. This "dual staircase" model, as it is also known, organizes how relationships escalate, stabilize, and descend over time through communication processes. Initiating, experimenting, intensifying, integrating, and bonding are "coming together" communication processes that typically occur during the escalating side of a relationship. A relationship can remain stable, but if and when it declines, it is expected to follow the steps of differentiating, circumscribing, stagnating, avoiding, and termination (Knapp & Vangelisti, 2000). Johnson et al. (2004) asserts that much of the research about relationships focuses more on the

development, escalating side of the model, leaving a great deal to still be learned about the declining and disengaging of specific relationships. The final step of the relational stage model is "termination" or the ending of the relationship. In the case of a romantic or intimate relationship, this termination is often known as a "break-up." Relationships terminate for a variety of reasons, including, "competing relationships, sexual behavior, betraying confidence, unexplained loss of contact or closeness, change in personality/value, and deception" (Jang, Smith, & Levine, 2010, p. 236). This relational stage appears to overlook any post-relationship steps or details of these particular communicative processes; therefore there is limited existing research on post-relational dissolution communication.

Accompanying the lack of research on this post-relational dissolution communication, the finding of concrete statistics regarding dating and break-up frequency is also challenging. Currently, between 40 and 50% of new marriages are ending in divorce (American Psychology Association, 2013). Research concerning married couples and the communication of marriages/divorces is dominant in the field (Amato, 2000; Hopp-Nagao & Ting-Toomey,

2002). Emmers and Canary (1996) argue that communication in romantic, interpersonal relationships is under-researched. Included in this study, research showed that “42% of romantic relationships disengage within a year...and 50% of dating relationships disengage within two years” (p. 167). An average college student will spend at least four years completing his/her degree, meaning there is ample time for them to engage in one or more romantic relationships and possible resulting break-ups. And with ever-changing social and dating norms, not all of these relationships are titled or labeled in the same way. While some partners subscribe to the traditional *boyfriend* and *girlfriend* roles, terms such as *dating*, *re-*

ationship, long distance relationship, open relationship, friends with benefits, online relationship, and intimate relationship can be used to describe the close communicative relationships that are the focus of this study (Pearson, Hest, & Burnett, 2005). Gleaning from this variety of interpretations and relationship discourses as well as complimenting studies (Finn & Powers, 2002; Hubbard, 2010; Jang, Smith, & Levine, 2010; Pearson, Hest, & Burnett, 2005), the concept of a relationship for the purpose of this study will be broad; defining it as a consistent, communicative, and intimate conjunction between two partners who consider themselves involved with one another.

VARIATIONS IN COMMUNICATION

This study seeks to understand the communication that ex-partners engage in following the termination of their break-up. As the perspectives of both men and women will be studied, the distinctions between communication styles in interpersonal relationships is expected to be a factor that will need to be taken into consideration, especially when concerning heterosexual relationships. Canary, Emmers-Sommer, and Faulkner's (1997) book, *Sex and Gender Differences in Personal Relationships* identified the commonalities in communication that both men and women share, moving beyond the traditional gender stereotypes in communication. They argued,

The research on men, women, and emotion suggests that, although sex similarities far outweigh differences in the experience of emotions, women appear to have a wider latitude of emotion than do men. (p. 46)

This is shown in statements that women tend to form bonds through verbal communication and sharing information while men opt to build relationships through shared activities (Aries, 1996). According to Aries,

Communication for women is a way to establish and maintain relationships. Women work to sustain conversation, are responsive and supportive, and value equality. Their talk is personal. Talk for men is oriented toward solving problems

and maintaining dominance and assertiveness. Men are less responsive; their talk is more abstract and less personal. (1996, p. 4)

This statement calls to question how ex-partners view their post-termination relationship and if they consider the communication to be more personal or about solving problems. The answer may relate to the gender of the perspective, and thus, it is important to consider the typical differences that men and women have in communicating in order to predict and compare their post-relational communication styles. In addition to understanding gender differences in communication, the means of communication will be taken into account, especially in regards to technology in an ever-advancing world.

Partners involved in any form of relationship, including those that are the focus of this study, are communicating with each other and others in a variety of ways beyond traditional face-to-face (FTF) communication. Online social networking sites (SNSs) have become significant platforms for communicators to discover, manage, and maintain potential relational partners (Cronin, 2007; Fox, Warber, & Makstaller, 2013; Wright, 2004). These sites provide users the options of creating an online identity, sharing photos and documents, and connecting with friends, family, dating partners, and new acquaintances (Sponcil & Gitumi, 2013). For long-distance relationships, online relational maintenance is often the most readily available form of communication since partners do

not have to be available at the same times or in the same place but can still share text, photos, and other media with one another (Wright, 2004). These same benefits may make online and SNSs communication ideal for a wider variety of college student relationships, as the tools offer them more flexibility that can accommodate conflicting schedules. Because of this,

college students form a large proportion of users on social media networks...72% of all college students have a social media profile with 45% of college students using a social media site at least once a day. (Sponcil & Gitumi, 2013, p. 2)

With such frequency of use, it is expected that the communicators use SNSs to achieve communication goals, including relational and/or post-relational goals.

Fox et al. (2013) credited Facebook as the most well-known and used SNS. As of June 2013, Facebook had 1.15 billion users, of that 669 million are daily active users (Facebook, 2013). Due to the accessibility, global presence, and popularity among college students, Facebook, "may shape how a couple communicates with each other as well as how the couple communicates the relationship to their social network" (Fox et al., 2013, p. 774). Facebook users can choose to display their relationship status on their public profile, identifying if they are single, married, engaged, divorced, or in a relationship. Fox et al. (2013) explained that this public declaration of being "In a Relationship" is commonly referred

to Facebook users as "going Facebook official" or "FBO." In the case of a termination of a relationship, ex-partners can choose to publicly or privately remove this label. The process of publicly terminating a relationship on SNSs could potentially challenge and cause turbulence in the post-relational dissolution communication of ex-partners.

Other popular SNSs include Twitter, LinkedIn, MySpace, Google+, and Instagram (Statistic Brain, 2013). Similar to Facebook, these sites give users the opportunity to construct an online-identity and engage in communication, including post-relational dissolution communication, with other users (Sponcil & Gitumi, 2013). The concept of "social grooming" is an SNS-specific communication strategy, identified by Sponcil and Gitumi as, "expressive activities of social interaction, communication, gossip, and entertainment. Users have expressed enjoyment from keeping track of their friends' lives and activities, but non-users were less interested in these activities" (p. 5). Specifically for college-age students who are active users of SNSs, the amount of attention received for their own posts, comments, photos, and activities as well as the strength of romantic relationships through use of SNSs communication relates to and impacts their self-concept (Cronin, 2007; Fox et al., 2013; Sponcil & Gitumi, 2013; Wright, 2004). This interest in projecting a positive self-image relates to Goffman's (1959) theatrical analogy used to understand social interactions. Although, in this modern day situation, the stage is instead a virtual "wall" or "feed" where users can select what parts of themselves to share.

FACEWORK THEORY

Goffman's (1959) writings and theories from *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* were adapted to understand the care and communicative actions people take to preserve their own image and the images of others, known as *face management* (Cupach & Metts, 1994). The use of SNSs in order to construct and improve one's self-concept is an example of face management (Cahn & Abigail, 2014). Face management occurs in interpersonal interactions that are FTF as well as online. It is expected that ex-relational partners engage in face maintenance strategies in

FTF communication and through social grooming in SNSs usage.

It is expected that ex-partners will seek the use of SNSs to promote a positive self-image. It is also anticipated that the communication of post-relational partners could post self-image-harming threats in FTF situations. Therefore, facework theory (Cupach & Metts, 1994) will be applied as a framework for this study.

The foundational ideas of face and its importance in communication began in the 1950s and 1960s with

the work of Erving Goffman. Brown and Levinson (1987) expanded these concepts, and later Cupach and Metts (1994) developed Goffman's concepts into the *facework theory*, which aims to identify and explain the communication techniques used to address perceived face threats to the self and/or others. The term "face" refers to "the conception of self that each person displays in particular interactions with others" (p. 3). Cupach and Metts differentiated between *positive face*, which is the want to be respected and liked, and *negative face*, which is the want to remain uncontrolled and free of burden. Face threats are impositions to either the positive or negative face and can be presented by partners in communication as well as the communicator to his or her own face. Cupach and Metts argued, "facework is communication designed to counteract face threats to self and others" (p. 6). Facework is an interactive, communicative process and, therefore, "the management of face is particularly relevant to the formation and erosion of interpersonal relationships" (p. 15). This study will be focusing on the ending and aftermath of relationships, and it is probable that ex-relational partners are met with face threats during these processes as they negatively impact one's self-image.

It is also likely that situations in which ex-partners communicate or interact with one another in public could be embarrassing for one or both partners. These embarrassing interactions can include accidents, mistakes, tactlessness, and awkwardness and are "a type of problematic social situation in which facework is critical" (p. 18). Facework that is performed in anticipation of or to avoid a potential face threat is *preventative facework*. This is usually executed by communicating a *disclaimer*, or a statement that recognizes the possibility of embarrassment for one's self. Cupach and Metts (1994) identified five specific forms of disclaimers: *hedging*, *credentialing*, *sin license*, *cognitive disclaimer*, and *appeal for suspended judgment*. Politeness strategies are performed in order to protect the face(s) of other(s). Conversely,

corrective facework addresses and attempts to repair face threats that have already occurred. These corrections can be either defensive for the self or protective for the other(s) and include *humor*, *apologies*, *avoidance*, *nonverbal displays of anxiety*, *account*, and *physical remedy*, as well as *empathy* and *support*, which are exclusively to protect the face of others.

Facework theory has been applied as a lens for numerous other studies that examine complicated and possibly controversial communication interactions (e.g., Harrigan, Palka, Priore, & Wagner, 2013; Sabee & Wilson, 2002; Valde & Finch, 2004). Sabee and Wilson showed that face threats can often be perceived in different ways, sometimes threatening the positive or negative of both partners involved. Furthermore, facework strategies used with the intent to alleviate embarrassment can sometimes unintentionally threaten the face of the other partner (Sabee & Wilson, 2002; Valde & Finch, 2004). It is therefore important for us to identify and understand the face threats presented in post-relational dissolution communication. The first research question (RQ1) asks:

How do ex-partners address face threats in their post-relational communication?

It is expected that ex-partners will feel required to use facework strategies when communicating with one another and potentially with others about their break-up. For ex-partners who attend the same college, work at a common employer, or participate in a mutual activity, the opportunity to see one another in public could also result in face threats.

In considering the current importance of SNSs, a second research question concerns the practice of positive facework, specifically through online social networking:

RQ2: How, if at all, do ex-partners use social media and/or social networking to strategically construct and communicate a positive face to their ex-partners and others?

METHOD

DATA COLLECTION

Previous interpersonal communication studies of relationships that also used facework as a framework have employed the use of interviews to collect data (e.g., Harrigan, Palka, Priore, & Wagner, 2013; Sabee & Wilson, 2002; Valde & Finch, 2004). Participants for this study's interviews were self-selected volunteers who were required to meet the following criteria in order to participate in the study: (a) be between the ages of 18 and 24 years old, and (b) had been in a relationship that lasted at least three months and that was terminated more than one but less than twelve months ago. A total of five participants were interviewed for this study, although the data set was a portion of a larger whole of a course in interpersonal communication theories (a total of 24 interviews were conducted by the class). Participants lived in the Northeastern United States and were primarily recruited in a mid-sized liberal arts college. Prior to being interviewed, participants completed a brief demographic survey.

The interview with the participants took place in public settings during October 2013. Interviews were semi-structured and on average lasted 60 min-

utes. The interview questions were open-ended and asked participants to discuss their former relationship, why it ended, and the current "relationship" (or lack thereof) that they had with their ex-partner. More specific questions were asked about the communication frequency, style, and medium used to communicate with ex-partners. In addition to the interview protocol, follow-up questions were asked of participants when appropriate, in order to have complete understanding of their experiences. The interview was transcribed by the researcher and then shared with the rest of the class.

DATA ANALYSIS

A specific set of five interviews were personally read and analyzed for this study. After performing a careful reading of the five transcripts, prominent face-related examples were highlighted and used to create the categories: positive face threats, negative face threats, facework, and SNSs-related. The transcripts were then re-read and analyzed for a second time. All examples of face threats and resulting facework had to be found common among all five transcripts in order to be considered for the results. These exemplars were used to create and support each finding.

RESULTS

The present study utilized qualitative data collection methods in order to examine and understand the facework involved in post-relational dissolution communication. Prior to data collection, two research questions were asked: (a) How do ex-partners address face threats in their post-relational communication? And (b) How, if at all, do ex-partners use social media and/or social networking to strategically construct and communicate a positive face to their ex-partners and others? These questions assume that ex-partners are met with face threats as a result of ending their relationships. In the data collected, the termination of a relationship was initiated by one partner, and then agreed and/or accepted by the other partner. As Cupach and Metts (1994) explain, "Although it may seem that only the person who is being left behind suffers face threat, in reality, the person who initiates the disengagement also feels face threat" (p. 81). As

a result of this, both partners were expected to seek to prevent and/or repair their face loss, and after performing the data collection, this desire was expressed by participants.

Data was collected from a series of face-to-face interviews with five participants. Two of the participants were broken up with and the other three participants initiated their breakups. All five participants had ended a relationship within the past year, and most importantly, all had engaged in post-relational communication to some extent. Further supporting Cupach and Metts' (1994) concept, whether the participants were the initiator or receiver of a break up, all were met with face threats. Prominent in the data set were the juxtaposed positive and negative face threats for a set of ex-partners as one often inflicts an adverse face threat on the other. These face threats

were brought upon in a variety of circumstances. The most common facework strategies used in preparation or response to these face threats are identified as *avoidance, politeness, apologies, negative identity management, de-escalation, and disclosure*. The following provide detail of the face threats and resulting face-work found in the data set.

FACE THREATS

All participants spoke to various face threats throughout the termination of their relationships and the following communication. The positive face of participants and their ex-partners was commonly threatened when the break-up itself occurred. Typically, the partner who was “broken up with” or “dumped” was left relatively surprised and hurt, especially in a situation such as:

I got a phone call saying he didn’t know if like he still wanted to be in a relationship. So, then I was like, “alright we’ll sleep on it,” like obviously I was upset or whatever and then he calls me the next day and tells me no he wants to break up and three days later I see that he’s in a relationship on Facebook with somebody else and he calls me and tells me that he cheated on me and wants to start dating this person. (5: 19-23)

In this case, both relational partners could have been met with positive face threats. Clearly, the interviewee was surprised, hurt, and felt inferior by being cheated on and broken up with, threatening her positive face. However, it can be interpreted that the partner in the situation could also feel positive face threats as he could feel guilt and the negative label of being a “cheater.” While not all relationships discussed ended in this same way, all participants attested that either they and/or their partner were surprised, hurt, or confused when their break-up happened.

A common negative face threat was seeing an ex-relational partner in a public setting, particularly a social setting; participants spoke of parties, clubs, and bars being a common location for these sorts of situations. As this participant explained, “now, he works at [bar] and I feel like I can’t do what I want to do when I’m there, I just don’t want him around and looking at

me” (1: 639-641). Seeing an ex in a social and intentionally fun location where alcohol was involved was described as an unwanted imposition. Another participant voiced that “the [bar], like, it’s kind of small. It’s kind of hard to avoid people” (3: 649-650). Participants frequently were unable to avoid “running into” ex-partners in these or other public settings, resulting in embarrassment and loss of face. Positive face was threatened as participants expressed feeling disliked by their ex-partner, or feelings of jealousy seeing them with someone else. Participants also described negative face threats because seeing their partners in public could be embarrassing and made them feel as if they should behave differently or even leave. In such situations, it was not uncommon for both partners involved to have positive or negative face threats. Often, these face threats would actually interact and could lead to conflict. Participants shared incidents of friction, including: “she was drunk and she, just like, told me to ‘F’ off” (3: 604); “if he was drunk he would be mean to me and yell at me so it was just, like, not good” (4: 210-211).

Participants shared numerous occurrences when the positive and negative face threats experienced by partners were interlinked with one another. This overlapping of face threats is common across a variety of relationship types, and was found in all five interviews. A universal dilemma experienced by participants was one ex-partner becoming engaged with a new partner as seen by their ex-partner. This situation caused a threat to the positive face of the ex-partner who sees their ex-partner with someone new as they feel inferior and alone; the ex-partner involved with a new partner can have their negative face threatened as they typically felt guilt that their ex-partner was upset or jealous by their actions. As this participant explained:

I went home with a different girl—Like obviously, like we, we weren’t together so like—I went home with a different girl and...the girl gave me a bunch of hickeys, (sigh) which I wasn’t too happy about. And, uh, my ex happened to see them on my neck the next night at the bar. So that wasn’t too good. She wasn’t too happy about that. (3: 602-606)

In this participant's case, his ex had a visual representation of what happened. Other participants voiced that an ex-partner confronted them after the ex heard that they were becoming involved with a new partner. A participant described this experience as:

And then he like approached me at the bar one night out of nowhere...he asked me a question about the fact of how his [friend] had given me his phone number earlier that night, and I hadn't talked to him in a while and he was like, "I hear you're talking to my [friend]." (1: 314-318)

This participant's experience similarly and inversely threatened the positive face of her ex-partner, and the actions and public confrontation and accusation by the ex-partner affected the participant's negative face.

Informing an ex-partner of a new partner could also threaten the faces of both ex-partners if one partner voiced remaining or lingering feelings as a result:

I told him that I met someone else and um that's kinda messed up, because he thought that we...I don't really know what he was thinking...when I told him that I met someone else; he suddenly said that he wanted me back. He was very, he was like hurt, cause he thought that we could, like, be together again. (2: 269-276)

This participant describes a similar situation from the opposing perspective:

He called me when he posted that him and that girl were in a relationship...and, like, I was crying for him to come back to me. So, I begged for him to come back to me, but then he said no and then like that was the last. (5: 125-128)

Ex-partners commonly perceive face threats in post-relational dissolution communication. It is more common that positive and negative face threats are simultaneously involved, often one or both of each ex-partner. All participants and their ex-partners felt these situations of face threats and loss throughout their break-ups and following communication.

Participants also described face threats posed by others outside of the relationship. The involvement of family and friends of the participant and their ex-partner typically contributed to both positive and negative face loss.

FACEWORK STRATEGIES

Participants described a myriad of strategies used in order to address the face threats they experienced. These strategies applied across categories provided by Cupach and Metts (1994) were found as either preventative or corrective. Facework was used most often in communication with the ex-partners, but was also utilized in circumstances with those outside the relationship, frequently friends and family of the ex-partners.

All participants used avoidance as both a preventative and corrective strategy. They described that they worked to avoid seeing their ex-partners in public and also avoided communicating with them to an extent. Participants also voiced that if and when they did see an ex-partner, they would often attempt to avoid speaking with them, especially in public settings. While all participants avoided seeing their ex-partners and some communication with them, the amount of avoidance somewhat varied. One participant explained that she and her ex-partner attempted to remain friends, but ultimately chose to not communicate regularly: "He told me that I'm not allowed to talk to him unless it's really important" (4: 106-107). This participant goes on to explain that she avoided the ex-partner even if they were in the same location, "he doesn't talk to me at parties and I don't really see him on campus ever" (4: 203-204). In this case, the avoidance was a formal rule set by the ex-partners.

Avoidance was also used to correct face threats, particularly when ex-partners would see each other in a public location and wish not to communicate. Participants selected avoidance as a corrective face-work technique as it would allow them to continue their routine or activities without facing additional threats. The participant recounts:

I was at [restaurant] with the current guy I'm currently talking to and of course we were seated right next to him, just be-

cause it was the only one open, and just because this is my life, and it was just uncomfortable because I had to tell the guy I'm currently seeing, "can you, like, let me sit here so my back is facing this way?" And that's just unfortunate. So, I'd rather just not talk than have to deal with whatever. (1: 500-505)

For another participant, her ex-partner requested that she avoid communicating with him too often or during certain times in order to not make a new partner insecure or worried about their communication:

I was like yeah we can still be friends, but he was saying how I like can't text everyday but I can text a couple times a week or if I needed to call to call during the day not at night cause that would be suspicious. (5: 195-197)

The above also serves as an example of politeness as a form of preventative facework performed to protect another person's face, specifically known as negative politeness. This facework technique attempts to preserve the negative face of another by trying not to burden them. Positive politeness was also commonly practiced in showing courtesy or being "kind" and "civil" with ex-partners and/or friends of ex partners in public settings: "just to be polite and to talk with mutual, casual friends...very general and like courteous" (1: 666-676). Practicing avoidance and politeness in this way can protect the positive and negative face of the communicator by preventing an embarrassing occurrence and limiting the potential to feel burdened or troubled. A participant spoke of a specific situation when her ex used avoidance to evade seeing her:

I ended up finding his ID in the pocket of my shorts, so we kind of had to figure out how I could give him back that. And, he was kind of being a coward about it, and he made his housemate come get it from me, which I didn't understand because to me it just made it seem like he had some unfinished, like situation, like there was something that he just wasn't set in or comfortable with. (1: 90-94)

For the ex-partner, he chose avoidance in order to protect his negative face and feel free of the imposition of seeing an ex-partner. But this also impacted her view of his positive face as his avoidance was interpreted as cowardice. Even with the use of face-work by a communicator, an additional face threat is brought about, further complicating the post-relational communication.

As explained by participants, many of the break-ups experienced needed further communication and closure. The use of *apologies* as a form of facework was common in order to correct face loss by admitting blame. Some apologies were offered for single instances that hurt the feelings and thus threatened the face of one partner. For instance, a participant spoke of being seen with another girl by an ex-partner, "I mean, there really wasn't much to be said—I mean, I—I kind of apologized for having, for like letting her see that" (3: 647-648). Other apologies pertained to regretful behaviors or decisions that led to the break-up. A participant explained:

He had a fight with my mom the last weekend I was home. Well, he texted her like a week ago that he was sorry about what happened and that he felt that he crossed the line. And that he hoped that my mom was doing fine and if there is something wrong that we could always come over. So, that's the only thing he did. (2: 696-701)

Commonly among the partners who had been broken up with, cheated on, or otherwise hurt or wronged in the break-up was the desire for an official apology. This was often a specific goal in post-relational communication. For this participant, the goal-related communication used in order to receive an apology possibly prevented important ideas being shared by the ex-partner:

I realize now that when we went to talk I wasn't really concerned with how he wanted to communicate things. I was more concerned with the fact that I felt that I wanted an apology and an explanation. And in hindsight, I wish I had just taken into consideration what was going

through his head. But I was too upset to consider that. (1: 543-547)

The participant here still achieved her goal, but possibly at the cost of building the relationship. Lasting results of apologies varied, but all five participants gave value to and recognized the use of apologies in their post-relational dissolution communication.

While apologies served as a corrective form of face-work by admitting and accepting blame, negative identity management was used to excuse behaviors that were expected to be acceptable to both partners such as dating or “hooking up” with new partners. Negative identity management is a category of relationship disengagement strategies proposed by Michael Cody (1982), as told by Cupach and Metts (1994). Commonly, participants explained that one or both partners would assume that “moving on” or “seeing other people” had indeterminate and varying amounts of time after the termination of the relationship. A participant voiced this desire to distance herself from the ex-partner:

I don't want to [talk] anymore. And not only because of my new boyfriend, but also, well after a few days without even meeting my new boyfriend, I was like, I don't want to talk to my ex a lot anymore. I need to let him get over me. So, no, I don't want to communicate that much anymore. (2: 449-452)

As shown here, negative identity management is a form of justification, which seeks to give reasoning for a face threat that has occurred.

The communication of ex-relational partners changed over the span of time. For the five participants, at one point or another, their relationships all experienced de-escalation. This term also derives from Cody's (1982) categories, and refers to ending or “breaking off” communication with an ex-partner. De-escalation is not always a permanent, lasting strategy, but all participants voiced the use of this face-work technique during the course of their post-relational communication. One participant experienced de-escalation directly following his break-up, “well, when we immediately broke up, we had zero communication for 7, 8 weeks, however long it was until the email” (3: 407-408). For another participant, she and her ex-

partner initially communicated a few times a week, but later established, “informal rules that that we're not going to communicate. That we're just going to ignore each other's existence, and that's just how it is” (1: 516-517). In all cases, de-escalation was a mutually known face-work strategy, whether implicitly or explicitly stated by the partners. At the time of the interview, three of the five participants were currently practicing de-escalation with their ex-partner.

COMMUNICATION WITH OTHERS

While most face-work strategies were primarily applied to occurrences between post-relational partners, strategies were also used in communication with outside persons, namely friends and family. The practice of disclosure was most common with these connections in communicating details of the break-up and post-relational dissolution communication. Disclosure has been introduced and applied as a face-work strategy by Harrigan, Palka, Priore, and Wagner (2013) in situations of sharing private information. Ex-partners used this strategy in order to share information regarding new partners with their ex-partners in order to prevent face threats. All participants disclosed the private information regarding their break-ups and following communication with their ex-partners to their close families and friends. For some participants, this was simply a natural decision, “everyone knew about the break up and the aftermath, and there really wasn't anyone I didn't tell... I like sharing things with people around me” (1: 566-572). Another participant explained that their disclosure was more selective in whom she told about her continuing communication with an ex-partner: “my closest friends know...I told my mom too” (2: 477-478). All participants explained that certain details were exclusively and only shared with certain family members or friends, usually filtered and determined by their opinions of a particular relationship. This thoughtful and strategic disclosure was typically tailored to each of the individual's confidants:

Family would get less, just to be more conservative and traditional. I wouldn't share the same intimate details that I would share with my friends. But only certain people would get all of the nitty-gritty details. And then there were people

who would only get what they needed to understand the situation. (1: 576-57)

While the level of details disclosed varied, all participants disclosed personal information to at least inform key persons in their life of the termination and communication. Disclosing information personally to family and friends worked to protect the positive and negative face of ex-relational partners communicating with one another and their personal relationships.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

While participants spoke of the use of some form of social media and/or social networking sites in their post-relational communication, there was not a significant finding of commonalities in the data set regarding this perspective. The use of social media and new technology—specifically texting—was expressed in the five interviews. All participants said that texting was their main form of communication with an ex-partner, and all admitted to the same challenges and weaknesses of the technology: “the problem with

texting is you lose a lot of interpretation” (3: 426-427). Participants casually mentioned social networking sites as they discussed their communication with ex-partners, but only one participant provided substantial information in relation to the research question posed. This participant attested:

The big problem with these days is like Facebook. Like if you’re friends with your parents, and you have a picture taken at, wherever like, with like her, she’s gon—your mom’s gonna see it and then like ask you like, “Oh, what’s happening?” ‘Cause obviously your parents are pretty nosy in that regard. (3: 431-435)

The viewing of the participant’s Facebook profile by parents and friends was a threat to his positive and negative face, but he did not explain any possible facework strategies. This example shows the importance of social networking sites as a communication platform and a potentially complicating addition to post-relational dissolution communication; however, it alone is not enough data to draw any substantial analysis or communication.

DISCUSSION

Findings demonstrate that ex-partners perceive face threats for themselves and their ex-partners in their post-relational dissolution communication. The data set recognizes avoidance, politeness, apologies, negative identity management, de-escalation, and disclosure as facework strategies used to address potential or actual face loss. The strategies are used by ex-partners in ways that align with facework theory (Cupach & Metts, 1994). Furthermore, the data shows the variety of ways that each facework strategy can be applied in their communication depending on the person(s) and situation.

Avoidance stands out as the most prominent and most versatile of the facework strategies. Cupach and Metts (1994) categorize it as both a preventative and corrective form of facework, and participants’ experiences showed that it is utilized in both ways. This begs the question, why is avoidance so common and quintessential in communicating with an ex-partner? Jang, Smith, and Levine (2002) found that avoidance was a common strategy in the decision-making of ro-

mantic partners who had been deceived in their relationship. Upon discovering deception, it was found that:

they avoid communication that is linked with negative relational outcomes with their partners following the deception incident. Thus, they are most likely to terminate their romantic relationships, as was found here. (p. 12)

This evidence shows that avoidance is practiced before and during the termination process when deception was involved for romantic partners. For ex-partners with such an experience, it would be expected for them to carry on with their practiced communication styles after ending a relationship, especially in the case that one partner was deceived by the other. Furthermore, “avoiding” is one of the stages of Knapp and Vangelisti’s model (2000). If we expect romantic relationships to follow the current model, then it again makes logical sense that ex-partners continue

to behave in similar ways that led to the termination of their break-up.

Although avoidance is commonly used, ex-relational partners do not completely cease communication with one another immediately following the relationship's termination. Ex-partners have developed facework strategies and regulations with one another to guide and correct the voluntary or sometimes involuntary communication that occurs after a break-up. Importantly, each participant spoke of these experiences, but none in the same order or framework. Every set of ex-relational partners navigated their post-relational dissolution communication differently. This may in fact be a telling reason why there has yet to be a post-relational model. However, from this study, we can see that ex-partners typically follow the termination of their relationship with *de-escalation*, *avoidance*, *necessary/functional communication* (in order to establish rules or new relationship), and seem to "end" in either a state *acceptance* (to remain distant) or in a "friendship" or at least a civil *coexistence* (see Figure 1). This is not to say that all ex-partners follow this order, or do not skip or repeat steps in the proposed process, but that these terms could allow for an extension to the existing Knapp and Vangelisti model. The proposed steps also relate to the facework in relationship disengagement dimensions suggested by Cupach and Metts (1994), but as these scholars importantly explain, "the model fails to give much attention to the responses of the person who is broken up within the unilateral situation" (p. 93). Perhaps after the termination of a relationship, the model needs to split into the two individuals' communication styles and strategies, in order to illustrate that after the relationship has ended they are considered independent of one another. It is likely that the split partners would be shown coming together for the previously mentioned communication techniques, but that ex-partners will also experience individual communication processes or communicate with others outside of the initial relationship.

While this study is able to propose ideas and perspectives on reevaluating existing relationship models, further understanding of the complete termination and post-relational communication processes would be necessary as well. Disclosure is an important and effective facework strategy in preventing and managing face threats in post-relational dissolution commun-

cation. All interviewees participated in disclosing the information of their break-ups with friends and families, but there were a variety of boundaries applied in disclosure across the data set. Future research regarding the face threats and resulting facework in communication with others outside of the terminated relationship could augment these findings.

Although the present study was unable to determine a significant use of social media or social networking sites as a means to promote positive face, there are further possibilities to consider. As this study's primary focus was post-relational dissolution communication, choosing a particular channel or method of communication, such as SNSs, was not desirable. The questions used to interview participants did not specify any particular means of communication, so any mention of SNSs was from the participants' decision. Notably, all five participants named Facebook among other SNSs either when describing the break up or communication following the break-up. Therefore, it is suggested that future research pose questions directly related to the use of Facebook and other popular SNSs when studying post-relational dissolution communication. It is also recommended that future research further the questioning of the presence of SNSs (Cronin, 2007; Fox, Warber, & Makstaller, 2013; Wright, 2004). Fox, Warber, and Makstaller (2013) used Facebook to apply Knapp and Vangelisti's (2000) relationship stages model to modern relationships, and found that the process of becoming "Facebook Official" and publicly labeling "In a Relationship" were important processes of meaning-making. It would be beneficial to the understanding of relationship terminations to understand the de-escalation and process of ending the relationship on the same public platform. As social media and social networking sites continue to grow in users and popularity, these communication methods have and will continue to become crucial in studying relationships.

As preliminary research, the present study reveals the face threats and facework strategies experienced by ex-partners in their post-relational dissolution communication. It establishes key preventative and corrective techniques used by partners throughout their experiences of terminating a relationship and communicating in its aftermath. The data set analysis and conclusions found commonalities in facework strategies and patterns, but also substantiate that experi-

ences in communication are unique to individuals, and that there is not one model or time frame that can be assigned to all communication in post-relational dissolution.

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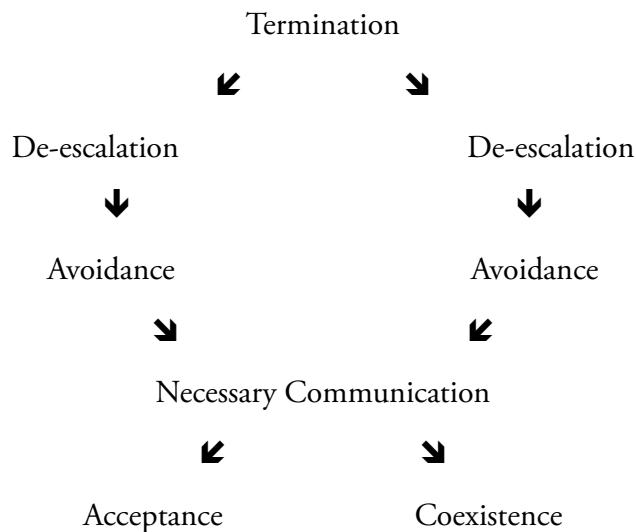
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APPENDIX

Figure 1

Proposed Post-Relational Stages Model



An Ionic Liquid Pretreatment System of Digitaria Sanguinalis

Dylan Ofri and Dr. Barnabas Gikonyo

ABSTRACT

The snowballing demands for cleaner fuel from the transport and industrial sectors has made many believe that biofuel production is the panacea. Is E85 (a laboratory made ethanol based fuel) the cure for the world's dependence on fossil fuels? A keen look exposes a more critical conundrum; the production of E85 destroys human food. With 1 in 8 people suffering from chronic undernourishment in 2010-2012,¹ this production is not justifiable. Biofuels are produced through the break down of plants' cellulosic components (lignocellulose LC) into glucose and then into ethanol. However, two main challenges remain: 1) finding a cheap, reliable and non-food

source of LC; i.e. having high cellulose content, and 2; developing a cheap, clean, and reliable conversion/pre-treatment system. Dissolution of cellulosic material in ionic liquids, or ILs (a unique class of solvents) has been reported to make the material susceptible to chemical attack by various reagents/catalysts/acids. *Digitaria Sanguinalis* (hairy crabgrass, a weed) is reported to have high cellulose content.² In this research, crabgrass was pre-treated with a series of imidazolium ionic liquids, for 3, 6, and 9 hours followed by acid hydrolysis. The results attained so far, including those of glucose and total reducing sugar quantification work are presented and discussed.

2 Ogden, R. (2003) "Nutritive value of crabgrass harvested on seven dates in northern Arkansas." *Arkansas Animal Science Department Report AAES Research series 509:* 119.

INTRODUCTION

The production of a non food-stock source of biofuels is a multifaceted project. The goal of this project is attaining a method that efficiently uses Ionic Liquids to increase the yield of glucose and eventually ethanol. Ionic liquids have the capability to dissociate celluloses and hemicelluloses from lignin as well as assist in the degradation of the crystalline structure of the cellulose. This is achieved by altering the structure of the biomass, which allows for a higher degree of permeability to acid, ergo assisting the acid hydrolysis process.³

Cellulose lignin and hemicellulose are normally associated with one another in a mesh-like fashion. When

treated with an acid reagent, this mesh conformation impedes the biomass from undergoing acid hydrolysis. The ILs are used to break down this mesh, providing a favorable yield when treated with an acid reagent.⁴ Properties of these Ionic liquids include high hydrogen bonding basicity (which allows the IL to start to dissolve cellulose), as well as low vapor pressure and high affinity for water. Treatment with these ILs will break down the plant material into its three main components: Lignin, Cellulose and Hemicellulose. Figure 1 displays the putative effects of the ionic liquids on the plant mass.⁵

3 Chiaramonti, D. (2012) "Review of pretreatment processes for lignocellulosic ethanol production, and development of an innovative method." *Biomass and Bioenerg* 46: 25-35.

4 Hsu, T. (1980) "Alcohol from Cellulose." *Chem Technol* 10(5): 315-19.

5 Wang, H. (2012) "Ionic Liquid Processing of cellulose" *Chem Soc* 41: 1519-1537.

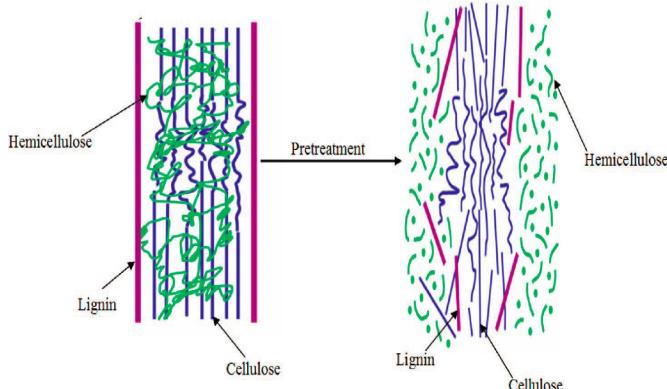


Figure 1: Putative effects of the pretreatment method

There are myriad options available when it comes to pre-treatment agents. If one decides to delve into the world of ionic liquids, there are still a wide variety of products available. This is why pursuit of an ideal pre-treatment system is necessary. The system that was chosen was Ionic liquid pre-treatment, the reagents purchased from Sigma Aldrich.

The three ILs that were chosen consisted of different carbon side chain lengths, which have not shown a significant difference in the pretreatment effect.

1-Ethyl-3-methylimidazolium chloride, which will be referred to as [E(mim)] product number 30764. 1-hexyll-3-methylimidazolium chloride, which will be referred to as [H(mim)], product number 727954. 1-Butyl-3-methylimidazolium chloride, product number 38899 which will now be referred to as [B(mim)] are the pretreatment ILs that were chosen. Figures 2, 3, and 4 show these respectively. Images via the Sigma website sales page.

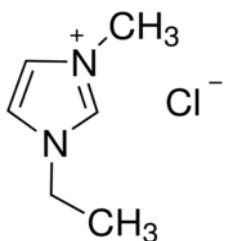


Figure 2: 1-ethyl-3-methylimidazolium chloride [E(mim)]

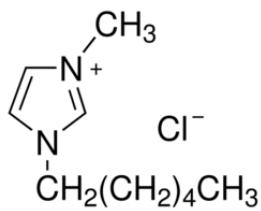


Figure 3: 1-hexyll-3-methylimidazolium chloride [H(mim)]

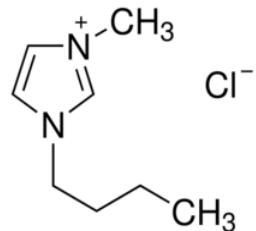


Figure 4: 1-Butyl-3-methylimidazolium chloride [B(mim)]

Another facet of this project was finding a non-food source of biofuel. The answer to this came from a household nuisance, the common crabgrass/ or hairy crabgrass *Digitaria Sanguinalis*. This plant was harvested in order to provide the source of celluloses and hemicelluloses. This species is very common in residential areas, and seems to pester many residents' lawns, so the harvest of many of these grasses was much appreciated. This grass was chosen based on its cellulose content as well as its lack of utilization as a food source in the northeastern part of America.⁶

The last part of this operation was finding a suitable test for reducing sugar levels. This came from many angles. The spectral perspective, a DNS⁷ reagent was reacted with the sample, and read through a spectrophotometer, correlated back to a standard curve giving reduced sugar levels. A glucose refractometer was also used to give reducing sugar concentrations after being blanked with the supernatant. Benedict's Solution was used qualitatively and gave a positive test for reducing sugars. SEM images were also taken to view structural differences responding to pretreatment.

6 Vancov, T. (2012) "Use of ionic liquids in converting lignocellulosic material to biofuels" *Renew Energ.* 45: 1-6.

PROCEDURE

One kilogram of the Digitaria sample was collected from a residential plot and prepped to undergo pre-treatment.

In 30-gram portions the sample (as a whole) was washed with deionized water in a 1L beaker; the water was then removed. This process was repeated until the soil surrounding the Digitaria was removed completely. A standard kitchen blender was then used on a high function level for about one minute to break up the Digitaria, in order to increase the surface area. The samples were then strained and washed in a fishnet to remove any impurities. This sample was then dried in an oven at about 70 degrees Celsius for at least three days (Figure 5). The sample lost most of its mass, but the dry sample gave a more consistent weight to volume ratio. 0.25 grams of these samples were then weighed out and placed in, alone or thirty, 50 mL Erlenmeyer flasks. Next, 2.5 grams of [E(mim)] was placed in nine of the flasks. 2.5 grams of [H(mim)] were placed in another nine. Lastly, 2.5 grams of [B(mim)] were placed in another nine flasks. Three of the last six flasks had only the

crabgrass component but did not receive any pre-treatment agent. Three more flasks were prepared containing pure cellulose instead of crabgrass, which would also not receive pre-treatment. (Figure 6)



Figure 5: The dried sample



Figure 6: The samples prepared with Ionic Liquids before heating

The samples were named prior to the addition of the specific IL. Each sample was named after its ionic liquid component and the time that the sample would undergo pre-treatment in hours, followed by the time the sample would undergo acid hydrolysis in 3-hour intervals, such as hexyl3-6 referring to hexyl as the ionic liquid, 3 as the length of pretreatment, and 6 as the length of hydrolyses. This provided 27

samples with varying times of IL pre-treatment as well as acid time in the acid hydrolysis stage per IL. Mineral oil was then heated in crystallizing dishes to a temperature of around 70-80 degrees Celsius for about a half hour and then all of the samples were added. In three-hour intervals, three samples from each of the ionic liquids were removed from heat. After nine hours all of the samples were removed from

heat. These samples were now placed through four rounds of centrifugation where 10mL of water was added, agitated, and then centrifuged out removing the Ionic liquid content. The supernatant from the last round of centrifugation was saved and used to blank for DNS and Refractometry tests, so that the possible residual Ionic liquid would not skew the data. The next day 3 mL of 5% HBr was added to all 33 samples and they were placed in the mineral oil at 70-80 degrees and removed one sample from each of the groups every three hours. As soon as these samples were removed, they were neutralized with equimolar amount of NaOH and left to cool for another day.

Thirty-three filtering apparatuses were prepared in Pasteur pipettes with the tips removed. The pipettes were filled wool, activated charcoal, then a thin layer of sand. The samples were then added into the filter apparatus at approximately 1 mL intervals until there was no liquid portion left of the sample. The solid portion of the sample was then saved for possible future experimentation—to try and remove the IL content. At the end of this process, 33 samples of approximately 4 mL each were collected for data analysis.

A DNS solution was prepared using cited methods.⁷ This solution is sensitive to reducing sugars. A standard curve was prepared with known reducing sugar concentrations and ionic liquid concentrations. This curve was used to help assay the concentrations of the samples themselves. 0.250 mL of the sample as well as 0.075 mL DNS and 2.175 mL deionized water was added to a centrifuge tube and then heated for 15 min at 90 degrees Celsius, then placed directly in a ice bath until reaching room temperature. The sample was then removed and added to a cuvette, run though a spectrophotometer reading at the 540 nm—the specific wavelength where DNS absorption

⁷ Shengdong, Z. (2006) "Dissolution of cellulose with ionic liquids and its application: a mini review" *Green Chem*, 8: 325-32.

is the highest. This was then correlated back to the standard curve. Both the dilution factor and the total sample size itself were factored in, allowing for the reducing sugar content of the whole sample to be assessed.

Also, a qualitative test was run using a prepared Benedict's Solution; this is a test for the presence of reducing sugars. This was preformed using 0.5 mL of the samples as well as 0.5 mL Benedict's Solution that were reacted in 2 mL of DI water.

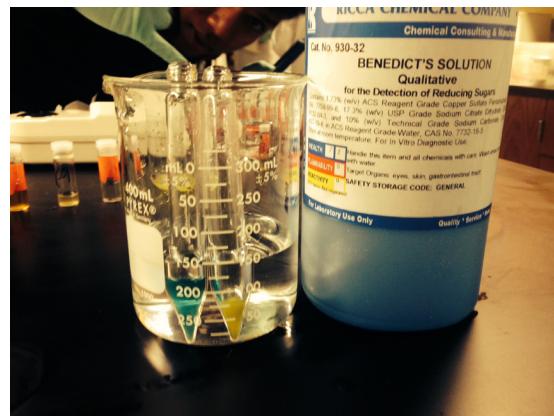


Figure 7: Results of the Benedict's solution

SEM images of the samples prior to treatment, as well as [after] nine hours of treatment were performed. In order to prepare the samples, the samples were washed in DI water and centrifuged five times and then dried in an oven for one week at 80 degrees centigrade. The dry samples were then gold-coated, placed on stubs, and used for the imaging.

A glucose refractometer was used to help assay the reducing sugar content of the sample. There was a problem with these readings, due to a major bias by ionic liquid to the refract meter. Therefore, the samples were blanked with the final supernatant of the centrifugation prior to reading. The data was not correlated back to the concentration because it is glucose, not reducing sugar specific. Therefore, the readings were used as data themselves to analyze differences in glucose levels.

RESULTS

The reducing sugar levels were calculated by the standard curve of the DNS reagent. This allowed for nine samples for each time period, as each sample was assayed by DNS. Cellulose itself was run as a blank and showed no considerable activity when reacted with the DNS reagent. The reducing sugar content for the three times (3 hours, 6 hours, and 9 hours) are shown below in figures 8, 9, and 10. The samples showed medians of 19.634 mg, 21.676 mg and 28.182 mg respectively. However, when significance tests were run, such as two sample t-tests and an ANOVA, the pre-treatment method had produced a significant change between the 3 and 9-hour samples, with a p value of .012 between the 3-hour and the 9-hour samples.

The differences between the Ionic liquids themselves proved to be non-significant, all yielding an average of around 22 mg.

The results of the Benedict's solution showed all of the samples changing from blue to different shades of green. This is a positive on a qualitative level for reducing sugars.

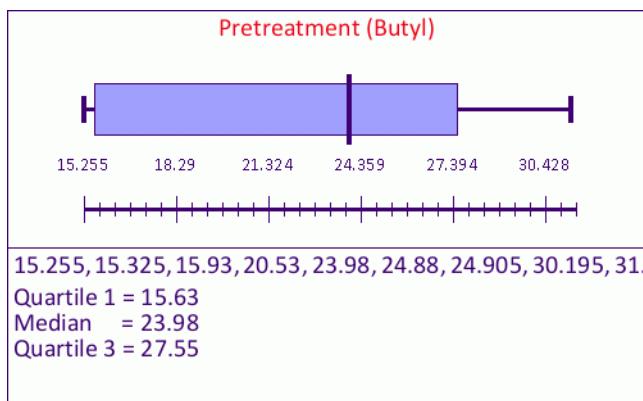


Figure 8: Reducing sugar content in 3-hour samples by DNS test.

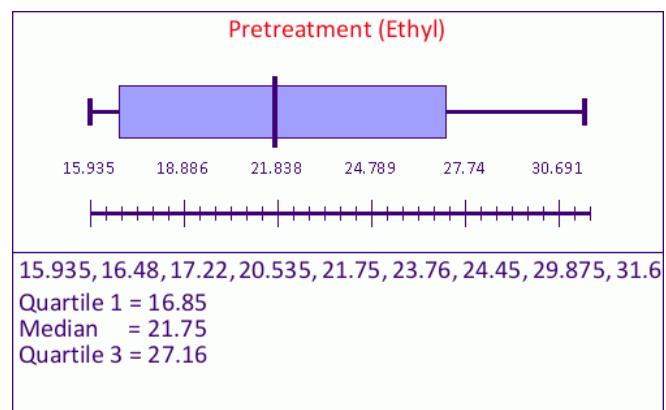


Figure 9: Reducing sugar content in 6-hour samples by DNS test

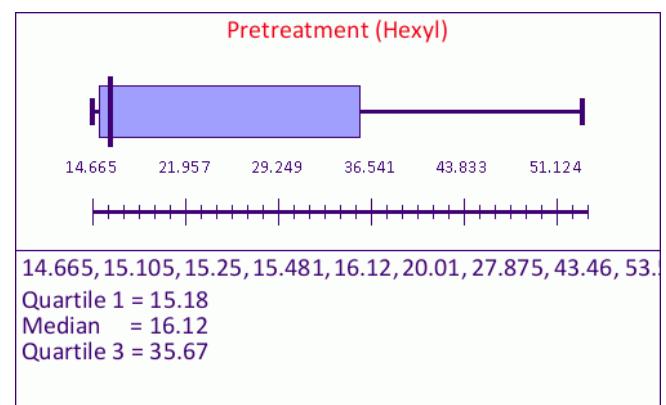


Figure 10: Reducing sugar content in the 9-hour samples by DNS test

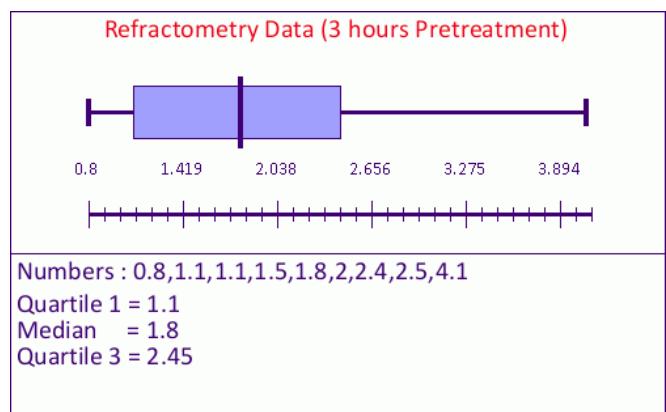


Figure 11: Refractometry Readings

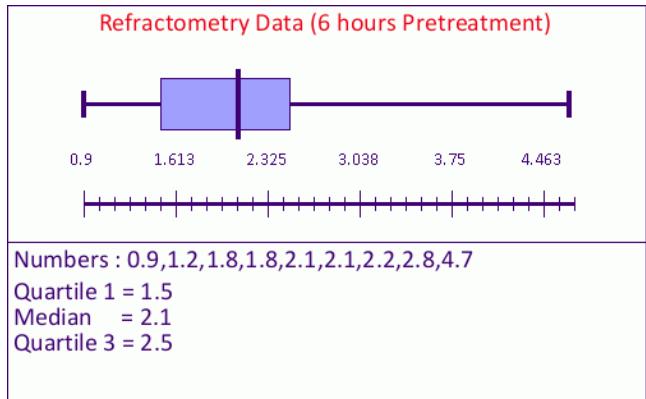


Figure 12: Refractometry Readings

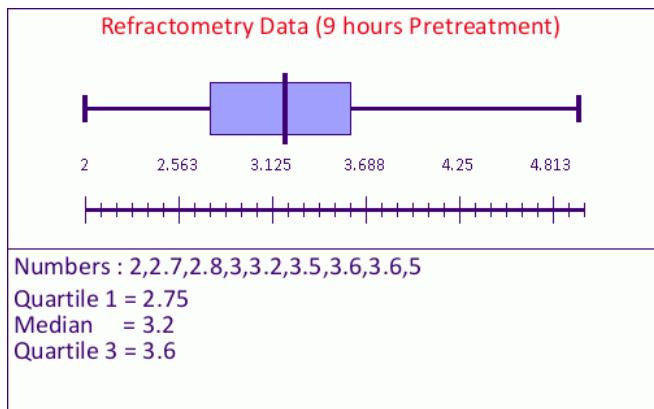


Figure 13: Refractometry Readings

When the samples were assayed for differences in reducing sugar levels by refractometry, the putative effects of the ILs were confirmed. The samples for 3, 6, and 9 hours of pretreatment had readings of, 1.92, 2.17, and 3.27 respectively. The data proved to be significant between 3 and 6 hour and 3 and 9 hours with p values of .031, and .009 respectively. Therefore, although the data is not representative of all of the reducing sugars in the solution, if the ratios of non-reducing sugars to glucose are consistent between the samples, then it is safe to assume that the longer length of pretreatment lead to a higher yield of glucose.

SEM images were captured and searched for morphological differences. Figures 14, 15, and 16 below show the SEM. Figure 14 shows sample prior to pretreatment. Figures 15 and 16 show samples after nine hours of pretreatment.

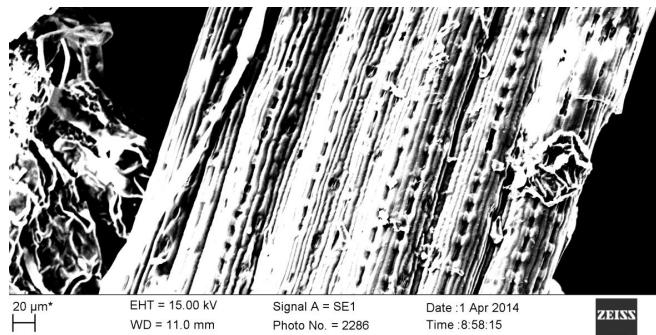


Figure 14: Sample after 9 hours of heating.

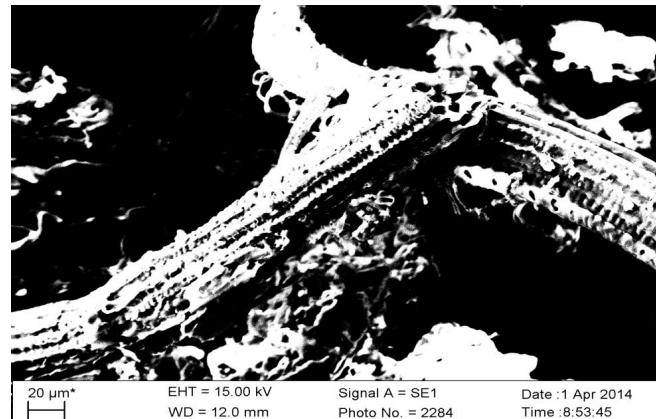


Figure 15: Sample after 9 hours of pretreatment with [H(mim)]



Figure 16: Sample after 9 hours pretreatment with [E(mim)]

DISCUSSION

Pre-treatment with ILs was not only shown to increase the yield of reducing sugars that can be isolated, but also morphologically alter the sample themselves. At this time, ILs are quite expensive and their yield of reducing sugars is far from enough to justify their use for everyday production. This may seem like a problem, but the fact that there are other options, even though not yet completely available, helps to refute the notion that corn and other food-based sources of fuel are the only option. Although crabgrass is still used in many parts of the world as a food-source, in America it is looked at with general distaste. With a source of reducing sugars, the process of enzymatic fermentation to ethanol is relatively simple, cheap, and efficient. In a more environmentally-conscious perspective, the fuel burned becomes CO₂, which

gets incorporated into the sugars that make more fuel, alleviating the concerns of those who are concerned with the climate changes. Therefore, bio-fuel is much better than having to use sources of energy such as coal and oil. However, this pre-treatment system is far from being economically fit for a large-scale production of ethanol. Acquiring more efficient ways to reduce the amount of ionic liquids used, as well as designing better methods of recycling the compounds for future use, would be necessary for the use of this model on a larger scale. With that said, the pretreatment system did have the effects that were expected. By increasing the yield of reducing sugars, the yield of ethanol will subsequently increase when the sugars are converted to ethanol by fermentation down the line.

FUTURE WORK

The enzymatic production of ethanol is the most obvious next step in this procedure. From the data obtained, the production of ethanol from the samples should be a simple and cost-efficient process. Looking into various strains of yeast to find the highest yielding organism is one idea for future work. In another similar field, the production of ethanol directly from crops themselves through direct association of the yeast to the photosynthesizing plant themselves, is also an area of curiosity.

Lastly, algal research is an area of bio-fuel production that is blooming. The prospect of using the algae as the source of cellulose and lignocellulose would have a variety a benefits compared to the plants that are used for biofuel production today. The production of biofuel from non-food stock sources is a field of study that is rapidly changing. There are many possible routes one could go with the resources that we have today.

Peano's Arithmetic

Carmen Staub

By the middle of the nineteenth century, many concerns regarding the foundation of mathematics began to arise in Europe. Mathematicians questioned the process of deriving theorems; how could one eliminate human intuition from proofs? There had not been a set process that would guarantee their validity. There needed to be a type of systemization that would take care of defining notation and the axioms that would serve as the basis for all proofs. The first area to start in was arithmetic. In 1889, Giuseppe Peano published *Arithmetices principia, nova methodo exposita*, in an attempt to construct a well-defined system of arithmetic with concrete axioms. Peano's work was thorough yet simple; thus it was adopted by other mathematicians and grew to become the official system of arithmetic used today.

Giuseppe Peano was born on August 27, 1858 near Cuneo, in the region of Piedmont, Italy. He was one of five children whose parents were farmers. He went to school in Spinetta until he was twelve years old when his uncle, who recognized his talent, brought him to Turin. Peano received private lessons from his uncle until he was qualified to enroll in the Cavour School, a secondary school in the city. He graduated from the high school in 1876 with a college scholarship and, in the same year, he entered the University of Turin.

While the majority of his peers were studying engineering, Peano was one of the only students to study pure mathematics. He worked closely with several professors, including Enrico D'Ovidio and Angelo Genocchi. After graduating in 1880 with high honors, Peano went back to be an assistant for both professors [4].

Peano was well known for his extreme rigor in his work in mathematics. While he was working as a teacher's assistant, he would often send textbooks

back to the publisher with corrections and his own suggestions for improvement. He even asked for permission to publish Genocchi's lectures. After fixing some errors and adding his own comments to the collection, he only listed himself as an editor [2].

In 1884 Peano became a professor at the university. In the five years that followed, Peano produced many significant mathematical results. For example, he proved that if a function $f(x, y)$ is continuous, then the first order differential equation $dx/dy = f(x, y)$ has a solution [4]. But Peano's most well-known contribution to mathematics was his axioms on the natural numbers featured in his *Arithmetices principia*.

However, Peano was not the first person to attempt this. Other mathematicians, such as Hermann Grassmann and Gottlob Frege, had already been working to systemize arithmetic and its axioms. Grassmann, in fact, was the first to begin this process in his book *Lehrbuch der arithmetik* (1861). Frege made more progress on this and focused more on the logic behind it in his *Begriffschrift* (1879) [1]. Peano studied these texts, along with some others, before he began his *Arithmetices principia*. His goal was to set up a solid system of arithmetic, improve logic symbols and notation, and establish axioms that would serve as the basis for all arithmetic results. Peano believed that ordinary language—and therefore any mathematics that was explained in it—was too ambiguous. He fought to fine tune the details. To do this, he wrote his axioms, definitions, and proofs entirely in the symbols that he defined in the preface of *Arithmetices principia*. The idea was that with this structure, every result in arithmetic could be derived [3]. The thirty-six page booklet was published in 1889.

Peano begins the book by listing signs of logic and arithmetic that he claims to be sufficient enough to express any mathematical proposition. While most of the symbols have been previously developed and

used by other mathematicians, Peano did introduce several symbols. He used \cap to signify “and” between two propositions, and \cup to mean “or”. The rotated C, or \circlearrowleft was used to mean either “one deduces” or “is contained in,” depending on the context in which it is used. While the former definition is used in implications, the latter is used with sets being in other sets. Another symbol he is known for is ϵ , read as “is,” and is an early version of \in , which now has a more specific definition to signify membership of a set [6].

While many of us include zero in the natural numbers when working with arithmetic, Peano does not mention it in his original postulates. Instead of the symbol \mathbb{N} , which we now use to represent the natural numbers, Peano uses the symbol N for positive integers, or simply “numbers” as he calls them. Following the preface is an introduction on logical notation. Peano goes over punctuation, propositions, and propositions of logic, classes, the inverse, and functions [2].

After that, Peano lists his famous axioms in this way:

$$1. 1 \in N.$$

This is read as “1 is a positive integer,” or rather “1 is a natural number.” Numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5 show that the equality relation is reflexive, symmetric, transitive, and closed, respectfully:

$$2. a \in N. \circlearrowleft . a = a.$$

$$3. a, b \in N. \circlearrowleft : a = b . = . b = a.$$

$$4. a, b, c \in N. \circlearrowleft \therefore a = b . b = c : \circlearrowleft . a = c.$$

$$5. a = b . b \in N : \circlearrowleft . a \in N.$$

Numbers 6, 7 and 8 deal with the successors:

$$6. a \in N. \circlearrowleft . a + 1 \in N.$$

For each natural number there is a successor.

$$7. a, b \in N. \circlearrowleft : a = b . = . a + 1 = b + 1 .$$

If two natural numbers are the same, then their successors are the same.

$$8. a \in N. \circlearrowleft . a + 1 - = 1.$$

If a is a natural number, then $a + 1$ cannot equal 1. In other words, 1 is not the successor of any number.

Lastly, Peano includes in his list of axioms a setup for induction:

$$9. k \in K \therefore 1 \in K \therefore x \in N . x \in k : \circlearrowleft_x . x + 1 \in k \therefore \circlearrowleft . N \circlearrowleft k. [2]$$

Here k is a class (or we can think of it as a property) and 1 is k . Also x is a positive integer. If x is k then $x + 1$ is k , then all natural numbers are contained in class k . This is the outline of the induction that is widely used today. Let k be what we want to prove for all natural numbers. The base case is that 1 works for k . Next we show that if x works for k then $x + 1$ works for k , then for all natural numbers, k holds [2].

Immediately after these nine axioms, Peano begins a long list of definitions and proofs that he has completely written in his aforementioned symbols. For example, he starts out defining the other numbers in this style:

DEFINITIONS

$$10. 2 = 1 + 1; 3 = 2 + 1; 4 = 3 + 1; \text{etc.}$$

THEOREMS

$$11. 2 \in N$$

PROOF

$$1 \in N \quad \text{Axiom 1}$$

$$1 \in N . \circlearrowleft . 1 + 1 \in N \quad \text{Axiom 6}$$

$$1 + 1 \in N$$

$$2 = 1 + 1 \quad \text{Definition 10}$$

$$2 \in N \quad (\text{Theorem}) [2]$$

Of course, this is the simplest of the proofs in the booklet. However, the others do not get much more complex. The following is taken from the section on multiplication:

DEFINITIONS

$$1. a \in N . \circlearrowleft . a \times 1 = a.$$

$$2. a, b \in N . \circlearrowleft . a \times (b + 1) = a \times b + a . ab = a \times b; ab + c = (ab) + c; abc = (ab)c.$$

THEOREMS

3. $a, b \in N. \circ . ab \in N.$

PROOF

$a \in N. P1 : \circ : a \times 1 \in N : \circ . 1 \in [be]Ts. \quad (1)$

$a, b \in N. b \in [be]Ts : \circ : a \times b \in N. \S1P19 : \circ : ab + a \in N.$

$P1 : \circ : a(b + 1) \in N : \circ : b + 1 \in [be]Ts. \quad (2)$

(1)(2) . \circ . Theor. [2]

While this example may seem more intimidating at first, once one deciphers the symbols it is merely a quick proof by induction. The first line shows the base case; by the first proposition in this section, if a is a number ($a \in N$), then $a \times 1 = a$, which is a number. Therefore, the number 1 works as b from the thesis (as described by “ $1 \in [be]Ts$ ”). The next line is the induction step; it is assumed that if b is a number and takes the place of the b from the thesis (“ $b \in [\epsilon]Ts$ ”), then $a \times b$ is a number. Then it is shown that from this, along with the already established fact that $a+b$ is a number (from proposition 19 in the first chapter, or §1P19), then $ab + a = a(b+1)$ is also a number. Since the proposition holds true for b as well as the successor of b , it holds true for all numbers [2]. One confusing part of this proof is the fact that b is used to represent the general b from the thesis as well as a number assumed to work in the induction step. Aside from minor issues such as this, mathematicians were still impressed with Peano and his work.

Some people have argued that Richard Dedekind deserves more credit than Peano for the postulates on the natural numbers; sometimes they even refer to them as Dedekind-Peano axioms. This is because in the year prior to the publication of *Arithmetices principia*, Dedekind published *Was sind und was sollen die Zahlen*, a book which contained very similar results. Peano was completely unaware of its existence until after *Arithmetices principia* was published and his work was completely independent from that of Dedekind. Peano's work was much more clear and thorough, which is the reason why he is remembered as the creator of the results over Dedekind [3]. For example, Dedekind only writes three axioms, which are equivalent to Peano's first, seventh, and ninth axioms; he does not discuss the equality relation nor

explicitly define the successor function in an axiom. Also, Dedekind denotes the successor of a number a as a' while Peano uses $a+1$ which makes the definition more obvious [7].

After the publication of *Arithmetices principia*, mathematicians adopted Peano's axioms and made a few modifications, such as including zero to form the modern natural numbers [5]. Bertrand Russell took his axioms and tried to apply them to more general, philosophical concepts beyond the natural numbers. In fact, in more than one interview, he states that Peano was his inspiration to start closely examining mathematical logic:

It was at the International Congress of Philosophy in Paris in the year 1900 that I became aware of the importance of logical reform for the philosophy of mathematics. It was through hearing discussions between Peano of Turin and the other assembled philosophers that I became aware of this... I was impressed by the fact that...he showed more precision and more logical rigor than anybody else. I went to him and said 'I want to read all your works....' It was they that gave the impetus to my own views on the principles of mathematics [3]

This clearly shows how influential Peano was on Russell, who later became famous for his work on logic and philosophy in the twentieth century. For example, between 1910 and 1913, Russell worked with Alfred Whitehead and published the three-volume *Principia Mathematica*. In these books, the two logicians attempted to prove that all mathematical truths were provable. However, in 1931, Kurt Gödel used Peano Arithmetic to prove his First and Second Incompleteness Theorems, which destroyed their goal. Peano's systematization was so sophisticated that Gödel was able to convert sentences into unique numbers using it. He was then able to prove that a theory such as Peano Arithmetic will have sentences that are true but cannot be proved [5].

Today, the language of Peano Arithmetic includes the number zero, the set of the natural numbers and the successor function. Although others have edited it slightly over the 25 years since its creation, it still

maintains the same name, dedicated to the man whose rigor and determination helped set up a stable foundation of mathematics.

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