

The Drew Review



The Drew Review April 2010 Volume 3

The College of Liberal Arts
Drew University
April 2010
Volume 3

The Drew Review is the annual research journal for the undergraduates of the Drew University College of Liberal Arts, publishing undergraduate research from the previous calendar year. Our mission is to showcase the intellectual vibrancy of the students of the CLA.

Currently there are two faculty advisors and four editors; editors were selected by faculty nomination, application, and invitation. Different categories of membership exist, but all members are coeditors and share equal responsibility within the journal. All eligible published students will be offered a position on the board with the remaining positions filled by faculty nomination and student application with writing sample.

Submissions to the *Review* require a faculty nomination. Students who believe their work is exceptional should approach their professor for a nomination. *The Drew Review* accepts papers of no more than thirty pages in October and February from the previous semester. These papers must be submitted along with a cover letter and faculty nomination. There is a limit of five nominations per professor per semester in order to guarantee a range of submissions.

As we are a double-blind, peer-reviewed journal, all submissions should be sent as a Word document to the corresponding editors without naming the student author or professor for whom the essay was written in the body of the essay. The student author name and paper title should be in the faculty nomination. Images and graphs will be published in black and white and must be compatible with Word. It is the responsibility of the author to make sure that all images can be reproduced. All published essays will use in-text citations referencing a works cited bibliography (style of in-text reference may vary). Students can expect to be asked to make revisions prior to publication.

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**THE LADDER: REPRESENTING THE EVOLUTION OF THE LESBIAN
MOVEMENT FROM THE 1950S THROUGH THE 1970S AND ITS
ACCEPTANCE OF MEN AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

JACQUELINE DiLORENZO (CLA 2010)

The Ladder, a lesbian magazine published by the Daughters of Bilitis, ran from October 1956 through September of 1972. In it, the writers addressed issues concerning lesbians and, later, members of the Women's Liberation Movement. Over the course of those sixteen years, the publication stayed consistent with respect to its goals, but changed regarding its inclusion of information and writing by members of the Women's Liberation Movement, and the extent to which they accepted men into both their publication and their ideology. These changes were also a reflection of the growing lesbian movement and the feminist ideology of the time; as radical feminist views pervaded, men became less welcomed into the publication. For this paper, eight issues were chosen to represent the evolution of the publication: Volume 1, issue 1 (October 1956); volume 1, issue 2 (November 1956); volume 2, issue 2 (November 1957); volume 9, issue 4 (January 1965); volume 9, issue 7 (April 1965); volume 9 issue 8 (May 1965); volume 15 issues 7 and 8 (April-May 1971); a selection from volume 16, issues 7 and 8 (April-May 1972); and the final issue, volume 16, issues 11 and 12 (August-September 1972). These issues were selected because they represented each decade of the Ladder's publication and because each contained articles that represented the themes of men's inclusion and the relationship with the Women's Liberation Movement.

The introduction to *The Ladder* describes the history of the magazine; when the eight women of Daughters of Bilitis met and founded their organization, they did not originally intend to create the magazine, and when they did, it was intended at first to be a newsletter for their group (Damon 1975). Their intent for starting Daughters of Bilitis was "to begin an organization for Lesbians, to assist them in taking their rightful place in society at large" (i). Soon the magazine became extremely popular and "serve[d], ironically, to do for the Lesbian what the organization itself was meant to do—to bring Lesbians into the public eye and to provide them with a sense of pride" (i). While *The Ladder* did change in size and scope, it did not lose its original objective in providing a Lesbian outlet and resource.

The stated purpose of the Daughters of Bilitis in 1956 was, in short, education of the lesbian through psychology and sociology to “enable her to understand herself and make her adjustment to society” (4), educating the public regarding issues concerning the lesbian and correcting misconceptions, participation in and publication of research on the topic of homosexuality, and studying the law as it relates to homosexuals as well as proposing changes in attempt to engender fairer treatment (Daughters of Bilitis 4).

Of the magazine issues that were chosen, there was consistency in the types of articles published. There were typically political pieces, briefs from homosexual (or homophile, as they were often called) organizations’ meetings, such as the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO) Report from 1964, creative writing with a lesbian theme, the section called “Lesbiana” which reviewed lesbian-centered literature, opinion pieces, lesbian-related studies or reviews of studies that involved homosexuality, and articles which addressed issues of homosexuality and the law. The types of material that were included tended not to fluctuate, although the thoughts and ideas contained within did change, especially regarding the inclusion of Women’s Liberation pieces and the attitude toward men—both heterosexual and homosexual.

The Ladder started as a lesbian magazine which integrated perspectives from homosexual men and ended as a lesbian/feminist magazine which criticized the perspectives of men. However, the viewpoints of the lesbians and the members of the Women’s Liberation movement did not always correspond, which became evident toward the end of the publication and was also a common theme in other feminist literature of the time. The early references to issues of feminism and Women’s Liberation did not refer to them by name, perhaps due to the level of feminism’s visibility that increased later on and because of the publication’s original intention to focus on lesbian issues. In the first issue, the only reference to the women’s movement was that “women have taken a beating through the centuries. It has been only in this twentieth, through the courageous crusade of the Suffragettes, and the influx of women into the business world, that woman has become an independent entity” (Martin 1956, 7).

Some articles discuss ideas that other feminist literature dealt with as well, indicating an atmosphere in which certain issues were becoming prominent across different media. The November 1957 issue contained an article called "On Accepting Femininity." In this article, Betty Simmons discussed the common conception that lesbians do not accept their femininity, most notably because femininity entails "so many alleged and negative traits such as lack of courage, originality and intelligence" (Simmons 1957, 12) and that "it is against this specific concept that so many Lesbians revolt" (12). She also argues that although some lesbians adopt a look that is similar to fashions worn by men, "the error is the assumption that these qualities are the monopoly of the male sex" (12). She cites Margaret Mead in stating that sex roles are not universal, ultimately putting forth a social constructionist view of gender. She concludes, "we must not reject our femininity, rather, we should broaden our ideas of what this definition constitutes" (13). Simmons pushes for a reclamation of femininity that does not exclude lesbians and which is open to all women who so identify. This argument, that femininity is seen as the inverse of masculinity and is thus often negative, is similar to that made by Radicalesbians in 1970 that femininity is a product of a "male-given identity" (Radicalesbians 1970, 200); Simmons's belief that "we should broaden our ideas of what this definition [of femininity] constitutes" foreshadows the call made by Radicalesbians, that "we must find, reinforce and validate our authentic selves" (200). While Simmons's article was written 13 years before Radicalesbians published theirs, it is clear that similar ideas were being put forth between both lesbians and feminists.

Another article in which feminist ideas are mentioned but not identified as feminist is called "The Heterosexual Obsession" from the April 1965 issue. This article discusses the compulsion people feel to make others straight and white, indicating similarities in the politics of race and sexuality in the ways in which both non-heterosexual and non-white individuals are victims of hegemonic oppression. The author L.E.E. begins with a news story from South Africa which describes the bleaching of Chinese women's skin in a government mental institution as "not...for the good of the patients, but to reinforce the myth of white superiority" (10). L.E.E. likens this torture to therapy for homosexuals to render them heterosexual, or "cured" (10). The author argues that

this is being done as a reaction to homosexuality and its violation of sex roles: “the arbitrary current definitions of male and female roles are treated as sacred and eternal, and everyone must be re-shaped to conform to them” (11). This signals an overlap of Women’s Liberation arguments and homosexual rights arguments: that sex roles are not fixed or natural. Both groups rely on the elimination of these “arbitrary current definitions” of gender in order to progress; women’s rights advancements depend on the common understanding that women should not be confined to certain roles and jobs based on definitions which do not stem from legitimate differences, and the acceptance of homosexuality follows the elimination of beliefs which “naturally” assign opposite sexes into relationships. While it overlaps with Women’s Liberation, perhaps the reason that it is not cited as such is that it is just as crucial to the gay rights movement; both need to show that these gender roles are, in fact, constructs.

In the same article, the author discusses problems with psychotherapy and how it is used to assert male dominance and patriarchal ideals:

While these researchers ask no radical questions about how we arrived at our current concepts of male and female roles, and whether these concepts are still appropriate, the above-mentioned Dr. Cappon knows there’s no point in such inquiries. Males must be sexually aggressive and females sexually submissive, he states firmly, and he tells us he sets out to make them that way even if the treatment should kill them. (14)

Thus, even in personal settings like psychotherapy, institutionalized gender roles are pervasive and are reinforced by people in positions of power. Again, these are issues which plagued both feminists and gay rights activists aiming to demonstrate that role division and gender hierarchies are unfounded.

The author also discusses concepts raised by Friedan (1963), who writes of “The Problem That Has No Name”—or, the struggle that women have in fulfilling their so-called feminine duties—in describing the amount of women who go to psychotherapy, their middle-class status, and the fact that they are “miserable in the ‘feminine role’” (p. 15). The misery which inspires

them to seek help is only re-established in the psychotherapeutic setting by doctors claiming that fulfilling the role of a woman is the path to happiness. The essay's reference to psychotherapy as a sexist institution shows evidence that *The Ladder* sees an increasing interest in feminist issues and it is being reflected in the submissions for the magazine. Authors are introducing feminist ideas into the magazine and standing behind these arguments, but, as the Women's Liberation Movement becomes more present and less welcoming to lesbians, conflicts arise which are represented in later issues of *The Ladder*.

Of the selected issues, Women's Liberation was not mentioned until the April-May 1971 issue, when in the "Facts of Life Editorial" they refer to themselves as "the only magazine in the country that deals honestly with the needs of the Lesbian, and the only women's liberation publication that deals honestly with all women" (Damon 1971, 4). Here the author points out a concern that becomes more present in the last issues, which is Women's Liberation and how, while it seems to fit the needs of lesbian women, it does not always address or represent lesbian women. Nonetheless, *The Ladder* still refers to itself as a Women's Liberation publication and "need[s] Lesbian and women's liberation short stories" (4).

Just beneath this editorial calling for more Women's Liberation pieces is Ann Haley's piece "Why Women's Liberation Would Like to Like Lesbians and Why Lesbians Aren't So Sure They Like Women's Liberation." She discusses how the women's liberation movement looks up to lesbian women because they do not need men and are not under the domain of men. She says that many of them are interested in lesbians and that they are "concerned about sex and spend hours talking about it" (5), however, they are afraid of being called lesbians. She concludes, "with the advent of the women's liberation movement, though, we suddenly find ourselves in demand. We are wanted to be living proof that a woman can be a self-realizing human being" (6). At the same time, though, she feels that lesbians are not respected in the movement. This presents an interesting contrast from the editorial before it, which identified itself as a Women's Liberation and lesbian magazine. Yet, here we see that the two are not yet integrated.

A book review in the same issue also discusses Women's Liberation's blindness to lesbian issues. In the book, *Women's Liberation and the Church*, "nowhere does the word 'Lesbian' appear" (Thompson 1971, 18-19). Thompson criticizes the authors as they "are almost as blind to their heterosexual chauvinism as the churchmen they criticize are to their male chauvinism" (19). Moreover, she comments, "the success of our [Women's Liberation] movement will result in a radical transformation of every aspect of our personal and collective lives ... The principal aim is provision of a variety of options from which women can choose" (19). Thompson charges, "She probably meant 'a variety of heterosexual options'" (19). Thus, while the magazine itself adopted a Women's Liberation standpoint, not all lesbians agreed with this or felt represented by the Women's Liberation movement at this time.

However, the Cross Currents section of the same issue addresses both Women's Liberation and Lesbianism. It mentions overarching matters such as the wage gap, for example, which concerns all women regardless of sexual orientation. It also discusses current events in the Women's Liberation movement, including two updates on the feminist takeover and supplanting of the fifth street building in New York City. In a review of an article called "Gay is Good for us All," the author says it is a "good view of why most Lesbians are active in women's liberation rather than gay liberation" (38). The author also cites an event in which many Women's Liberation members "spoke up for solidarity for Lesbians" after *Time* magazine attacked Kate Millett. At the protest, Millett stated, "Lesbian is a label used as a psychic weapon to keep women locked in their male-defined 'feminine role.' The essence of that role is that woman is defined in terms of her relationship to men. A woman is called a Lesbian when she functions autonomously. Women's autonomy is what women's liberation is all about..." (40). This reinforces the concept that the male-defined feminine role is oppressive and persistent, as was discussed in the article about psychotherapy. It is also similar to "The Woman-Identified Woman," by Radicalesbians, who write, "Lesbian is a label invented by the Men to throw at any woman who dares to challenges his prerogatives (including that of all women as part of the exchange medium, among men), who dares to assert the primacy of her own needs" (Radicalesbians 1970,

198); lesbian was, and arguably still is, a popular insult for self-sufficient women.

An additional article on this topic that was taken from the April-May 1972 issue discusses the issue of gay and straight women in the Women's Liberation Movement. Mimichild tells her own story as a woman from the movement with the common fear that joining would lend herself to being called a Lesbian by others, but that she eventually realized her own romantic and sexual love for women while in the movement. She also discusses the reluctance of women in the movement to discuss lesbianism, for the same reason that has been mentioned repeatedly both in *The Ladder* and in other feminist texts for the fear of being called a lesbian. She points out that this exclusion of lesbian issues is hurtful, and that "straight women can lessen this hurt by showing that they understand where we are coming from and by opening up the subject of Lesbianism themselves rather than always expecting gay women to do so" (Mimichild 1972, 25). Additionally, she protests the silence about lesbianism, citing that it is hurtful and angering because "we are your sisters. We are part of the women's movement, yet in your effort to support particularly oppressed minorities of women, you have overlooked the ones you live and work with" (25). She points out the tremendous impact that lesbians have had on the movement and that they are "obviously in danger right now of becoming two movements, one for gay women and one for straight women" (25) and implores that they come together. This is also reminiscent of the criticism by women that the women's movement is exclusive, homogenous, and afraid to attempt to understand differences in women, a problem that extended from the early decades of feminism through the second wave.

This divide between lesbians and feminists was brought up in other lesbian-feminist texts of the time as well. The issue of lesbian-feminist separatism was explained and critiqued by Charlotte Bunch in her 1975 speech "Not for Lesbians Only." In it, she explains lesbian-feminist politics, which involve "a rejection of male definitions of our lives" (p. 212). Bunch also refers to a feeling of exclusion felt by many lesbians in the women's movement. She says that she left the women's movement because she felt that she was in constant conflict with heterosexual issues and fears and that the movement did not

allow for the development of lesbian-feminist politics (Bunch, 1975). This problem that she addresses is also expressed by various other Lesbians who contributed to *The Ladder*. However, she states that any woman can analyze, criticize, and reject the assumptions and rules that accompany heterosexuality. She writes, lesbian-feminism is “not a political analysis ‘for lesbians only’... [it is] a fight which heterosexual women can engage in. The problem is that few do” (213). Despite separatism’s presence in the movement, Bunch argues here that straight women can remain straight yet identify as lesbian-feminists.

The final issue of *The Ladder* has a strong focus on Women’s Liberation issues, even to the point of the exclusion of lesbian issues. Judy Fowler’s article “The Challenge of Teaching Women’s Liberation in Junior High School” discusses just that. She brings up the popular and controversial topic of abortion in her junior high class. Her goal was to open the eyes of her students to gender inequality and the issue of liberation. Her article ends, “Like the first proud blacks before them, feminists are saying, ‘Women—we are not inferior beings, nor are we superior. We are simply human and we demand to be treated in dignity, as full and equal human beings’” (Fowler 1972, 18). The issue does not mention lesbianism, indicating a shift in the magazine’s interest and, as stated in a 1971 editorial, its new status as a Women’s Liberation magazine. This is also possibly a reflection of the growth of the feminist movement during the 1970s.

Nevertheless, *The Ladder* retains its lesbian roots. In “Me, a Lesbian?,” Betsy Jane retells her self-discovery as a lesbian, which was a popular theme both in first-person accounts and throughout much of the creative writing and poetry submitted to the magazine. She brings up a point similar to Mimichild (1972) and many others when she writes, “to my straight sisters in WLM [Women’s Liberation Movement]: when you talk about Lesbianism with open minds and hearts open to each other, know just talking about it sets up a context of new possibilities among you” (32). In this way, it is evident that although *The Ladder* encourages Women’s Liberation pieces, they do not look past lesbian issues in the movement and the conflict that take place between the two. This awareness of lesbian exclusion in the movement is displayed in other articles from the same issue, as well. For example, at the end of her book review, Thompson adds, “While the New York

chapter of the National Organization for Women was displaying sickening anti-Lesbianism ... the San Francisco chapter was welcoming Lesbians" (42). In the next article, "Interview with Barbara Love and Sidney Abbott," Love and Abbott, who wrote *Sappho Was a Right-On Woman*, also discuss discontent with the women's movement. Love, for example, tells, "I was in the women's movement very, very heavily from '68 to early '69, was working with Friedan and on employment issues. I got very heavily involved in NOW, then went to Gay Liberation, and eventually went back to NOW to confront them on the Lesbian issue" (43). Despite being the final issue, no true reconciliation between the Women's Liberation movement and the lesbians; this absence certainly represents a struggle that was happening outside of *The Ladder* and was evident in both the individual lives of Lesbians in the movement and in other texts from the time, such as those by Radicalesbians and Charlotte Bunch.

Of course, as *The Ladder* became more interested in Women's Liberation issues, it became less concerned with the issues of men and the opinions of male writers, gay or straight. When the magazine began, it was the first for lesbians. *The Ladder* began with homage to two homosexual (men's) magazines that came before them (*One* and *The Mattachine Review*) and an inclusion of men, but by its final issue it stopped including men and in fact changed its tune to that of anti-male at times. The introduction to the magazine describes its transformation: "After its early period ... it went, for a time, to a mixed stance – a short alliance with male homosexual goals ... During its last four years it changed radically, growing in size and distribution And limited entirely to lesbian material" (Damon 1975, ii).

Returning to the purpose that was stated previously, *The Ladder* concerned itself with issues of the *homosexual* (1956). However, they mostly refer to themselves as women: "This newsletter we hope will be a force in uniting the women working for the common goal" (1956, 3), and "The Daughters of Bilitis is a women's organization" (Martin 1956, 6). In the first issue's section on "The Theme in the Theater," there is one mention of a homosexual-male centered play and three mentions of Lesbian-centered plays. They do not exclude men, because they do state their purpose as regarding the homosexual and they do include

information about men, but their first issue is largely about women. They also argue that the organization is not restricted to homosexuals: "And why not 'belong'? Many heterosexuals do. Membership is open to anyone who is interested in the minority problems of the sexual variant" (Martin 1956, 7). This is again stated in the President's Message from the following issue: "Let me again state that this is a homosexual and heterosexual organization that wishes to enlighten the public about the Lesbian" (Griffin 1956, 2). There is already a disconnect between the first and second issue in that the writers are not consistent with their description of the magazine's focus either being homosexuals, men included, or lesbians.

In the November 1957 issue, there is an article entitled "The Open Mind" which reviews three television programs on homosexuals. In this review, the homosexual is referred to as "he." For example, "The moderator asked if the homosexual could accept himself if society didn't accept him" (Russell 1957, 5). The choice to use a male pronoun in representing the homosexual shows a perhaps deliberate inclusion of men, one which is later reversed.

In the January 1965 issue, the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO) report discusses the goings on at the conference. ECHO includes Daughters of Bilitis as well as other groups such as the Mattachine Society, which were for men only. While this was a momentous event for the lesbian group, its inclusion also meant inclusion of homosexual men. In this article they stressed, at times, the diversity of the group. For example, the authors included, "What kinds of people were at ECHO, what walks of life did they come from? Here are the occupations of some of those we met: two librarians, a biologist, a secretary, an editor, a school counselor, a chemical engineer, a waitress, a statistician, an investment salesman, a lawyer, a nurse, a housewife, several teachers, a playwright" (Adkins & Tobin 1965, 5-6). This shows diversity in not only the genders of the group's participants (e.g. salesman, waitress) but also in their occupations and perhaps social classes. The issue still focuses on women's issues nonetheless, with its regular column "Lesbiana," which discusses lesbian themes in the media, and the discussion of *Arena Three*, which was an English magazine similar to *The Ladder*. They also introduce the English group called the

Minorities Research Group, which was “an association of people who are at present concerned about the problems of female homosexuality” (Langsley 1965, 24).

“I Hate Men: A Diversion by a Male Transvestite” marks, in the selection of issues for this paper, the shift away from male inclusion and toward anti-male sentiments, although it does so in an extremely fitting segue. It is written by a (biological) man, thus including “male” perspective,” but it is, at least in its title, a piece written against men. Valenti’s reason for hating men is “for being so stupid and allowing themselves to be kept within the bondages of the Masculine Ideal” (1965, 26). Valenti argues against images of masculinity and femininity that are reinforced by the media and society but also contends that women are not oppressed and do have the upper hand: “Come on, honey! Who told you women are slaves today? Women run the world and you know it!” (25). Valenti insists that women have the advantage since they have the choice of wearing pants or dresses, but when men wear dresses, “you’ll see pandemonium” (26). The inclusion of this article can be interpreted in numerous ways, especially in its somewhat patronizing tone toward feminist activism, but it does indicate a movement away from pro-male attitudes; this may be attributed to the growing radical feminist movement which viewed men as oppressors.

One of the most blatantly anti-male pieces, written by Winifred Gandy, is called “And Now It’s Backlash Time!” This article targets men who oppose the women’s liberation movement. She begins, “Lesbians and many other women have known all along about the ‘real man’ hiding behind the ‘kind, protective, considerate’ male who has spent his life successfully patronizing women who sincerely believed that he was ‘kind, protective and considerate’ ... but ... the unmasking of the male can be a shocking experience” (1971, p. 15). Gandy censures the attitudes that most men have toward the women’s liberation movement, while gently criticizing women who do not question the attitudes of men. Regarding the women who oppose the Equal Rights Amendment because it will change the Constitution, she writes, “I insist that you are not protecting a noble document but a shameful black mark against a country already weighed down with the guilt of having from its inception flaunted symbols of a democracy which in fact never existed for anyone except well-to-do males”

(18). Gandy's article is one of the first, of the issues selected, to address the overarching issue of patriarchy and how it oppresses women, both lesbian and straight. The focus on patriarchy was also beginning to develop in the feminist mindset of the time.

Other articles criticize male homosexuality, with which they originally allied. In "Viewing Sexism," Rita Mae Brown discusses the oppression of women, the domination of men, and the way that societal sex roles keep these patterns in place. She begins by discussing heterosexual men but then transitions into an explanation of homosexual men in this context. She asserts that homosexual men "have been so brainwashed by sexist culture that they give us the phenomenon of male homosexual promiscuity or the sadist/masochist bars with the 'masters' and 'slaves'—the logic of our sexist culture carried to its ultimate end" (31). Brown then writes, "What a pitiable comment on our generation, the males in our society closest to renouncing cock privilege, closest to breakout out of role, retreat to more restrictive roles and still cannot deal with the reality of independent womanhood of the self directed non-male identified woman" (31). This vitriol directed at homosexual men, who were once represented as brothers, perhaps mirrors the increasing anger toward patriarchy and the rise in radical feminism of the time, such as the SCUM Manifesto of 1967, written by a lesbian (Valerie Solanis) who argues that all men, save for those who ally with her cause, should be killed; and the Redstockings Manifesto, whose group "[identifies] with all women" (1969, 183) and "[identifies] the agents of our oppression as men ... *All men* have oppressed women" (183).

The final issue, in its book review, discusses *Sappho Was a Right-On Woman*. Although the authors are interviewed in the following pages, Thompson has a few negative things to say about their inclusion of male issues in their book. She writes, "It is depressing to this reviewer to find that a book written with *Sappho* in its title, written by two Lesbians, should spend a major portion of its pages on the gay male" (1972, 40). This indicates the negative light in which gay men are viewed if it is "depressing" that they are included in lesbian works. She also writes that "In the matter of guilt Lesbians differ markedly from gay males as they do in every other way" (41). While this particular piece is not as vengeful against men as Brown's, it is nonetheless proof that by the end of

the magazine's run, its attitudes toward men had shifted dramatically. The magazine became a lesbian/Women's Liberation magazine. In the final issue's editorial, which discusses the end of *The Ladder*, Damon writes, "Many women reading this editorial will be upset" (Damon 1972, 3). Once a magazine for "anyone who is interested in the minority problems of the sexual variant," (Martin 1956, 7) its readership was, in the end, women.

The Ladder represented a new unity for lesbians and expanded dramatically over its lifetime. It evolved alongside the gay rights movement as well as the Women's Liberation movement, but it is most notable for its sense of sisterhood that prevailed over the original alliance with homosexuals. At the same time that the magazine began to focus more on Women's Liberation issues, some to the exclusion of lesbian issues, it also began to shirk male opinions and malign even homosexual men as partners of patriarchy. While it largely stayed true to its original goals, the meanings of those goals also shifted as the women's movement and gay movement became more prominent in the social atmosphere and in the content of the magazine.

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THE EUROPEAN UNION AND RUSSIAN ENERGY MONOPOLY: THE OBSTACLES IN BECOMING A FOREIGN POLICY ACTOR

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Secretary of State Henry Kissinger asked, “If I want to call Europe, what phone number do I use?” (Caporaso 11). When the Cold War ended in the late 1980’s, the international landscape changed dramatically. No longer was there a power struggle between the United States and Soviet Union. No longer was communism a threat to the countries of the European Community (EC). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a democratic and weak Russia emerged from the rubble. The 1990s saw an institutionally weak, financially indebted, and economically unstable Russia. Russia was not a political or economic threat to the European Union (EU). However, since Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia, the country has gained strength through its monopoly of natural resources, mainly natural gas and oil. Additionally, this monopoly has made the European Union become dependent on Russian energy, making the EU vulnerable towards Russian demands and political manipulation. One important aspect of international relations is the study of foreign policy. A nation-state’s foreign policy shapes the way it interacts with other nation-states, politically and economically.

There is a debate over the European Unions’ role as a foreign policy actor. A primary reason for this debate is the fact that the EU is not a nation-state in the traditional sense of the definition; it is a union exhibiting supranational and intergovernmental governance. The EU pools the sovereignty from its twenty-seven member states. These nation states have not settled on how the EU can, or even if it should, attempt to speak with one voice in terms of its foreign policy. The relationship between the EU and Russia presents an interesting case in this debate. This paper will attempt to answer the following question: what is the relationship between the EU and Russia and what does this demonstrate about the EU as a foreign policy actor? First I provide an overview of the evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) within the historical and treaty context of the EU. Then I investigate a case-study of European Union and Russian relations with regard to energy. Finally, I

discuss the European Union as a foreign policy actor in context of the relationship between the EU and Russia.

Creation of the European Union

After World War II, the leaders of Europe wanted to preserve peace on the continent. The One attempt towards this goal was the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The primary aim of the ECSC was “to make war not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible,” as presented in the Schuman Declaration (EUROPA - The Symbols of the EU, Europe Day 9 May 1950 Declaration). The ECSC accomplished its objectives by forcing countries to be interdependent of each other. This interdependence would force member states to reach for dialogue, not guns, and ultimately preserve peace on a continent whose past was filled with conflict. In 1951, six nation states joined the ECSC with the signing of the Treaty of Paris: Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The ECSC can be designated as one of the first instances of economic unity between the member states. The origins of the European Union stem from an economic entity, not a political entity. However, in the recent past this has changed. The European Union, with subsequent reforms in its treaties, has sought to “develop an international role more commensurate with their economic standing” (Phinnemore and McGowan 65).

European Union as Economic Player

Beginning in the 1980s/1990s, further steps were taken towards economic unity through the creation of the Single European Act (SEA) and the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (Nugent 53). Based on the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital between the member states, it was believed that in order to “realize the full potential” of the common market, a single currency was necessary (Nugent 82). Through these economic agreements, the member states were able to come together and speak with one voice on economic matters. This single, united voice can be seen through the EU’s membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), where “along with the United States, it plays the dominant role in the WTO” (Oudenaren 21). This unity as an actor is demonstrated through the fact that members have one representative in the WTO that will speak for all twenty-seven of them. A united front

forces the EU's political and economic unity makes it a serious and powerful player in the international arena.

The EU is an unusual actor in the sense that it does not exhibit the traditional characteristics of a state. A state is defined as a body of government that “must exercise sovereign authority over a specified territory and population,” “have that sovereignty recognized by other states” and to be an “authentic state a polity must be capable of autonomous diplomacy and organized war-making” (State). The EU is a combination of supranational, meaning at a level above national governments, and intergovernmental, meaning between governments, governance, which has pooled sovereignty from its twenty-seven member states. Many EU decisions are taken at 'supranational' level in the sense that they involve the EU institutions, to which EU countries have delegated some decision-making powers. In the EU other matters – such as security and defense issues – are decided purely by intergovernmental agreement (i.e. agreement between the governments of the EU countries), and not by the 'Community method'. These intergovernmental decisions are taken by ministers meeting in the Council of the European Union, or at the highest level by the prime ministers and/or presidents of the EU countries, meeting as the European Council (EUROPA). The EU has gained foreign policy competency under the second pillar of the Treaty on the EU (1992). However, the EU cannot prevent the member states from going forth with their own foreign policy initiatives.

European Union as Political Actor

The EU gained foreign policy competency, Eurojargon for 'powers and responsibilities,' it is often used in political discussions about what powers and responsibilities should be given to EU institutions and what should be left to national, regional and local authorities (EUROPA), (Figure 1) through the pillar structure, established through the Treaty on the European Union (TEU), known as the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The main objectives of CFSP are “to safeguard the common values, interests and security of the EU, to preserve peace and strengthen international security, and to promote international cooperation, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights” (Phinnemore and McGowan 65). Additionally, member states must, as defined in TEU, “pursue a practice of

systematic co-operation through information, consultation and policy coordination and secondly to adopt common positions and joint action when dealing with CFSP matters” (Phinnemore and McGowan 65).

Competence in foreign policy is a relatively new feature of the EU. In the past the EU predominately dealt with economics and foreign policy was conducted on an informal basis, not a treaty basis. The origins of foreign policy stem back to 1954 when political integration was attempted through the Treaty on European Defense Community (EDC) was not ratified due to the objections of the French National Assembly (Barbe 135). The failure of EDC “reoriented” the European Community away from the hard politics of political integration to the soft politics of economic integration (Barbe 135). Another attempt was made in 1960 when Charles de Gaulle created the Fouchet Committee to be a “mechanism for foreign policy coordination” which would provide a forum for the member states to discuss their foreign policies (Caporaso 119). It was a “loose and decentralized” body (Caporaso 119).

European Political Cooperation (EPC)

In the 1970’s the EC decided to re-start political integration through foreign policy. European Political Cooperation (EPC) was created in 1970 in order to “coordinate the foreign policies” of the member states (Barbe 131). The objectives of the EPC were to “develop an information network, to harmonize points of view and whenever possible and desirable, to reach agreements on common actions” (Barbe 132). EPC was based on intergovernmentalism, which allowed the member states to preserve their national sovereignty through unanimous voting (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 43). EPC was left outside the EC’s institutional apparatus, meaning that it had informal status within the EC; specific competence was not granted, yet it was another small step towards creating a common foreign policy (Caporaso 120). EPC gained legal European Community status in 1987 when it was incorporated into Title III of the Single European Act (Barbe 132). Still decentralized, the importance lies in the fact that it took competency in foreign policy from soft law, which is based on custom and accepted procedures, to hard law, treaty-based foundation (Caporaso 120). Even though EPC was legalized, it did

little to “alter the level of coordination among the key actors in making foreign policy” (Caporaso 120).

EPC was replaced with the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by the TEU in 1992 (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 43). TEU created the pillar structure with CFSP as the second pillar as well as a “solidarity clause” that asks member states to present themselves to the world with a single voice (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 50). Since TEU, CFSP has been further reformed in the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty and 2001 Nice Treaty. For example, Amsterdam created the position of the High Representative for the “effectiveness and profile of the Union’s foreign policy,” while Nice allowed certain decisions to be made through qualified majority voting (QMV) instead of unanimity (Council of the European Union - Foreign Policy). It is important to note that the Common Foreign and Security Policy is “voluntary” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 43). Foreign policy remains under the authority of the individual member states as they have not ceded their sovereignty in that area (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 43). Member states are expected to “act constructively” in order to further their common interests and pursue common policies, however that is an expectation; national interests do get in the way (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 43).

CFSP falls outside of the Community Method, which is designated for the first pillar of the EC (Caporaso 121); CFSP instead follows the intergovernmentalist decision-making procedure, meaning that most decisions need to be unanimous. There are three types of decisions that can be made within CFSP: common strategies, common positions and joint actions. Common strategies “set out the EU’s objectives, duration and means to be made available to carry it out” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 44). Joint actions “address specific situations where operational action by the EU is conserved to be required” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 44). Common positions “define the EU’s approach to a particular matter of geographical or thematic nature” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 44). At the top there is the common strategy where the EU’s Council agrees on common strategies in areas that member states have common interest, through unanimity. The Council implements common strategies through joint actions and common positions. The Council has the option of approving them separately, not as “measures implementing a common strategy”

whereby the vote can be unanimous or a unanimous decision can be made to take the vote through qualified majority voting (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 44). However, the member states have the right to oppose the use of qualified majority voting for “reasons of national interests” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 45). Additionally, one or more member states can exercise the constructive abstention clause that allows them to abstain from voting on decisions without blocking it, but they must agree not to take any action that may conflict with the decision. Also, if the number of member states abstaining from a decision represent more than one-third of the weighted votes, then the decision cannot be adopted (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 45).

There are many debates that surround CFSP, mainly because it has been so inefficient. One of the issues concerns the decision-making procedure. The decision-making procedure has proved to be too inflexible in the “quite fast-paced” decision-making environment needed for response to developments and crises (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 45). Another debate concerns the strength of the foreign policies made. For example, the EU has created three common strategies which concern Russia. However, there is much criticism of the common strategies as “they are bland statements of broad objectives merely restating what the EU is already doing” (Bicchi, Smith and Whitman 45). Also, there is the dilemma of enlarging the Union, known as widening (Algieri 107). The problem stems from the fact that the number of member states keeps increasing, while the policy competencies of the EU are not being further integrated. With more member states, the EU is having a problem making their policies stronger.

There is also the debate between a voice of unanimity or division, member states struggle between “their desire to exert power on the world stage as a larger entity and hesitance to surrender national sovereignty” (Algieri 108). The concept of “speaking with one voice in world affairs” has become more prominent over the course of the European integration process, and by the early 1990s it was clear that “merging national policies is a difficult task” (Algieri 108). The changes in the international landscape include the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the transformation of Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany and conflicts in the Balkans. These changes demonstrated the need for a broad legal and institutional base for a common

European foreign policy (Algieri 108). Yet, member states are having a difficult time in agreeing on a common foreign policy. Each member state has different foreign policy traditions or needs, which makes it hard for some to come to the table and create a common foreign policy because they do not want to sacrifice their foreign policy goals for the sake of the Union.

Russia, the EU, and Natural Resources

Within the scope of foreign policy, there are multitudes of policy areas that define a nation-state or in this case the EU, as a foreign policy actor. The relationship between the European Union and Russia provides a glimpse into the EU's role as a foreign policy actor. Within this relationship, there is the problem of energy supply. It is no secret that Russia is the EU's main source of oil and natural gas, providing 30 percent of the EU's oil and 50 percent of natural gas (Baran 132). Since the enlargement in 2004 of the Central and Eastern European countries, seven of the member states import 90 percent of their crude oil from Russia, and six member states are entirely dependent on Russia for natural gas (Baran 132).

Why Oil?

The importance of natural resources stems from the fact that there is "an unequal distribution of energy reserves across the globe," making energy a strategic resource (Hadfield 322). Natural resources provide a state with external influence, also known as political leverage, to pursue or defend a nation state's national interest. Furthermore, energy indicates national prosperity and underwrites national security (Hadfield 323). In the case of the European Union, there are not sufficient sources of energy; therefore it must depend on external sources, in this case Russia, for its energy supply (Hadfield 328). This dependence can be both positive and negative. On one hand it unites the two neighbors on a common issue, allowing for trust to build which could produce a spill-over effect into other policy areas. On the other hand if there are gas cuts or discrepancies within the supply it can divide the neighbors; trust can be further broken and hurt the relationship in other policy areas. Common concerns over energy are economic and political; economic in the sense of maintaining supply and demand between exporters and importers and attempting to minimize any energy disruptions or shortages, and political in the

sense of potential leverage exercised by exporter states over importer states due to their dominant position as energy suppliers (Hadfield 324).

Within the energy debate, energy security is of top interest, for importers of energy, such as the European Union, energy security “means security of supply within consistent delivery of energy sources” (Hadfield 322). For Russia, an exporter state, energy security means “security of demand requires access to a developed and reliable market for the long term sale of energy products” (Hadfield 322).

The energy debate came to the forefront of EU/Russia relations in 2004 when Russia decided to stop supplying the Ukraine with gas. This consequently had an impact on the European Union, not only on its energy supply, but also on its perception and trust of Russia (Hadfield 324). What could drive Russia to shut off Ukraine’s gas supply? One argument is that the Ukraine looking to become a member of the EU and NATO may have displeased Russia, as it has in the past when other former Warsaw Pact countries, such as Poland and the Czech Republic, decided to apply for membership with the EU. Historically, Russia has had strong ties to the Ukraine and would like to maintain that relationship. The Russian government sees Ukraine’s potential membership with Western organizations as a political threat. To demonstrate their disapproval of the Ukraine’s actions, Russia decided to turn off their gas supply. The official reason given by the Russian government is that Russia decided to disrupt Ukraine’s gas supply due to a “dispute over payment,” which disrupted gas supplies to Poland and Hungary, and had the potential to disrupt German gas supplies (BBC News). It remains unclear which gas was supposed to be switched off: was it the gas destined only to Ukraine “to make a local point,” or did Russia purposefully “switch off both domestic and transit gas,” which would affect European countries? (Hadfield 333). What has been proven is that for Hungary, Austria, Slovakia, Romania, France, Poland and Italy, between fourteen and forty percent of their deliveries were lost. Hadfield says, “Europeans believed it to be a Kremlin approved tactic, in which Russia would not hesitate to use its energy clout for political dominance” (Hadfield 333). Russia defends itself by saying that the gas to Europe was still flowing, but that the “Ukraine was taking it illegally” (Hadfield 332).

It is ironic that the EU is very dependent on Russia today because in the not so distant past it was the opposite was true. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the European Union had “a deep engagement with Russia” in order to minimize the potential political and economic chaos of the collapse (Hadfield 325). The EU realized the importance of good relations with Russia since geopolitically they are important as a large neighbor (Lynch 100). As a result the EU initiated a number of agreements with Russia. The first was the European Energy Charter (1991) which sought to help “set the political context of tackling east-west energy issues” as well as establish closer economic relations (Hadfield 325-326). In 1994, the Energy Charter Treaty, a binding framework, was created with the goal of guaranteeing “security of supply through binding obligations on trade, transit and investment culminating in east-west energy cooperation” (European Energy Charter). Another goal was to bring a “predictable and enforceable framework that would bring stability and clarity to all aspect of Europe’s energy industry” (Hadfield 326). Political significance of ECT lay in its recognition of energy as a key feature of the national infrastructure of every European country; most importantly it acknowledged energy as a policy area capable of entangling sovereign principles and issues of national ownership with private sector ambitions relating to trade and investment. Russia signed but refused to ratify the ECT. The goal of the treaty is to make it easier for Europe to invest in Russian energy and to have Russia treat “all European countries equally” (European Energy Charter). Russia is not interested in ratifying the Energy Charter because it would make Russia legally responsible to be fair in its energy supply distribution, meaning that energy as leverage in political control of its former members would have to cease (Adams 20).

The ECT is not the only agreement attempted between the European Union and Russia. The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) is a legal agreement between the European Union and Russia (1997), whose aim is to “encourage political, commercial, economic and cultural cooperation” in order to promote partnership and understanding for mutual benefit (Partnership and Cooperation Agreement). It is based on the objectives of promoting international peace and security, support for democratic norms and for political and economic freedoms (The European Union and Russia: Close Neighbors, Global

Players, Strategic Partners 2007, 4). Within the PCA agreement, the EU has given Russia “regular consultations” at the ministerial level and had set up two summits each year (The European Union and Russia: Close Neighbors, Global Players, Strategic Partners 2007, 4). The PCA expired in 2007, and with the conflict in Georgia, the negotiations for an extension have not brought much success. Another vital legal component to the EU/Russia relationship is the Common Spaces (2003) which “reinforced their cooperation” through the creation of a long term four common spaces framework that is based on common values and shared interests (The European Union and Russia: Close Neighbors, Global Players, Strategic Partners 2007, 6). The common spaces are common economic space, common space of freedom, security and justice, common space of external security and common space of research and education, including cultural aspects (The European Union and Russia: Close Neighbors, Global Players, Strategic Partners 2007, 6).

The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) is important to note. The purpose of the ENP is to open the EU up to the new neighbors of Europe so that no one would get hostile. Should a neighbor of the EU choose to participate, they can start a mini-integration process into EU laws by committing itself to economic and political reforms (European Neighborhood Policy). Russia declined participation in the ENP because it would require acceptance of some EU funds for reform. Russia sees this as giving up sovereignty to the EU, rather than enjoying an equal partnership with it. Any sort of integration into the EU, especially economic integration, would remove some of Russia’s sovereignty in that area. Russia does not want to go through it that because they want to be in control of their bilateral agreements with individual EU member states and not have to adhere to strict EU laws. Interestingly enough, both the PCA and Common spaces were created before the central eastern European (CEE) states gained membership. This demonstrates how united the EU was on Russia in the past, when they were able to come up with relation agreements more easily.

Russia has taken advantage of the disunity among the EU by establishing energy deals with individual countries. Through this bilateralism strategy, Russia can gain more markets and influence them when those markets object to its pressures (Baran

131). One reason why Russia is the EU's main energy supplier is because their proximity. With the CEE ascension, Russia and the EU were brought closer together, making it easier and cheaper to buy energy from Russia. The EU is a big natural gas importer. Pipelines are the best mode of transportation for gas and Russia has plenty of them. For instance, if Russia refuses to supply Poland with gas or decides to increase the price as a political protest, Poland would have nowhere else to go. Ultimately, after putting up some fight, the Polish government would have to accept the conditions of the Russian government (Baran 132). The Ukrainian pipeline carries supplies to EU countries, so when it was shut down, some EU countries had disrupted gas supplies even though they weren't the ones in conflict with Russia. Bystanders pay the price for Russian energy politics. Much of the divide comes from the new member states. In the past, Russia had "cozy relations" with the older member states like France and Italy. However, with the inclusion of new member states, the EU's tone towards Russia may change (Lynch 102). Countries, such as Poland, who have a less than friendly past with Russia, are not hesitant to voice their concerns. Such was the case in 2006, when Russia decided to put an embargo on Polish meat allegedly stating that Polish meat was of low quality and unsafe. Because of this decision by the Russian government, Poland decided to veto a proposed EU/Russia strategic partnership agreement, where Lithuania supported Poland on account of their friendly history and coalition. In April 2007, former Prime Minister of Poland Jaroslaw Kaczynski stated that Poland would reconsider its veto on a new EU/Russian agreement if Russia lifted the ban on Polish meat (EU bid to end Polish-Russian row). As a new member of the EU, Poland is not afraid of taking on Russia because Poland has 'taken' it for most of its history as a nation (EU and Russia risk summit fiasco). Poland has decided that since they are an EU member, which provides some security, they will challenge Russian decisions (Poland may lift EU-Russia veto).

With the Ukraine/Russia energy problem in 2004, there were three important outcomes. The first outcome was that of doubt towards Gazprom's, a Russian natural gas extraction company, reliability and belief in Russia's use of energy leverage over the European market. The second outcome was that the "gas stoppage dramatically exposed the scope and intensity of Europe's reliance on gas imports from Russia" (Hadfield 333).

Third, the EU “was compelled to react but did so quietly with no denunciations of Russian actions” (Hadfield 333). These outcomes show the weaknesses of European Union foreign policy in the sense that the EU was so dependent on Russian energy that it did not speak out against the injustice it suffered.

Conclusion

The weak foreign policy attempts by the European Union are a result of two conflicting logics: the integration logic of the pillars and member state control over foreign policy. There is a drive towards a common foreign policy; however the member states still have sovereignty to conduct their foreign policy on the basis of their national interest. The European Union needs to find a resolution within the conflicting logics. The relationship between the European Union and Russia is an example of the divisions within the EU over foreign policy. National interests may need to be suppressed in order to create common foreign policies. If not, then the EU will not emerge as a competent foreign policy actor and will “run the danger of rendering themselves inconsequential in world affairs” (Algieri 113).

The pillar system organizes the competencies of the European Union into three pillars. The most important distinction between the first pillar and the second is that the decision-making procedure in pillar one does not adhere to the Community Method (Caporaso 121). Additionally, foreign policy competency is being developed by the EU, so that it could subscribe to a common foreign policy; however the member states are still not bound to have their foreign policies correspond to that of the EU. Consequently, decisions and actions are not taken on a united front because member states at times will go after their national interest; instead of the common interest of the EU (Caporaso 121). In order for the European Union to be a serious international actor, it needs to truly come together, not just in rhetoric, but in making the difficult choices.

The foreign policy problems of the 1970s continue to plague to EU; however, at the same time, the EU has taken many steps towards reform of its foreign policy. One significant act of reforming EU foreign policy is the Lisbon Treaty, whose primary goal would be to create a single position whose mandate would be foreign policy.

The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty would help the European Union in its quest to speak "with a single voice." The objective of the Lisbon Treaty is to make the enlarged EU more efficient by reforming decision-making procedures and the institutions. The Lisbon Treaty would provide the EU with a "central actor in European foreign policy" known as the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs (Algieri 112). The purpose of this position is to help, "consolidate foreign policy competencies at the supranational level, enhancing the EU's policy coherence," and, most importantly, "its representation on the international stage" (Algieri 112). Granted the EU has a High Representative, but under the Lisbon Treaty, the position of the High Representative would gain more capacity to act, and be a more powerful position within the European Council and European Commission (The Lisbon Treaty 2006, 8). Thus, "helping to create more coherence in the EU's foreign policy" (Algieri 112). The position of the Commissioner for External Action and High Representative will be merged to form the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs (Brady and Barysch 3). Currently, the Commissioner for External Action has a large budget, but little diplomatic weight as foreign policy is decided by the Council, not the Commission (Brady and Barysch 3). Within the debate of the EU as a foreign policy actor, the Lisbon Treaty helps solidify political unity among the twenty-seven member states. This political unity would demonstrate to other countries, such as Russia, that the European Union is in fact a political entity, since its foreign policy would be coordinated. The EU might be treated more seriously and would be able to attain more of its bilateral and multilateral goals.

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Figure 1 (Communities)



DAVID HUME'S TWO DEFINITIONS OF "CAUSE" UNDERSTOOD IN THE LIGHT OF RUDOLF CARNAP'S FORMAL AND MATERIAL MODE DISTINCTION

WILLIAM LONGINETTI (CLA 2009)

Introduction

As a philosopher, David Hume is perhaps best known for his revelations regarding causation. Both in his early work of 1739-40, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, and his later work of 1748, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Hume performs a highly seminal analysis of the relation of causation. The results of his analyses are two definitions of what defines a cause. According to the first definition, from *A Treatise of Human Nature*:

We may define a cause to be 'An object precedent and contiguous to another, and where all objects resembling the former are placed in like relations of precedency and contiguity to those objects that resemble the latter. (Hume 1978, 170)

According to the second definition from this work:

A cause is an object precedent and contiguous to another, and so united with it, that the idea of the one determines the mind to form the idea of the other, and the impression of the one to form a more lively idea of the other. (Ibid.)

The differences between these two definitions have fomented much debate, leading to various and conflicting interpretations of Hume's greater conceptual framework. As Hume's life began and ended in the eighteenth century, he was not privy to the many advancements in logic and in the philosophy of language which have taken place in the last hundred and fifty years. It might prove useful, then, to introduce something more contemporary to Hume's work in order to resolve some disputes which he could not have foreseen given his philosophical resources in the eighteenth century. Accordingly, in Part I of this paper we consider the work of Rudolf Carnap, a philosopher of the twentieth century. We then apply one of his advancements to Hume's work in Part II, namely, the distinction between the formal and material modes of speech. In Part III, we show that adopting Carnap's distinction and translating Hume's definitions of "cause" into the formal mode of

speech forces us to the disjunctive conclusion that either Hume commits a category mistake with his two definitions, or that they are about two mutually exclusive types of events. Finally, in Part IV, with the disjunctive result of Part III being wholly unsatisfactory, we show that by making explicit something implicitly thought to figure in Hume's first definition- an impression term- we find that the definitions are in fact extensionally equivalent, and, that this result reconciles several major received interpretations.

Part I

In his *Logical Syntax of Language*, Rudolf Carnap distinguishes two classes of sentences employed in the discourse of any field: 1) object sentences; and 2) logical sentences, which he also refers to as “syntactical sentences” (Carnap 1951, 277). Object sentences concern the objects of a given field of inquiry, while logical sentences deal with any sentences, terms, and theories used to talk about the objects in that field (Ibid.) For example, in zoology Carnap notes that the object-sentences would be those statements concerning animals and the relations between them, while the syntactical sentences would concern the logical connections between the sentences, definitions, and terms used in zoology (Ibid.)

Besides object sentences and syntactical sentences there is a third type of sentence, unique in that it has characteristics of both object sentences and logical sentences. In his less formal work *Philosophy and Logical Syntax* Carnap notes: “There is also a third, an intermediate kind of sentence. Sentences of this kind are, so to speak, amphibious, being like object-sentences as to their form, but like syntactical sentences as to their contents. They may be called *pseudo-object-sentences*” (Carnap 1935, 60). While object-sentences are clearly about objects, and syntactical sentences are clearly about syntax, there is an intermediate class of sentences called “pseudo-object sentences,” which appear to be about objects, but are actually about syntactical forms. By mistaking pseudo-object-sentences for object-sentences, Carnap argues, we err in our understanding of language. The misidentification of pseudo-object-sentences can also be cited as the source of many philosophical problems. If Hume's two definitions of “cause” are pseudo-object-sentences, then such a misidentification is likely the source of the ensuing debate.

According to Carnap, what pseudo-object-sentences actually refer to are the syntactical counterparts of the objects to which pseudo-object-sentences were originally thought to refer to. What is asserted of or attributed to these syntactical counterparts Carnap calls “parallel syntactical qualities.” He states: “[A] syntactical quality Q2 is called *parallel* to the quality Q1 if it is the case that when, and only when, an object possesses the quality Q1 does a designation of this object possess the quality Q2” (Ibid., 63). In order for there to be a parallel syntactical quality for some quality in a sentence, the designation of the object must possess the syntactical quality in every case where the original object possesses the original quality. Carnap exemplifies the different types of sentences using the group of sentences “The rose is red,” “The rose is a thing,” and “The word ‘rose’ is a thing-word” (Ibid., 61). The first sentence, “The rose is red,” is an object sentence, as it is clearly about a rose. The second sentence, “The rose is a thing,” appears to be another object sentence about a rose, but it is actually a pseudo-object-sentence, as nothing is asserted about the rose as an object, instead something is asserted about the word “rose.” What is actually asserted in the second sentence is what we see in the third sentence, “The word ‘rose’ is a thing-word,” with “thing-word,” being the parallel syntactical quality to “thing” in the pseudo-object sentence. What qualifies as a pseudo-object-sentence, then, is any sentence in which some quality for which there is a parallel syntactical quality is attributed to an object (Ibid., 63). This criterion enables us to distinguish pseudo-object-sentences from real-object-sentences, as there are no parallel syntactical qualities for the qualities asserted of the objects in real-object-sentences.

Pseudo-object-sentences belong to what Carnap calls the “material mode” of speech, as opposed to the “formal mode” of speech. When we expose pseudo-object-sentences for what they are – sentences about syntax – we translate them to the formal mode of speech. The third sentence “The word “rose” is a thing word” is the second sentence “The rose is a thing” translated into the formal mode of speech. The casting of sentences in the material mode of speech as opposed to the formal mode is, according to Carnap, the explanation for the genesis of many philosophical problems. In the material mode we deal with philosophical problems in terms of what Carnap calls “extra-linguistic objects,” instead of the linguistic elements these objects

correspond to (Carnap 1951, 298). Philosophical problems which seem insoluble in the material mode become more tractable once we translate them into the formal mode, as we are able to deal with the elements of the problem in their true form - as syntactical elements. We are deceived by the material mode into thinking that sentences are actually about the extra-linguistic objects designated by the words they contain. Carnap enumerates some extra-linguistic objects, terms common in philosophical discourse which are part of the material mode of speech: "In general every sentence of the form "Such and such is a *thing*" belongs to the material mode. There are many other words which function in the same way as the word 'thing,' for instance the words 'quality,' 'relation,' 'number,' 'event'" (Carnap 1935, 69). At least two of these words are used by Hume frequently in his work on causation: "relation" and "event," as he includes causation in his lists of relations (Hume 1975, 13) and frequently interchanges "event" for "object," explaining causation as a relation between two events. In addition to these terms, Carnap adds:

Similarly, to the material mode belong all those sentences which assert that a certain sentence or treatise or theory or science *deals with* or *asserts* such and such facts or states or events; or that a certain word or expression *designates* or *signifies* or *means* such and such an object. (Carnap 1935, 71)

Sentences concerning the meaning of expressions and sentences can be translated into the formal mode, where the terms "equipollent" and "synonymous" replace the ambiguous terms "deals with," "asserts," "designates," "signifies," and "means." Carnap furnishes us with definitions of these two terms: "two sentences are called equipollent if they have the same content, in other words if they are consequences of each other," and "two expressions are called mutually synonymous, if the content of any expression containing one of them is not changed if we replace that expression by the other" (Carnap 1935, 57). Of "content" Carnap says, "[B]y the *content*...of a proposition S we understand the class of entailments from S which are not analytic" (Carnap 1934, 15). These terms, "equipollent" and "synonymous," might prove useful when applied to Hume, as he seems to treat the corresponding impressions of our ideas as the meanings of idea-terms, and in his two definitions of "cause" he is giving us

what he finds to be the impressions of our ideas of causation. If the two definitions are taken as being about meaning, then they belong to the material mode of speech, and can be translated into the formal mode. Instead of grappling with the extra-linguistic objects of the material mode, we will be able to deal with Hume's definitions in the formal mode, as sentences about syntax. We will see that this translation helps us come to a resolution on how to interpret Hume's two definitions.

Carnap gives further impetus for translating sentences in Hume's work on causation into the formal mode by noting that the sentences of epistemology, excluding those sentences with metaphysical and psychological elements, can be translated into the formal mode of speech (Carnap 1935, 83). Insofar as Hume's work concerns epistemology, and contains neither elements of metaphysics nor psychology, certain sentences therein will be translatable into the formal mode. Additionally, and perhaps more to the point, Carnap declares that sentences of natural philosophy not amenable to empirical science are really about syntax, and hence translatable into the formal mode of speech. Natural philosophy was roughly what we today know as science. As arguments concerning causation belong to the set of sentences of natural philosophy not addressed by empirical science, these arguments are in the material mode, and are really about syntax. Carnap says:

In addition to the problems of space and time, contemporary natural philosophy is especially concerned with the problems of *causality*. These problems are syntactical problems concerning the syntactical structure of the system of physical laws. (Ibid., 86)

We see, then, that there is good reason for translating Hume's two definitions into the formal mode of speech – they are pseudo-object-sentences of the material mode of speech. We now begin the task of translation.

Part II

Hume first locates two conditions for events in the relation of causation: events we take to be causes are contiguous in space and prior in time to the events we take to be effects. "I find in the first place, that whatever objects are consider'd as causes or effects, are *contiguous*..." (Hume 1978, 75). Taking this sentence

simply as “Cause-events are contiguous to their effect-events,” we must find a parallel syntactical quality for contiguity. Hume never specifies exactly which distances count as contiguous, but we know he would not allow the events in a causal relation to be so distant as to be on different planets. In the absence of any discrete distance, we have some latitude with how we will represent this condition in our sentence, and so we will use the variable x to represent contiguity. As we are talking about space, in the formal mode of speech we will instead talk about space-coordinates. The formal translation, then, is “The values of the space-coordinates of cause-event-designations are within x units of the values of the space-coordinates of effect-event-designations.” For the condition of priority, Hume says “The second relation I shall observe as essential to causes and effects, is not so universally acknowledg’d, but is liable to some controversy. ‘Tis that of *priority* of time in the cause before the effect” (Ibid., 75). The formal translation, using relations of time-coordinates in place of “priority of time,” is “The values of the time-coordinates of cause-event-designations are less than the values of the time-coordinates of effect-event-designations.”

Besides the conditions of priority of the cause and contiguity, Hume states that we believe there to be a necessary connection between the events in a causal relation. He traces the impression of necessary connection to the habitual transition of the mind from the impression of one event to the idea of another. This occurs after observation of two events being constantly conjoined in the relations of priority and contiguity. Constant conjunction is thus the third condition Hume states in his first definition of “cause.” This condition does not hold unto itself though, as we must include that cause-events are constantly conjoined in relations of spatial contiguity and temporal succession with their effect-events. By saying this, we are giving Hume’s first definition of “cause,” which, we recall, is “A cause is an object precedent and contiguous to another, and where all the objects resembling the former are plac’d in like relations of precedency and contiguity to those objects, which resemble the latter” Hume 1978, 170). Taking what we have amassed thus far, we can attempt to formulate this definition in the formal mode of speech. As the definition is about what the word “cause” means, we will use “is synonymous with” instead of “is” as the copula in

our formal translation. Upon translation, we get the following sentence:

Cause-event-designations are synonymous with event-designations which have space-coordinates within x units of the space-coordinates of other event-designations, and which have time-coordinate values less than the time-coordinate values of the other event-designations, and where the same event-designations always have space-coordinates within x units of the space-coordinates of the same other event-designations, and which have time-coordinate values less than the time-coordinate values of the same other event-designations.

Having posited constant conjunction as the third condition for causation, Hume then readdresses the impression we have of the necessary connection between causal events, which comes as a result of observing objects or events satisfying the three conditions already mentioned. "This connexion, therefore, which we feel in the mind, this customary transition of the imagination from one object to its usual attendant, is the sentiment or impression from which we form the idea of power or necessary connexion" (Hume 1975, 75). That a transition of the imagination comprises the impression of necessary connection is an epistemological thesis with ostensibly psychological elements. We recall that Carnap thinks sentences of epistemology should be translated into the formal mode insofar as they have no elements of metaphysics or psychology. It would seem that the sentence describing the impression of necessary connection cannot be translated into the formal mode of speech as it is a sentence about psychology. We take note, however, that all of Hume's psychological propositions do not pertain to anything physically measurable, but are rather phenomenal propositions. The proposition about impressions and ideas that "The difference betwixt these consists in the degrees of force and liveliness, with which they strike upon the mind, and make their way into our thought or consciousness," (Hume 1978, 1) for example, describes a phenomenal property of impressions and ideas, not subject to empirical measure in the way propositions about processes in the brain might be. Whereas the types of psychological assertions Carnap refers to are those that can be tested and verified just as any proposition of empirical science,

Hume's psychological propositions are unique and can be verified only by way of phenomenal qualities. In light of this, Carnap would likely consider Hume's psychological propositions to be pseudo-object sentences instead of real-object sentences, as they do not describe the types of objects that are subject to empirical verification. Returning to the impression of necessary connection, we revise our previous claim that the proposition describing this impression is to be taken up by psychology, and instead treat the proposition as a sentence in the material mode of speech. The impression of necessary connection takes us to Hume's second definition of "cause," as it includes a description of the impression of necessary connection. The definition is "A cause is an object precedent and contiguous to another, and so united with it, that the idea of the one determines the mind to form the idea of the other, and the impression of the one to form a more lively idea of the other" (Ibid., 170). We have already addressed the first part of this definition with our translation of definition one. Isolating the second part of the definition, and substituting "event" for "object," we get "A cause is an event so united with another event, that the idea of the one determines the mind to form the idea of the other, and the impression of the one to form a more lively idea of the other." Our formal translation of this sentence, conjoined with the translation of the part of the definition we already defined, is:

Cause-event-designations are synonymous with event-designations which have space-coordinates within x units of the space-coordinates of other event-designations, and which have time-coordinate values less than the time-coordinate values of the other event-designations, and where the same term of the first event-designation is either an impression-designation or an idea-designation, and where if the term is an impression-designation, then the term that is the second event-designation is also an idea-designation, and if the term is an idea-designation, then the term that is the second event-designation is again also an idea-designation.

We have now translated Hume's two definitions of "cause" into the formal mode of speech, and can address the definitions without stumbling over extra-linguistic objects.

Part III

What we notice about the definitions, now in the formal mode of speech, is that certain syntactical forms which figure into the second definition do not figure into the first definition. To describe this in the material mode of speech, we would say that the second definition is about types of entities whereas the first definition is not. These syntactical forms are impression-designations and idea-designations, present in the second definition but not in the first. This is different from there merely being different entities of the same type in the two definitions, as there are, for example, in the terms “creatures with kidneys,” and “creatures with hearts.” These terms are co-extensional; they extend to the same sets of things as all creatures with kidneys are creatures with hearts, and all creatures with hearts are creatures with kidneys. The terms only contain different terms of the same type, “hearts” and “kidneys,” which poses no problem for their being co-extensional. With our translations of Hume’s definitions, the second definition not only contains different terms from those of the first definition, but contains terms of a different type. The terms are categorically distinct, as they designate different syntactical forms. While the material mode of speech obscured this difficulty, the formal mode of speech makes it explicit. Saying that the two definitions are co-extensional would thus be akin to saying “all creatures with hearts are creatures with kidneys, and are prime numbers.” This seems to involve Hume in a sort of category mistake in the sense set out by Gilbert Ryle if his definitions are taken to overlap in extension (Ryle 1949). The only alternative is that the extensions of the definitions do not overlap at all. In this case, if something is a cause-event-designation of the first type, it cannot be a cause-event-designation of the second type, and *vice versa*. With no extensional overlap whatsoever, the two definitions would extend to two entirely distinct sets of things, and Hume would appear to have posited two mutually exclusive types of causes. The problem with this result is that we find no support for it in the major received interpretations of Hume’s work.

One such interpretation is J.A. Robinson’s uniformity theory interpretation. According to the uniformity theory interpretation, Hume’s first definition represents his primary conception of causation – as the constant conjunction between

certain types of events. Robinson's major premise for his argument is that the two definitions differ both in intension and in extension (Robinson, 130). They do not mean the same thing, nor do they extend to the same sets of things. In response, we note that our formal translations of the definitions are sentences about syntax, and do not concern semantics; hence, the question of intension simply does not arise. With regard to extension, we agree with Robinson that the definitions differ, as our translations show Hume to be positing two mutually exclusive types of causal events. Although Robinson declares the definitions in their original form to have different extensions, he seems to believe that only some cases are not cause-events of both types, while some cases are cause-events of both types. He identifies two cases in which cause-events are one type of cause and not the other: events Hume refers to as "ultimate causes" (Hume 1975, 30) and cases in which we expect a certain outcome which does not actually occur. Since not all cases of cause-events are of one of these two types, there are at least some cause-events which do belong to the extensions of both definitions for Robinson. Also, as a uniformity theorist, Robinson favors the first definition as the true definition of "cause." The second definition is, on his interpretation, a description of a psychological event which would occur should one observe the conditions stated in the first definition (Robinson, 137). Again, there would be at least some cases on his account where the extensions of the two definitions coincide. The same is true for the uniformity theorist Thomas J. Richards, who takes the two definitions to be answers to the questions "What is being asserted by saying that A causes B?" and "What states of affairs are necessary for believing that A causes B?" respectively (Richards, 156). It is safe to assume that there are cases in which the extensions of the definitions overlap for Richards, as we typically assert that A causes B only when we believe that A causes B. The result of our translation, then, is inconsistent with the interpretations of Robinson and Richards, and, it would seem, with the uniformity theory interpretation in general. If Hume is positing two mutually exclusive types of causal events, we cannot favor one of his definitions over the other as being his intended understanding of the relation.

Another prominent interpretation of Hume's two definitions is Norman Kemp Smith's modified necessity interpretation. In his interpretation, Kemp Smith puts emphasis on Hume's second

definition as being the full and final definition of “cause,” the reason being that it provides the explanation of necessary connection. Kemp Smith makes no explicit comment about the extensions of the two definitions, but notes that the first definition, of what Hume calls the “philosophical relation” of causation, requires a plurality of instances, while the second definition, the “natural relation” of causation, requires only single instances (Kemp Smith, 371). According to Hume, philosophical relations involve comparison, (Hume 1978, 13) and Kemp Smith contends that some form of comparison is necessary to determine whether constant conjunction obtains (Kemp Smith, 371). Ultimately, as a result of this comparison, we identify the extension of the first definition as the singular instances of an event the type of which is constantly conjoined with certain events of another type in relations of priority and contiguity. Kemp Smith gives no indication that these would be distinct from the singular instances of the extension of the second definition. In fact, he says something in support of the opposite conclusion, that the definitions are co-extensional. He says that it is the observation of the conditions described in definition one which “generates the feeling of necessitated transition” of definition two (Ibid., 373). It is the same cases which, when observed in the relations of definition one, lead to the necessary connection of definition two. The results of our translation thus do not support Kemp Smith’s modified necessity theory.

Donald Gotterbarn offers a *via media* between the uniformity theory interpretation and the modified necessity theory interpretation. His interpretation relies on accepting the two definitions as equally important and he gives no indication that he takes the extensions of the two definitions to be mutually exclusive. Gotterbarn argues that the definitions are in fact extensionally equivalent, as they merely present two ways of talking about the same thing (Gotterbarn, 169). Contrary to one of Robinson’s claims, Gotterbarn states that an observer must be present both in cases of the first definition and of the second. With the first definition, of causation as a philosophical relation, arrived at by comparison, an agent or observer is required to perform the comparison (Ibid.) Two other points Robinson mentions, which bear directly on the extensions of the definitions, are the existence of ultimate or secret causes, and events which trigger the determination of the mind but which do not satisfy the condition of

constant conjunction. Gotterbarn addresses neither of these, and his conclusion seems to exclude them altogether from the extension of causal relations. These omissions are not central to our discussion however, and Gotterbarn's greater point remains intact despite them.

Part IV

The source of the category mistake we found upon translating Hume's definitions into the formal mode of speech is the presence of impression-designations and idea-designations in the second definition, and the absence of these syntactical forms in the first definition. To express this in the material mode of speech: the second definition is about impressions and ideas, while the first definition is not. Robinson takes this as decisive evidence that no observer need be present for instances of causation of the type described in definition one. Gotterbarn believes an observer is present in any instance of the first type of causation – the observer who performs the comparison necessary for all philosophical relations. The observer, comparing similar instances of events in the relations of contiguity and succession, thereby has an impression or an idea of these conditions, and of constant conjunction. While Kemp Smith does acknowledge that the first definition involves a comparison of instances, he elides the fact that a comparison requires an agent. With this one minor addition to Kemp Smith's position, it likewise follows on his account that an impression is had in definition one. The terms which we thought were not present in the first definition, and the absence of which leads to a category mistake for Hume are, according to Gotterbarn and Kemp Smith's account, present after all, albeit implicitly. If we were to make explicit this supposed elision by Hume, we would avert the category mistake we made upon translating his two definitions of "cause," as definition two would no longer contain a type of term which definition one does not. If we follow Gotterbarn's position in amending Hume, we would simply add that an impression is had of the conditions already stated in the definition. In doing this, we would follow Gotterbarn in rejecting as causes Hume's secret causes, and also events which lead to a mental determination and an expectation which does not concur with reality. Hume's secret or ultimate causes would then not count as proper causes, as no impression or idea occurs of these events. This does not seem too

damaging, as we do not need to include in the extension of cause-events events that we can never have knowledge of. We would also concede that events in which we experience a determination of the mind, but where our expectations are mistaken, are not cause-events. This concession also seems to do little damage to our position. Our new translation then, accounting for the fact that either an impression or an idea is had of the conditions already stated, is:

Cause-event-designations are synonymous with event-designations which have space-coordinates within x units of the space-coordinates of other event-designations, and which have time-coordinate values less than the time-coordinate values of the other event-designations, and where the same event-designations always have space-coordinates within x units of the space-coordinates of the same other event-designations, and which have time-coordinate values less than the time-coordinate values of the same other event-designations, also, where the same term of the event-designations is the term of either an impression-designation or an idea-designation.

By adding to definition one what Gotterbarn takes to be implicitly stated by Hume, we avert the categorical difference among the definitions we obtained in our first translations. In fact, the definitions are now co-extensional, or extensionally equivalent: any time an event-designation is synonymous with one type of cause-event-designation, it is also synonymous with the other. There is no longer a categorical difference keeping the definitions from being extensionally equivalent. This result accords well with the interpretations of Gotterbarn, Kemp Smith, and even Robinson insofar as the latter agrees to the conditional statement that if an impression were had of the conditions of Hume's first definition, the determination of the mind of definition two would occur (Kemp Smith, 373; Robinson, 137). Any case then, in which an impression is had of an event contiguous, prior, and constantly conjoined to another event would lead to a mental determination and expectation of further events. Also, while Robinson argues that Hume's original definitions are extensionally different, Richards demonstrates that Robinson accedes to the premise that they would be extensionally equivalent if an impression were had of the conditions of the first definition (Richards, 155). By taking

Hume's notion of "naturalness" to be a dispositional property of certain relations, Robinson takes the definitions to be extensionally equivalent. With our amendment to Hume's first definition, adding that an impression is had, we have forged an agreement between three major received interpretations of Hume's two definitions.

While Hume's overall analysis of causation seems appealing, in finer points of detail it is more vague than clear. As the relation of causation is so central to Hume's conceptual framework, any obscurities there could be pernicious throughout, and greatly reduce the framework's claims to usefulness. The problem scholars have found is that it is unclear whether or not Hume posits two distinct types of causal events, and, if there are two, which type, if any, is more important. The most careful scrutiny of the textual evidence yields conflicting interpretations, with some taking Hume to be a regularity theorist about causation, others taking him to be a modified-necessity theorist, and still others taking him to be some combination of the two. With textual analysis not seeming sufficient for coming to a consensus, we introduced an apparatus to Hume furnished by Rudolf Carnap. By winnowing Hume's central propositions through Carnap's formal-material mode distinction we increased their complexity, but decreased their ambiguity. Carnap's distinction was illuminating because it forced us to accept a conclusion, given our premises, and this conclusion revealed a serious difficulty with Hume's two definitions. Hume was either committing a category mistake, or positing two mutually exclusive classes of causal-events. With this result being far afield from anything put forth in any of the received interpretations of Hume, we began to search for a way to correct what Hume seemed to have overlooked, or better yet, what he did not foresee. We found a solution explicitly stated in one of the interpretations we considered, and implicitly in several: that an impression-designation or an idea-designation must figure into definition one. With this amendment, we found that the definitions are in fact extensionally equivalent. We reconciled this result with the received interpretations using the dispositional property agreed upon by Gotterbarn, Robinson, and Kemp Smith that if an impression or an idea were to be had of the conditions originally in definition one, then the mental determination of definition two would occur. Once we amended Hume's first definition to include an impression or idea-term, it likewise

followed on the accounts of these interpreters that Hume's definitions are extensionally equivalent. Given the initial conclusion we were forced into, this amendment best synthesized all of the different interpretations.

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THE MILLER VS. THE MONK: A SOCIAL READING OF THE MILLER'S INTERRUPTION

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"The Miller's Tale" is arguably the most memorable tale of the entire *Canterbury Tales*. Indeed, it is difficult to forget a tale that includes sexual escapades between a lover and his married mistress, literal *ers* kissing, hot coulter shoved up a person's rear end, and a stupid husband being made a fool out of in front of the entire town. "The Miller's Tale" is a fabliau. Helen Phillips writes that "fabliaux... in a looser sense [are] humorous tales in prose or any kind of verse, which centre typically on sexual escapades and cynical tricks" (Phillips 54). "The Miller's Tale" fits this definition quite well, for the story revolves around Nicholas tricking John the carpenter in order to be able to spend a night with John's wife, Alisoun. For such a seemingly uncouth tale to come directly after "The Knight's Tale," and from the mouth of Robyn the Miller, no less, is a reflection of the social issues of Chaucer's time. Chaucer's clever commentary on the fourteenth-century social scene can be seen through Robyn's appearance and actions. By giving Robyn a tale that supersedes the Knight's in its morality and Christianity and the Monk's in its morality and position, Chaucer subtly asserts the growing authority of the newly emerging fourth estate.

From the start, the depiction of Robyn is far from flattering. Laura and Robert Lambdin writes that "Chaucer stresses Robyn's physical appearance" (Lambdin 276); Chaucer's preoccupation on Robyn's appearance is for good reason. In the "General Prologue" he is called a "stout carl for the nones" (545). Chaucer's use of the word *carl* to describe Robyn is telling. The *Middle English Dictionary* defines *carl* as "a man (usually of low estate); often patronizingly or contemptuously: fellow." By using such a contemptuous word to address Robyn, Chaucer defines Robyn as someone not worthy of the company's time or consideration. He is a low-born man of no rank.

At the same time, he is described as "Ful byg he was of brawn, and eek of bones/...He was short-sholdred, brood, a thikke knarre;" (546; 548). The image presented is intimidating. Even before he speaks, it is clear that Robyn is an obvious force to be

reckoned with, as he has a strong physical presence within the company. Later, an unflattering detail is brought to light: "Upon the cop right of his nose he hade/A werte, and thereon stood a toft of herys,/Reed as the brustles of a sowes erys;" (554-6). Not only is Robyn large and strong, he is also ugly, with a hairy wart on his nose. Physical deformities were often viewed as an outward manifestation of some kind of internal sin. The wart on Robyn's nose, then, is a visible, physical confirmation of his corruption and sinfulness. Perhaps the most compelling physical description of Robyn, however, is the part that marks him as bestial: "His berd as any sowe or fox was reed" (552). His beard and the hairs springing from his wart are likened to animals such as the fox in the sow. Lambdin and Lambdin assert that "in the medieval period, the appearance of the Miller in the *Canterbury Tales* would have probably been instantly noted as cliché" (Lambdin 276). Chaucer appears to have ulterior motives for making Robyn fit so neatly into the "miller" stereotype.

One other detail the reader is given about Robyn is that he is musically talented. Chaucer gives special attention to the fact that "A baggepipe wel koude he blowe and sowne" (565). Robyn apparently knew how to play the bagpipes, and he could play them well. Coincidentally, this talent is something that is not stereotypical to millers in particular, but this detail serves to reinforce Robyn's lower-class status. Lambdin and Lambdin note that "predominantly... bagpipes became known as a folk instrument to be played at weddings, dances, and even funerals. Thus the bagpipes became associated with the lower class" (Lambdin 276-7). Bagpipes were the proverbial property of backwards, low-class people. The *gentil* aristocracy did not favor such an instrument.

Clearly the Host, Harry Bailly, does not think that such an uncouth man is worthy of telling his tale after the Knight. In the "General Prologue" the reader learns that Robyn tells obscene stories: "He was a janglere and a goliardeys,/And that was moost of synne and harlotries" (560-1). Knowing that Robyn will probably tell some ribald story is one of many reasons to not let him tell the next tale. In "The Miller's Prologue," Bailly instead calls upon the Monk—whose name we learn later is Piers—to tell a tale after the Knight finishes his: "Now telleth ye, sir Monk, if that ye konne/Somwhat to quite with the Knyghtes tale" (3118-9). At the

end of the “General Prologue,” the telling of two tales by every pilgrim was decided upon as a way to pass time and keep themselves entertained on their journey to Canterbury. Bailly wants Piers to tell a tale of his own in order to “repay” the Knight, in keeping with both the rules of the game devised at the beginning of the journey and the social hierarchy of the group.

The social order of fourteenth-century society consisted of three estates. Robert Swanson refers to these estates as “those who fought, those who prayed, and those who worked” (399). The three estates could be broken down into the aristocracy, the clergy, and the peasants. According to Paul Strohm, “even when treated most hierarchically, the estates of society were also seen as interdependent, with each group contributing in its own way to the good of all” (Strohm 2). The aristocrats who fought kept the peasants physically safe and secure, while the clergy prayed for the souls of all and provided spiritual nourishment, and the peasants worked for the good of the country.

The Knight’s tale comes first because of all the pilgrims, he is of the highest social estate—he is one who fights. Swanson points out that “the group of pilgrims... quite emphatically [does] not include representatives of society’s highest and lowest levels. There are [no] nobles: the best that can be managed is the Knight... [who] probably [fits] among the minor gentry” (Swanson 402). Even though the Knight is technically not noble, he is still, according to Swanson, part of the gentry and as such, it is hierarchically correct for the Knight to tell his tale first. Like the Knight, Piers holds the highest social status in his estate of those who pray. It is natural for him to take precedence over all except the Knight. Thus, Bailly’s invitation to Piers to tell his tale immediately after the Knight adheres to the pattern of deferring to those of higher social status before giving the proverbial masses the chance to tell their tales.

However, Piers is not given a chance to speak after he is asked to by Bailly. Instead, Piers is silenced by seemingly the most unlikely character, Robyn the Miller. Robyn is described as “for dronken was al pale” (3120) and Chaucer pays specific attention to the fact that “He nolde avalen neither hood ne hat,/Ne abyde no man for his curteisie” (3122-3). Robyn refused to lower his hood or take off his hat—both signs of respect—for any man. The picture painted is of a rough, proud man who respects no

one. Coupled with the intent focus on his physical description in the “General Prologue,” the image of Robyn is one of a man who is not to be crossed. His physical presence plays a role in Bailly allowing Robyn to speak out of turn.

Robyn refuses to be silent as he should be until his turn comes. He decides to take matters into his own hands by interrupting Bailly and saying “By armes, and by blood and bones,/I kan a noble tale for the nones” (3125-6). Already the irony of Robyn claiming he can tell a noble tale presents itself, for he begins his interruption with swearing, something which is associated with drunken churls like Robyn, not *gentil* characters like Piers or the Knight. For all Robyn’s shortcomings, Robyn’s rude interruption and subsequent telling of his bawdy, sexual, yet moral tale is a clever maneuver by Chaucer to place this character’s tale directly after the tale of the Knight. Chaucer masks his intent, however, by misleading the reader into thinking that the Miller was too drunk and impatient to wait his turn. The order of the Knight followed by the Miller is indeed the correct order, even though Robyn is commonly perceived as merely disruptive to the social hierarchy of the company.

At first, Robyn’s interruption appears to be a drunken miller wanting to have his turn, but Robyn’s disruption could be seen as a reflection of the social issues of the time. Lillian Bisson writes that “during Chaucer’s lifetime the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381 was the most explosive manifestation of England’s social tension” (Bisson 143). As the name suggests, during the Peasants’ Revolt English peasants who were dissatisfied with their social position revolted against the established order. Earlier in the fourteenth century, a catastrophic plague, called the Black Death, decimated England’s population. Derek Brewer asserts that “by the end of the century it is thought that the population, from... visitations of the Plague, may have been half of what it was at the beginning of the century” (Brewer 39-40). As a result of this event, the workforce would have been severely depleted while the workload remained more or less the same.

The depletion of the workforce put the peasant laborers who survived at an advantage. Since they were in higher demand, they could insist on higher wages and better working conditions. However, the government worked to suppress the demands of the peasants. Brewer notes, “Parliament passed laws, the Statutes of

Labourers, insisting that wages should be kept down to what they were before the Plague. The result was labour unrest” (Brewer 40). Far from trying to appease the peasants, the government actually took steps to help the aristocracy keep the peasants in line. Bisson states, “[the peasants] rejected their lords’ attempts to increase labor requirements, to impose additional taxes, to limit access to cultivated and uncultivated lands, and to require the use of and payment for services like grinding corn” (Bisson 152). More financial strain was put upon the peasants while their wages remained the same.

Bisson calls to attention the fact that “the peasants’ resistance emerged from a desire to counter both social and financial pressure from the ruling classes” (152). The peasants did not want to continue to be abused by the aristocracy. Apparently, the attempt to keep wages down was unsuccessful, for Bisson writes, “the higher wages and greater mobility created by the plague’s devastation led to increased awareness of injustice” (152). Overall, the peasants were not as ignorant about their conditions as they were before the plague. They became more aware that they were being treated unfairly. Injustice naturally breeds unrest. In the case of the English peasants circa 1380, injustice bred a revolt.

Strohm observes that “Chaucer’s poetry is complexly situated in the social context of his own time.... He rarely if ever treats his poetry as a forum for the direct discussion of social issues of his day” (Strohm 13). That is, Chaucer’s poetry is never overtly political. Rather, Chaucer takes a more nuanced approach to addressing social issues. Strohm also notes that “the widespread social upheaval of 1381 known as the ‘Peasant’s Revolt’... is a subject for only glancing and bemused comment” (13). While it is apparent that Chaucer rarely blatantly comments on political events of the day in his poetry, he still finds subtle ways to comment on political and social upheaval.

Robyn’s interruption is an example of one of Chaucer’s subtle comments on the social tension of his day. Robyn’s disruption serves a greater purpose than social commentary. Many readers may see Robyn as a typical low-class churl who is brash when drunk and flouts the authority of others. He is allowed to proceed with the telling of his tale simply to keep him and the other lower-class travelers satisfied and quiet because Robyn

threatens to leave the party if he is not allowed to tell his tale and might end up taking others with him in the process, thus hurting the group. Bailly cannot afford to have a large number of people leave, because if they do he will lose their business at his inn on the return journey.

That no one stops Robyn from continuing in his disruption could, additionally, be a reflection of the status of millers in fourteenth-century England. As Andrew Johnston writes, “Millers were important men in medieval rural society. They tended to be wealthier than the other peasants and were not trusted because of their inclination to keep more than their rightful share of the flour they ground” (Johnston 19). Thus, monetarily, millers were at the upper end of the peasant hierarchy. The way they obtained their wealth was through cheating and stealing, which naturally caused most to distrust them. They were necessary, yet at the same time they were disliked. In fact, Lambdin and Lambdin note, “if any of the pilgrims illustrates a link between the gentry and the peasants, it would be the miller, a member of a group that had no identifiable stature, being neither upper nor lower class” (Lambdin 272). Millers were also difficult to classify because they were not landed gentry, yet they were richer than other peasants. Their wealth came from commerce, not land. Land was the traditional symbol of wealth, but as the economy began to shift from landed to moneyed, more groups began to emerge that did not properly fit into the three estates model. Millers were part of this new fourth estate in medieval England.

Millers’ position in the burgeoning new society of fourteenth-century England gave them reason to revolt in 1381. Johnston states that “millers were also the leaders of the Peasants’ Revolt... in 1381.... The authorities tended to view millers as dangerous elements in their rustic communities and Chaucer’s Miller is an especially rough character” (Johnston 19). Medieval audiences probably would have recognized Robyn the Miller as dangerous and someone who should not be gainsaid. By creating a stereotypical miller—and by having him disrupt the group in such a typical churlish fashion—Chaucer is, through the cloak of social unrest, disguising the fact that Robyn and not Piers is naturally supposed to tell his tale after the Knight.

Robyn and Piers tell two very different tales; they are also two very different characters. Robyn’s tale is bawdy, sexually

immoral, and seemingly unworthy of being told after the Knight's tale, while his appearance and demeanor suggest a rough, crude, physically powerful man. He has no pretensions; take him or leave him, he is as he is and does not seem to care if anyone has a problem with him. However, Piers is portrayed in a very different light, and Piers' tale bears resemblance to Robyn's in neither form nor message.

From his description in the "General Prologue," it is easy to see that Piers is not as godly as a man of his station should be. Chaucer describes Piers as "An outridere, that lovede venerie,/A manly man, to been an abbot able" (166-7). Right from the start, Chaucer indicates that Piers loves to hunt and is also worthy of holding the highest monastic title of abbot. Several times throughout the "General Prologue," Chaucer references Piers' love of hunting. Piers' first duty should be to serve God, yet Piers' main preoccupation is hunting. John Hermann writes that "monks have traditionally lived their lives apart, separated from normal secular activities and concerns, in order to facilitate the contemplation of God" (Hermann 69). Hunting not only detracts from Piers' ability to fully serve God, it keeps him from living his life apart since hunting is a social sport.

Next, the reader learns that "Ful many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable," (168), also, "Grehoundes he hadde, as swift as fowel in flight," (190) meaning that Piers has many good horses and greyhounds—both animals essential for hunting—within his possession. Piers should not even own horses and greyhounds, for as Hermann asserts, "there is nothing inherently sinful about the desire for property, sexuality, or freedom, but the monk relinquishes such desires in order to focus with single-minded devotion on the contemplation of God" (Hermann 69). Also, Hermann states that owning greyhounds was "expressly forbidden to monks" (76). Piers is, therefore, in violation of his monastic vows.

The reason for Piers' possession of these animals is made clear in the next two lines of the "General Prologue": "Of prikyng and of huntyng for the hare/Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare." (191-2). Nothing is too good for Piers when it comes to hunting, even if owning such animals went against his vows. That Piers' first love is not God, as it should be, but hunting, becomes apparent through these two lines. Hunting is an aristocratic or first

estate sport. Piers, as part of the second estate, should be engaging in prayer and other holy pursuits. Instead, he rejects that responsibility and spends a large amount of time hunting.

The construction of Piers is materialistic. Piers is described as having “his sleeves purfiled at the hond/With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond;” (193-4). His sleeves are trimmed with fine grey squirrel’s fur, which was, according to Hermann, “strictly forbidden to monks” (76). He also had “for to festne his hood under his chyn,/He hadde of gold ywroght a curious pyn;” (195-6). A wrought gold pin fastens his cloak together. A monk should not have material possessions such as a cloak trimmed with fur and a gold pin holding it closed. Piers seems worldly, which is not something a monk should aspire to be. In fact, monks are supposed to concentrate more on the rewards they will receive in the next life, not the pleasures of the present life.

Finally, the reader learns that “He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt,” (200). Piers is fat, which is a contradiction to the ascetic life of a monk. Hermann asserts that monks were supposed to observe “regulations forbidding leisure activities and meat-eating” (Hermann 71). By looking at Piers it is evident that he does not abide by the vegetarian diet he has vowed to observe. Every aspect of Piers is in direct contradiction with the ideal of monastic life, from his possession of animals, to his costly attire, to his apathy toward manual labor, to his corpulent figure. He is not a typical monk, unlike Robyn who is a typical miller. However, Robyn makes no pretensions to holiness, which Piers does by the very nature of his profession. The others in the company view Piers as someone to be revered because of his “holy” status, as evidenced through Bailly’s request for Piers to be the second to tell his tale.

“The Monk’s Tale” is not suited to come directly after “The Knight’s Tale” for several reasons. “The Knight’s Tale” is preoccupied with the instability of Fortune. The theme seems to be that at any time, anyone can fall from Fortune’s favor. Pagan gods are the main deities within the story, perhaps because the tale is set in classical times. The Knight wants to demonstrate his classical learning and experience by setting his tale in the classical period. The Knight is not a member of the clergy, so his tale’s focus on worldly themes such as Fortune’s capriciousness is

not as damning as “The Monk’s Tale,” which also focuses on worldly instead of spiritual themes.

During his “Prologue,” Piers says that “First, tragedies wol I telle,/Of whiche I have an hundred in my celle” (3161-2). Piers indicates that his tale will include a catalogue of tragedies. Hermann succinctly sums up “The Monk’s Tale” as being “a series of tragedies lugubriously recounting the fall of famous figures” (Hermann 77). An examination of “The Monk’s Tale” reveals that these tragedies are about Lucifer, Adam, Sampson, Hercules, Nero, and many other famous historical and Biblical figures. Phillips indicates that “generally the Monk’s focus is on this world: most of his tales end with a warning about Fortune’s power and the inevitable instability of *heigh degree* and *prosperitee* within society, but without reference to the next world or spiritual values” (Phillips 180). Piers concerns himself more with the pains and misfortunes of this world while ignoring the next world. There is no moral message to take away from the mini-tales within his tale.

Piers’ tale is boring, drawn-out, and “anoyeth al this compaignye,” (3979) according to Bailly. Piers’s tale also is revealing in that it tells the reader a great deal about his personality and views. Hermann states that “the pompousness and unrelenting gloom of his performance reveal a spiritual life characterized by intellectual shallowness and funereal hypocrisy” (77). The Knight picks up on this unrelenting gloom and ends up interrupting Piers by asking him to stop talking because “it is a greet disese/Whereas men han been in greet welthe and ese,/To heeren of hire sodeyn fal, alas!” (3961-3). The Knight tells Piers that no one likes to hear about men who are wealthy and comfortable falling suddenly out of Fortune’s favor. The Knight instead suggests that a better and happier tale to tell would be one about men who are poor and are suddenly elevated by Fortune (3964-9). The hypocrisy is characterized by Hermann’s assertion that “the Monk mourns the loss of worldly pleasures, when he should have been learning the discipline of transcending them” (77). Such a tale immediately following “The Knight’s Tale” would have been completely inappropriate given the content and message of “The Knight’s Tale.” Readers might have stopped reading if they were to encounter the pompous “Monk’s Tale” directly after the Knight’s equally drawn-out tale.

“The Miller’s Tale,” on the other hand, is precisely situated within the ordering of *The Canterbury Tales*, even though from “The Miller’s Prologue” it seems that it is not. As previously mentioned, “The Miller’s Tale” is a fabliau. Nicholas Watson notes that “fabliaux can satirize... and so offer a broad moral commentary on what they depict” (Watson 83). Robyn’s tale does satirize some well-known stories in the Bible, such as Noah’s Flood, but it also carries a moral message that is absent within “The Monk’s Tale.”

Robyn tells a tale of an old carpenter, John, and his young wife, Alisoun. Alisoun has two admirers: the scholar Nicholas, who rents a room in their house, and Absolon, the parish clerk. When Alisoun agrees to be Nicholas’s lover, he devises an elaborate plan in order to be able to spend one whole night alone with Alisoun. Nicholas tells John that the stars have told him the second Flood is coming, and that John will be the second Noah if John only follows Nicholas’s instructions. The plan involves the three of them sitting in tubs up on the rafters all night long. They are supposed to spend their time in silent prayer and reflection, while Nicholas tells John “thy wyf and thou moote hange fer atwynne,/For that bitwixe yow shal be no synne” (3589-90). John and Alisoun must stay in separate tubs so they do not sin—copulate—with each other. In reality, Nicholas does not want John and Alisoun together because if Alisoun was to leave John’s side, he would realize what was happening. Similarly, if they were allowed to talk and make noise, John would notice if Nicholas and Alisoun suddenly stopped communicating with him. In the end, the tub holding John breaks and he falls to the ground; Nicholas receives a hot coulter up his rear end thanks to Alisoun. John is convinced that the second Flood has come, much to the amusement of the neighbors.

Robyn’s tale emits delight from his listeners. After he is finished telling his tale, “diverse folk diversely they seyde,/But for the moore part they loughe and pleyde” (3958-9). Robyn’s tale is meant to evoke laughter and amusement from his listeners and readers. While it is a funny tale, underneath the fun is a moral message that even the simplest peasant could understand, pride goes before the fall. In the tale, John’s pride went before his literal fall. He was proud, overreaching, and sinful in thinking that he could be the second Noah. Genesis 9:11 contains an explicit

promise from God to never again flood the earth: “I establish my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of the flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth.” Therefore, John’s other sin is ignorance of the Bible and not remembering God’s promise to Noah and future generations.

Watson writes that “religion here is at work in a world whose most obvious priorities are sex, social status, and money” (83). Robyn is a layman telling a story that is more moral and Christian in its meaning than Piers’ even though the Biblical allusions, according to Edmund Reiss, “occur... in distinctly profane contexts” (49). He speaks in the language of the people and frames it in such a way that they want to listen to his tale—he is not once interrupted, unlike Piers—and at the same time manages to slip in a highly Christian moral message. As evidenced through Robyn and Piers, being part of the second estate does not necessarily make one moral, nor does being a crass member of the fourth estate necessarily make one immoral. Piers, who is one of the clergy, tells a tale that is more blatantly worldly than Robyn’s, who is of the emerging fourth estate. Lee Patterson calls Robyn’s tale “witty, even elegant—an achievement that not even modern critics, who continue to wonder at the presence of so intelligent a tale in the mouth of so obviously brutish a teller, have been quite prepared to grant him” (Patterson 264), which portrays the profound impact it has on its hearers and readers. Robyn’s tale is also not boring and drawn-out, like “The Monk’s Tale” or even how a church service might be. Maybe Chaucer is suggesting that more people would listen if a sermon was told in the style of Robyn’s tale.

From the description of him in “The General Prologue,” along with his drunken state during “The Miller’s Prologue,” it does not seem that Robyn could ever tell a tale of any value. Patterson points out that Robyn’s tale “proves that the peasant is not the inarticulate figure that hostile representations had depicted” (264-5). The articulate, clever tale told by Robyn tries to negate some prejudices. It is true that at first, Chaucer depicts Robyn as being a stereotypical rude, churlish miller, but through his tale, Robyn stands out from the rest. He is most likely uneducated, yet he gets through to his listeners much better than the educated Piers. Robyn’s ability to hold his listeners captive using only his words is

representative of the rising fourth estate's power over the gentry. The fourth estate holds a unique position in society, in that its power lies in money, unlike the nobility whose fortunes are tied to land. Similar to the fourth estate of which he is a part, Robyn holds a unique position in the group: He is very clearly churlish and crude, yet he commands the respect of the company.

One comes to see that Robyn is not just telling a tale; rather, his storytelling can be likened to preaching. As a member of the fourth estate, not only does he wrest power from the aristocracy, he also usurps the position of the clergy through his choice of tale. Robyn's preaching is not all that strange when one examines the social context in which it happens. Reiss states that "in Chaucer's England it was possible for so-called secular authors to use scriptural material" (Reiss 47). Robyn, by means of Chaucer, authors a secular tale through his use of scriptural material.

Through his tale, he also warns against the damaging effects of pride. Johnston points out, "what makes the Christian allusions seem all the more important is the contrast they provide to the preceding tale... surprisingly, it is left to the Miller's narrative to restore the Christianity so conspicuously absent from the first tale of the pilgrimage" (Johnston 20). Truly, it is surprising that Robyn's tale is the one to restore the Christianity that was missing from the Knight's tale, given that it would seem that a character such as a monk would be better suited to restoring Christianity to the company. Between "The Monk's Tale" and "The Miller's Tale," there seems to be an inverse relationship between one's station and one's tale—the "holy" character such as the Monk tells an unholy tale, while a crude Miller tells a tale that has a holy message.

Robyn is viewed as disruptive to the social hierarchy of the company when he first insists on telling his tale and then threatens to leave if he does not get his way. But that is not all Robyn is. When viewed closely, one can see that Robyn is ultimately not disruptive; he is actually the one to restore order and morality to the group. Just as the fourth estate sought to establish themselves as a legitimate social class, so Robyn seeks to establish himself through his interruption. Through the loud and abrasive mouth of Robyn, Chaucer asserts that Piers is unworthy to tell his tale after the Knight, for Piers is not the moral authority that he should be.

Therefore, it is natural for Robyn's tale to come second in the order of the tales. Chaucer uses a drunken and hot-headed miller, the most unlikely character, to turn the focus from the worldly to the divine. In doing so, Robyn carves a place for himself within the hierarchy of the group and is able to make his voice heard, just as the emerging fourth estate in medieval England fought to find their place and their voice in an archaic societal structure.

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COMPLEMENTARY AND ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE: THE PARADOX

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Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM) usage has been on the rise over the past two decades in the United States. However, skepticism by conventional doctors and the growing interest of the general public make this field of medicine controversial. Conventional doctors argue that CAM therapies have relatively weak scientific evidence supporting their efficacies, and therefore are not likely to recommend such therapies to their patients. The placebo effect is thought to play a role in the positive results documented by CAM doctors and researchers, which is a controversial topic among health professionals. The increase in use and popularity of CAM extends from those of average health to those suffering from cancer and other serious health conditions. Currently, there are CAM therapies that do show more promise than others, although further research must still be conducted in order to elucidate the potential positives and negatives.

CAM is defined as “diagnosis, treatment and/or prevention which complements mainstream medicine by contributing to a common whole, by satisfying a demand not met by orthodoxy or by diversifying the conceptual frameworks of medicine” (Ernst et al., 1995). CAM uses a more holistic, natural method of promoting and maintaining good health without the use of any synthetic drugs or invasive procedures (Barnes et al., 2002; CDC, 2008; Engel et al., 2002; NCCAM et al., 2008). CAM therapies are divided up into five domains, each with their own unique purpose in helping the body maintain healthy body chemistry. The five domains of CAM include whole medical systems, mind-body medicine, biologically based practices, manipulative and body based practices, and energy medicine (NCCAM, 2009). The whole medical system’s domain consists of homeopathic and naturopathic medicine, which originated in Western cultures, and traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and Ayurveda, which originated in Asia. These types of therapies are associated with whole-patient wellness and preventative care (Shankar et al., 2004). Mind-body medicine consists of therapies that manipulate one’s mental state, which results in positive influence on body chemistry (NCCAM, 2009). Meditation, prayer, and music therapy can all be considered CAM therapies because they have a similar

effect of reducing stress and eliminating glucocorticoids from the blood (Hankey, 2006; Lutz et al., 2009). Biologically based practices consist of the use of natural products such as vitamins, herbs, dietary supplements, and natural, organic foods to prevent and/or treat disease. Manipulative and body based practices encompass osteopathic or chiropractic manipulation and massage therapy. Energy medicine, such as biofield and bioelectromagnetic-based therapies, function by manipulating energy fields that surround the body in an effort to improve body chemistry.

Complementary medicine and alternative medicine have two different functions: complementary medicine is used in conjunction with conventional, traditional medicine, whereas alternative medicine is used completely instead of conventional, traditional medicine. These fields of medicine, unlike conventional medicine, do not have strong scientific evidence supporting their efficacy in practice (Ernst, 2002; Markman, 2002; Polich et al., 2009). CAM therapies have been demonstrated to be useful in the treatment of various conditions, diseases, and infectious agents, such as metabolic syndrome, back and neck pain, anxiety and depression, cancer, and HIV (Ernst et al., 1995; Engel et al., 2002; Ernst et al., 2004; Gavagan, 2002; Larzelere et al., 2002; Samane et al., 2006). CAM therapies have also been proven to be effective in the prevention of conditions or diseases and the maintenance of a healthy body (Saraswathi et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2008; NCCAM, 2009; Godfrey et al., 2001; Hankey, 2006; Burns et al., 2009; Semiglasov et al., 2004). It is important to note that the safety of such therapies are still in question and that they may have harmful side-effects (Markman, 2002; Semiglasov, 2004; Bausell, 2007). In contrast, integrative medicine, an area of study separate from CAM, has scientifically supported evidence and is more frequently agreed upon by physicians (NCCAM, 2009). More research must still be performed in order to better excise any inconsistencies and officially determine whether or not CAM therapies actually have positive effects on people who use them (Ernst et al., 1995; Ernst, 2000; Markman, 2002; Bausell, 2007).

When the stress response is initiated by the nervous system, glucocorticoids, such as cortisol, are released into the blood stream from the adrenal glands. Stress levels and cortisol release are directly related to one another. Cortisol is therefore

known as the “stress hormone” and has the ability to alter glucose metabolism, immune function, and many other physiological processes. Cortisol acts by up-regulating gluconeogenesis in the liver through the use of non-glucose substrates such as amino acids and free fatty acids (FFA) that are released from skeletal muscle and adipose tissue correspondingly. The uptake of glucose into muscle and adipose tissue is also inhibited, leaving blood glucose concentrations high in the blood. In addition, cortisol amplifies the effects of the sympathetic nervous system on blood pressure and heart rate. Over long periods of time high cortisol release may lead to the development of diabetes, cardiovascular disease (CVD), and other disorders. High levels of cortisol over extended periods of time also suppress the immune system, increasing susceptibility to illness (NCCAM, 2009). There are also several effects that cortisol has upon body chemistry in addition to affecting glucose metabolism and cardiovascular and immune function. As a steroid, cortisol can cross the blood-brain barrier and has been shown to alter neuronal function, which may contribute to the development of stress-related mental conditions, including major depression, anxiety disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD; Arnold et al. 2009).

Since 1997, CAM popularity has significantly increased in the United States among adults and children (CDC, 2008; NCCAM et al., 2008; Barnes 2002). Currently, about four out of ten adults utilize CAM therapies in the United States (CDC, 2008; NCCAM et al., 2008; Barnes 2002). Many of these individuals can be characterized by higher education and greater income, are female, and are of poorer health status (Barnes et al., 2002). The National Center of Complementary and Alternative Medicine (NCCAM), a part of the National Institute of Health (NIH), reports that the most common CAM therapies, as of 2007, are natural products, deep breathing, meditation, chiropractic/osteopathic manipulation, massage, and yoga (CDC, 2008; NCCAM et al., 2008; Barnes et al., 2002). From these same studies, the most common reasons for CAM usage are treatment of back pain, neck pain, joint pain, arthritis, and anxiety. Other studies indicate that individuals with cancer comprise a large number of CAM therapy users (Ashikaga et al. 2002; Guethlin et al., 2009; Kristoffersen et al., 2009; Tacon et al. 2009; Ernst et al. 1999; Risberg et al., 2003; Milazzo et al., 2006; Mueller et al., 2008; Lafferty et al., 2008; Gerber et al., 2006; McClure, 2002).

Since 2002, the uses of deep breathing, meditation, massage, and yoga therapies have jumped significantly. Each of these therapies has also been suggested to be effective in reducing stress levels and relieving muscle and joint pain (NCCAM, 2009). Tibetan Buddhists with five to fifty years of experience that use a type of meditation similar to Transcendental Meditation have been studied. Results from this group of experiments suggest that meditation reduced biological age between five and fifteen years depending on the number of years of experience (Hankey, 2006). The Adult Growth Exam (A.G.E.) was used to estimate biological age by measuring auditory threshold, near point of vision, and systolic blood pressure (Morgan et al., 1972). Higher levels of dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA), a precursor steroid of testosterone and estrogen and a key marker of aging, were observed in older, meditatively experienced individuals (Hankey, 2006). Meditation has also been implicated in mediating attention; thus improving attention levels and decreasing behavioral variability (Lutz et al., 2009).

TCM and Ayurveda therapies are therapies that are included in the “whole medical systems” domain of CAM. They are both ancient Eastern forms of medicine that focus on reestablishing the connection between mind, body, and spirit and cleansing the body of disease to restore balance and health (NCCAM, 2009; Shankar et al., 2004). Although similar in their overall result, Ayurveda and TCM have differences in practice. *Ayurveda*—*ayu*, in Sanskrit, means “life” and *veda*, means “knowledge”—is based on the theory that illness originates from the imbalance of emotional, physical, and spiritual harmony (Shankar et al., 2004). Ayurvedic medicine provides therapies for prevention, maintenance, diagnosis, and treatment of illness (Shankar et al., 2004). The tridosas, or three bioenergies: vata, pitta, and kapha, are names given to a combination of the five elements of Ayurveda: fire, water, earth, ether, and wood (Dash, 1999). The tridosas correspond to different parts of the body and provide a basis for diagnoses and treatments. An imbalance in the tridosas results in illness. Using the elements and theory of dosas, treatment regimes can be set for the specific needs of individuals including alterations in diet, exercise, meditation, and relaxation. Herbal combinations are also used to enhance the effects of the suggested lifestyle changes.

TCM uses the Yin-yang theory: “two opposing, yet complementary, forces that shape the world and all life” (NCCAM, 2009; Shankar et al., 2004). The balance that TCM functions in restoring is qi (pronounced chi), an essential life energy that runs through a pathway throughout the body called meridians. Meditation, breathing, and movement exercises, such as Tai chi, strengthen qi energy. Qi can be either built up internally through meditation, or it can be transferred from a *Qigong* master through massage (Shankar et al., 2004). *Qigong* refers to mind-body exercise in TCM. There are eight principles and five elements that TCM uses to diagnose, analyze, treat, and explain how and why the body functions in the ways that it does. Other treatment methods include acupuncture, Chinese herbal medicine, massage, and moxibustion. Acupuncture is the insertion of metal needles into the skin to accelerate or slow qi flow. Evidence shows that acupuncture is effective in pain management, and in fact more effective in generating more positive results for pain in specific regions of the body than other methods (NCCAM, 2009). Massage is used to loosen tense parts of the body and also is able to enhance qi energy. Moxibustion involves the burning of herbs in an effort to balance out yin and yang and enhance qi energy. Herbal medicine falls under the category of natural products, and along with Ayurveda herbal therapies have been implicated in the production of some type of effects when consumed (Burns et al., 2009; Shankar et al., 2004).

The ability to alter cytokine activity by Sambucol Black Elderberry syrup is just one example demonstrating the effects of herbal concoctions (Burns et al., 2009). These herbal formulas act as “immunomodulators” that are widely recognized in TCM and Ayurvedic medicine. The most common cytokines tested were IL-4, IL-6, IL-10, TNF and IFN- γ . Cytokines generally function in cellular communication and thus are secreted by cells of the immune system, and recognized by other types of cells to generate a specified response. Sambucol Black Elderberry syrup has been shown to increase levels of both inflammatory and anti-inflammatory cytokines, effectively boosting the protective effects of the immune system. Generally, herbal formulas have not been extensively studied to date, but there is strong evidence in *in vitro* and animal studies that regulating cytokines may be just one effect herbal formulas may have (Burns et al., 2009). Various herbs have also been implicated in insulin-sensitizing, anti-

proliferative effects on cancer cells and inhibition of HIV-1 entry (Samane et al., 2006; I-W Park et al., 2009).

Natural product usage seems to have remained about the same since 2002, although the types of specific natural products used have changed (CDC, 2008; NCCAM, 2009). The statistics provided here for the types of natural supplements used do not provide an adequate comparison between the two different time periods. The data from 2002 provides percentages among adults who used natural products in the last twelve months, whereas the 2007 data provides the percentages among adults who used natural products in the last thirty days. It may be possible that depending on the time of year, supplementation regimes may change to adapt to seasonal demands. Flu season, for example, may give an incentive for people to consume supplements like Echinacea, found to be effective in treating upper respiratory tract infections (Barrett et al., 2002; Taylor et al., 2003). It is also possible that Echinacea use has decreased year-round. The use of fish oil/omega 3s, however, is not a seasonal supplementation. The use of fish oil/omega 3 supplements has been found to be effective in the treatment and prevention of cardiovascular disease (CVD) and metabolic syndrome, and further research is being conducted regarding depression, Alzheimer's disease, and cancer (Saraswathi et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2008; NCCAM, 2009).

By following the scientific method, CAM research does not always present strong evidence to support many of the significant claims about the usefulness and effectiveness of CAM therapy. In CAM research, the placebo effect is thought to be the driving force for positive results documented (Bausell, 2007; Hopfenspirger, 2009). A placebo is generally an inert substance given in place of an active drug or therapy and is used as a control for an experiment. For example, if the experiment is conducted to see whether or not a drug has the ability to perform its purpose, one group of participants would be treated with the active drug and another group of participants would be treated with a placebo. This is to ensure that the desired result of the active drug does not occur by chance, but actually has an effect on the body that is separate from any external factors. The placebo effect is a phenomenon that is known to occur: at least a third of the participants in a given study who are given a placebo will experience the desired effects of the active ingredient. This effect

does not, however, have any relation to spontaneous remission from cancer or natural increases or decreases of symptoms through the course of a disease. CAM research has a difficulty in setting the proper controls to test against; therefore this field of research is viewed with skepticism (Markman, 2002; Bausell, 2007; Hopfenspirger, 2009). Without a doubt, the placebo effect is certainly an important variable to account for in research, however, its frequency in the CAM field in regards to each subfield is small enough to be able to definitively account for a fair portion of legitimate positive results.

There has been much debate regarding whether or not CAM therapies actually improve the quality of life or survival of cancer patients (Ashikaga et al. 2002; Guethlin et al., 2009; Kristoffersen et al., 2009; Tacon et al. 2009; Ernst et al. 1999; Risberg et al., 2003; Milazzo et al., 2006; Mueller et al., 2008; Lafferty et al., 2008; Gerber et al., 2006; McClure, 2002). In a study conducted by Risberg et al. (2003), evidence for a possible negative correlation between alternative medicine (AM) users and survival rate was found. Risberg's hypothesis was that AM therapy does not increase survival rate of cancer patients. Surveyed results show a significant positive correlation between mental distress levels, increased depression, poorer general health, increased fear of reoccurrence, and AM therapy (Carlsson et al., 2001). The conclusion of why exactly cancer patients that used AM therapy had a shorter survival than non-users remains unknown (Risberg et al., 2003). A causative relationship between the general high levels of distress and survival rate cannot be established because of the many external factors that exist: failure to try conventional treatment, use of harmful treatments, and hiding of more severe symptoms by patients, which would indicate the presence of an aggressive form of cancer. Quality of life measurements were not taken in this study, but could have been useful in supporting or rejecting the original hypothesis and conclusions (Risberg et al., 2003).

Mueller et al. (2008) looked into women with a high risk of developing either breast or ovarian cancer and their use of CAM therapy and found that this group of people also used CAM therapies to help prevent unwanted cancer development. Recently diagnosed cancer patients have reported that their motivations for using CAM therapies are to improve quality of life, enhance

immune function, and to actively take part in self-care (Richardson et al., 2000). Other studies suggest that alternative medicine is used as a coping strategy in response to the distress of the patient (Ashikaga et al., 2002; Cassileth et al., 1984). It is important to note that about three-quarters of post-operative CAM users found CAM therapy to be helpful in recovery from surgery (Ashikaga et al., 2002). High levels of depression and anxiety among patients and survivors are associated with CAM usage as well (Mueller et al., 2008).

In a study performed by Kristoffersen et al. (2009), CAM therapy was mostly used among poor prognosis cancer patients as opposed to a better prognosis group (Kristoffersen et al., 2009). The participants in this study were colon, breast, and tracheal cancer patients. CAM providers and the use of self-support and CAM techniques were the defining characteristics that separated the poor prognosis group from the better prognosis group. There was no difference between the groups, except in over-the-counter dietary supplement usage; therefore it was concluded that CAM usage can be associated with a physician's determination of a low chance of survival even after conventional methods have either failed or have been deemed futile by the physician (Kristoffersen et al., 2009; Lafferty et al., 2008).

Guethlin et al. (2009) performed a study comparing cancer patients receiving homeopathic care versus cancer patients receiving conventional care (Guethlin et al., 2009). Their findings indicated that homeopathic medicine is used at a different phase of treatment than cancer patients receiving conventional care; patients at homeopathic clinics have a longer history of cancer and a higher percentage of them have already undergone radiation and chemotherapy. Those patients receiving conventional treatment are patients who have just recently been diagnosed with cancer and have either recently undergone surgery or have recently been informed of the progression of their cancer. Both groups were comparable in their rating of their overall quality of life. For further study, it was recommended by the researchers that patients in similar stages of cancer treatment should be recruited for a more distinct conclusion to be drawn.

The "insufficient" evidence of the research performed in CAM may lead one to consider the safety of CAM therapy, overall. It is fact that research in CAM does not match the standards of

conventional medical research and yet is still used by many people, doctors and patients alike (Ernst, 2000). There has, however, been enough research performed in CAM to be able to predict a primary risk/benefit analysis. CAM researchers seem to be scrutinized by peers because of how unconventional CAM therapies are. To receive unbiased peer reviews, CAM researchers, to an extent, must reframe their views and present them in a more “scientific” way to the rest of the world for a greater support for the field to be established (Polich et al., 2009). The amount of funding available for CAM research is scarce, and the research in the field is underdeveloped because of the lack of funding and general interest among researchers to pursue CAM research (Ernst, 2000).

In a recent article published by the *New York Times*, a woman who was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer had gone into remission five years after she was diagnosed (Konrad, 2009). Her physician had recommended to her at the time of diagnosis that there was nothing that could be done to help her and that death was imminent. This woman sought CAM therapy to relieve side-effects of nausea and stress from chemotherapy. In this woman’s case, it seems that CAM therapy helped her enter remission. She was then able to persuade her health insurance company to subsidize her payments on CAM therapy. This concept is interesting because CAM is outside of the realm of conventional medicine, and therefore is on the border of being considered “real” medicine. If an individual can make a case for requiring the use of CAM therapy to prevent or treat a current condition of theirs, it is possible for health insurance companies to cover at least some of the costs. Since the popularity of CAM therapy is rising in the United States, it is likely that health insurance companies may have to supply CAM insurance to those that require the therapies. The article also states the issue of unknown safety levels of CAM therapy and recommends an independently owned website to check safety levels of specific natural products to avoid any unlisted or toxic ingredients. Supplements are not regulated by the FDA, so the standards for these natural products are not as high as standards are for conventional drugs (NCCAM, 2009). Toxic ingredients have been reported in such natural products, and therefore a level of precaution must be observed (Konrad, 2009).

Complementary and alternative medicine is gaining popularity among the public for its many indications as a “natural alternative” to using conventional therapies. Although benefits have been observed and scientifically demonstrated for some CAM therapies, the majority of the therapies do not have definitive evidence to suggest that more good is produced than harm. Further research must be performed to elucidate the specific functions of each therapy due to the increasing numbers of people engaging in CAM usage. At the moment, this advanced, definitive research is unavailable, yet people ignore the risk they take by using CAM. The placebo effect may have some role in promoting CAM usage. If the perceived benefit is experienced by a group of people, they are likely to spread their experiences to other people and potentially influence their experience with CAM. These other groups of people may believe that the CAM treatment is yielding a positive outcome, but in reality it may just be the placebo effect at work. This possibility would not necessarily be a negative outcome because CAM provides an outlet for patients to take an active role in maintaining their well-being.

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BINGE DRINKING AMONG DREW UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATES: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER, ALCOHOL, AND AGGRESSION

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Abstract

The present study enlisted the use of an online questionnaire to explore the relationship between binge drinking and gender differences in aggression. The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test, Rutgers Alcohol Problem Index, and Williams Alcohol Problem Index were used to distinguish binge drinkers from non-binge drinkers and identify levels of alcohol related issues such as aggression and victimization. It was expected that males and females would differ in the types of aggression they engaged in: males were expected to be more physically aggressive, and females were expected to be more verbally aggressive. It was also expected that females would score higher than males on levels of victimization. Finally, it was hypothesized that binge drinking would tend to decrease with class year, meaning freshman and sophomores would engage in higher levels of binge drinking than juniors and seniors. The results did not support the gender differences that were expected in aggression, although one statistically significant difference indicated males were more likely to engage in a verbal disagreement with someone of the same sex. The results also did not support the hypothesis that binge drinking would tend to decrease with class year; however, trends for all hypotheses were noted. Most importantly, while the results did not find differences between males and females on victimization, the number of responses given by both sexes suggests high rates of victimization due to binge drinking among this undergraduate sample.

Binge drinking, defined for males as consuming five or more drinks consecutively and for females as consuming four or more drinks consecutively, is a severely maladaptive and dangerous pattern of alcohol consumption (Wechsler and Nelson 2001). When a person has binged on three or more occasions in a span of two weeks, he or she has engaged in frequent binge

drinking, a more hazardous form of bingeing (Wechsler and Nelson 2008). Alcohol use inhibits proper functioning of the frontal lobe, often resulting in poor judgment and impulsivity (Courtney and Polich). As a result, binge drinking is highly correlated with negative behaviors, including increased vandalism, health risks, assault, aggression, impulsive acts, unintended injuries, driving while under the influence, and risky sexual behavior (Wechsler and Nelson 2008). Not only do binge drinkers frequently participate in activities that are harmful to themselves while binge drinking, but many also cause harm to others. Non-binge drinkers report having been victimized by binge drinkers through having their property damaged, routines interrupted, or facing an unwelcomed sexual advance (Wechsler and Nelson 2001).

Studies that enlist the use of standardized measures to assess binge drinking and problems associated with drinking such as the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test and the Rutgers Alcohol Problem Index have consistently shown that young adults from ages eighteen to twenty-five and college students, in particular, are at a significantly higher risk of engaging in binge drinking behavior. In fact, studies that investigate alcohol use in young adults, including the CORE survey, the Monitoring the Future study, and the National College Health Risk Behavior Survey, all report that an estimated 40% of students attending a four-year college in the United States engage in binge drinking or frequent binge drinking (Wechsler and Nelson 2008). The influence of peers is often linked to young adult substance use, either as a protective factor in decreasing the use of substances or as a risk factor for an increase in substance use (Andrews). However, in residential colleges, the latter is often the case, as alcohol becomes easily accessible to underage students and students find themselves living among peer groups and attending parties that promote irresponsible drinking habits such as binge drinking. In addition, binge drinking may be used to cope with distress and also tends to occur on days when extreme stressors are confronted (Grzywacz and Almeida). Since the academic and social environment of colleges can be considered extremely stressful and demanding for undergraduate students, it is not surprising that college students tend to have high rates of binge drinking. The serious consequences of binge drinking along with alarming prevalence rates among college students raise the need for further investigation of the variables surrounding such alcohol

abuse in the undergraduate population.

Aggression is one of the most serious side effects of binge drinking, as it often leads to self-injury or victimization of others. Wells and Graham found some support for the theory that the involvement of alcohol alone is significant, especially in explaining the escalation of aggression into more serious forms of violence. Intoxication level is thought to be a more important indicator of aggression risk and severity (Wells and Graham 2003). Therefore, binge drinking can be especially dangerous, as an individual typically reaches high levels of intoxication in short periods of time, as college students do when they “drink to get drunk” (Wechsler and Nelson 2001). Alcohol-related aggression is also more likely to occur at night and on weekends and may be attributed not to an individual’s personality characteristics, but to the disinhibiting effects of alcohol, as well as the effects of the environment (Wells and Graham 2003). A college campus tends to combine all of these features—parties are often held on nights and weekends and popular drinking games may lead to both increased levels of intoxication and aggression.

Gender is yet another significant variable that affects both the tendency to binge drink as well as the types of behavior one engages in while binge drinking. Since aggression is stereotypically associated with males, there has been little research done on the relationship between females and aggression, especially with the involvement of alcohol. Most previous studies that focused on males revealed that intoxicated males were more likely to become aggressive in comparison to sober males. However, Wells et al. (2007) also found that fighting could be more easily predicted in females after drinking than in comparison to males. This use of gender as a predictor of fights after heavy episodic drinking was more consistent in female high school drop-outs than in female college students. In contrast, another study found that aggressive incidents reported by males were significantly more likely to involve alcohol in comparison to females and that this relationship remained consistent even after controlling for age and drinking patterns (Wells and Graham 2003). Hoaken and Pihl reported that while women did not react to alcohol intoxication with heightened aggression, they did tend to manifest aggression when highly and directly provoked. Therefore, they hypothesized that aggression displayed by women

can be much more easily predicted by the level of provocation they face, whereas intoxication tends to facilitate higher levels of aggression in men, regardless of the level of provocation (Hoaken and Pihl). These inconsistencies in past results signify the need to study gender further in concordance with alcohol abuse consequences. Therefore, the present study sought to further investigate the gender differences that might exist in the relationship between binge drinking and aggression.

Several demographic variables may also be closely related to binge drinking tendencies and consequences. Age is one variable that may be a predictor of the tendency to engage in binge drinking. Previous research has shown that the prevalence of drinking to intoxication peaks among eighteen and nineteen year olds, tends to stay consistent in the early twenties, and declines thereafter (Kypri, Langley, and Stephenson). While making the transition from high school to college, younger students may be most vulnerable to peer influences in the process of making friends, and as a result may be more vulnerable to binge drinking, in comparison to their upperclassman peers who already have solidified friend groups. Despite this explanation, Wechsler et al. (1995) found that a student's year in college does not appear to be predictive of binge drinking behavior and that freshmen did not report being at higher risk. This suggests that the predictive value of age may vary by institution. In addition, a student's place of residence and demographic concentrations within residential halls on campus may also be related to binge drinking. Wechsler and Meichun (2003) suggested that decreasing heavy concentrations of young, male, and white students in residence halls, as well as encouraging older students to live on campus, especially in high-risk areas such as fraternities, may decrease the amount of binge drinking. The present study sought to investigate the relationship between class year, binge drinking, and aggression, as well as the relationship between place of residence and the tendency to engage in binge drinking.

In consideration of all of the highlighted factors in previous alcohol studies, this study investigated the relationship between several variables including binge drinking, gender, aggression, and class year in the undergraduate population at Drew University. It was hypothesized that in concordance with previous studies, high levels of binge drinking would correlate with

increased aggressive behaviors. In addition, it was hypothesized that the specific types of aggressive behaviors exhibited would differ between males and females. It was predicted that males would be more likely to engage in physical aggression while under the influence of alcohol, but that both males and females would score similarly in the levels of verbal aggression they engaged in after drinking. Since males tend to be more physically assertive and tend to exhibit more externalizing behaviors than females, it was predicted that this pattern would remain consistent, and possibly even increase after binge drinking. In the present study questions about whether the participant had been in a verbal argument with someone of their own or the opposite sex were also included. It was hypothesized that males and females would both be more likely to engage in an argument with someone of the same sex. The relationship between class year (freshmen, sophomore, junior, and senior) and binge drinking was also explored. Finally, based upon findings from previous studies, it was hypothesized that the highest rates of binge drinking would be among freshmen and sophomores, with decreased levels of binge drinking among juniors and seniors.

Method

Participants

Participants included undergraduate students at Drew University. A campus-wide e-mail was sent to all undergraduate students asking them to participate in a web-based survey. Participants were informed that if they completed the survey their name would be put in a raffle to win a gift certificate for ten dollars to the University Bookstore. Drew University's Internal Review Board (IRB) approved the procedure and measures used for this study.

Materials

AUDIT. (World Health Organization): The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT), a ten item self-report questionnaire, was created by the World Health Organization to screen for harmful patterns of alcohol consumption, such as binge drinking. The AUDIT classifies a single drink serving as containing approximately fourteen grams of ethanol and clarifies what is considered a single drink. Participants responded on a Likert scale from 0 to 4, with 0 indicating little or no alcohol consumption and

no hazardous drinking and 4 indicating the most problematic drinking habits. Measures include questions such as “Have you or someone else been injured because of your drinking?” and “How often do you have five or more drinks on one occasion?” This questionnaire was chosen for this study in order to distinguish binge drinkers from non-binge drinkers and identify alcohol-related consequences.

R.A.P.I. (Rutgers University, 1989): The Rutgers’ Alcohol Problem Index (R.A.P.I.) is a screening tool for adolescent problem drinking consisting of eighteen items, which measure abuse and dependence, as well as individual and social consequences of drinking. Respondents are asked to report how often each item happened to them because of their alcohol use during the last year on a scale from 0 to 4, with 0 indicating none and 4 indicating more than five times. Items include statements such as, “Noticed a change in your personality,” and “Suddenly found yourself in a place that you could not remember getting to.” In order to further assess the types of aggressive transactions that took place while under the influence, I added three more items that specified being involved in a physical fight and that inquired as to the sex of the person with whom the participant found themselves in a verbal argument. In addition to the 21 items, I added six more questions, using the same scale, to investigate how some students may have been victimized by binge drinkers, which I labeled as the Williams Alcohol Problem Index (W.A.P.I). Written instructions notified participants that for these questions they should indicate how many times they had experienced each of the situations due to another person’s binge drinking. These items included, “Had something that you cared about damaged,” and “Had your studies or daily routine interrupted.” Participants’ scores from their completion of the original eighteen R.A.P.I. items were then tallied to indicate if a drinking problem existed and to investigate the severity and consequences of excessive drinking. The last six questions, which targeted students who had been victimized by binge drinkers, were separately used as additional information about the range of the effects of drinking on campus during analysis.

Demographic Variables: Finally, participants completed a questionnaire which requested their sex, age, class year at Drew University, place of residence (on/off campus or with parents),

dormitory, and relationship status (single, in a monogamous dating relationship, cohabiting with a domestic partner, or other).

Procedure

A web-based questionnaire consisting of the AUDIT, R.A.P.I., and demographic survey was e-mailed campus-wide to all undergraduates at Drew University. Prospective participants were informed that if they completed the questionnaires their name would be entered in a drawing to win a ten dollar gift certificate to the university bookstore. An html link to the questionnaire was included in the e-mail. Once students decided to participate, they clicked on that link, which led them to a separate web page consisting of the informed consent.

After reading the informed consent, participants were to check a box indicating that they had read the document and agreed to participate in the study. After checking the box and clicking "begin surveys," participants were directed to the first questionnaire, the AUDIT. After completing the AUDIT, participants had to select "next" at the bottom of the web page to continue on to instructions on how to complete the next questionnaire, the R.A.P.I. Once again, participants had to click on "next" to continue on to the web page with the questions from the R.A.P.I. After completing the first portion of the R.A.P.I., when the participant clicked "next," instructions were given on how to answer the questions from the W.A.P.I. concerning the effects that he or she felt due to others' binge drinking. The participant then needed to click "next" in order for these questions to appear on a page entitled R.A.P.I. After completing these questions and selecting next, the participant was notified that the following page would be a questionnaire that asks demographic questions.

After completing the final page comprised of questions regarding demographic information, the participant had the option to click "send" if he or she wanted their responses to be seen or "exit" if they did not wish to send their responses back. Clicking either option redirected the participant to a separate web page containing the debriefing form, which explained the rationale behind the study, as well as the expected results. Participants were also provided with contact information for the main researcher, faculty advisor, and the Drew University counseling services, so that they were provided with professional resources

should the nature of the questions asked trouble them.

Results

A total of 125 Drew students participated in the online questionnaire: 92 females and 31 males. One participant chose not to specify their sex. In terms of class year, 20 freshmen, 30 sophomores, 41 juniors, and 32 seniors provided responses to the study. Percentage scores were calculated for each participant; the raw data for participants specified “none” when a question was left unanswered. The percentages were derived by taking the total of all of the participants’ responses from the number of questions he or she actually responded to, ensuring that a participant’s score was not affected by choosing to leave a question blank. In addition, the relationship between the three questionnaires was measured by a correlation analysis. A correlation analysis between the AUDIT and the R.A.P.I. indicated $r=.804$, $p < .05$ and between the AUDIT and the W.A.P.I. yielded $r= .481$, $p < .05$. The correlation between the R.A.P.I. and the W.A.P.I. was $r=.626$, $p < .05$. As expected, there were significant correlations between all three questionnaires, the AUDIT, R.A.P.I., and W.A.P.I., providing further validity for the methods used.

AUDIT: First, the overall mean score on the AUDIT for all participants was found to be $\underline{M}= .1753$. Overall mean scores for both males and females were also found: males’ scores were $\underline{M}=.2158$, $\underline{SD}=.20596$ and females’ scores were $\underline{M}=.1602$, $\underline{SD}= .13394$. In addition, the mean scores for each measure on the

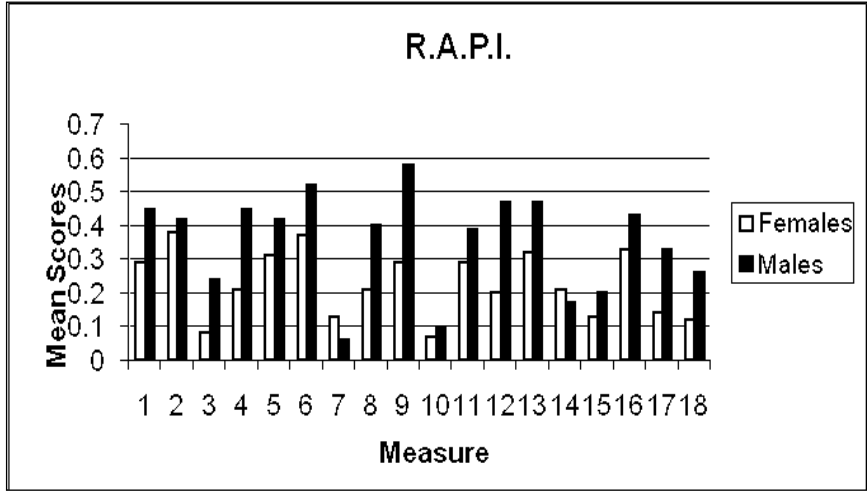
Figure 1



AUDIT for both sexes were reviewed, which indicated that males reported higher scores on every measure. This trend that males reported higher levels of alcohol consumption provides support for previous research. An independent samples t-test was performed in order to ascertain on which measures the males scored significantly higher than the females. Measure 2, “How many drinks containing alcohol do you have on a typical day when you are drinking?,” yielded males’ scores as $M=1.44$, $SD=1.288$, and females’ scores as $M= .79$, $SD=.851$, $t(112)=-2.971$, $p=.004$. The analysis revealed that males scored significantly higher than females on measure 2. In addition, males’ scores were also significantly higher on measure 6, “How often during the last year have you needed a first drink in the morning to get yourself going after a heavy drinking session?” as the males’ scores were $M=.23$, $SD= .669$, and females’ scores were $M=.01$, $SD=.104$, $t(121) = -2.999$, $p=.003$.

R.A.P.I.: First, the overall mean score for all participants on the R.A.P.I. was found to be $M=.0886$, with males’ scores as $M=.1206$, $SD=.18439$ and females’ scores as $M=.0777$, $SD= .12258$. The mean overall score for both males and females on the R.A.P.I. was a t-test for equality of means performed on each R.A.P.I. question with the grouping variable defined as gender in order to test for the hypothesis that males would score higher on questions about alcohol related problems, specifically aggression.

Figure 2

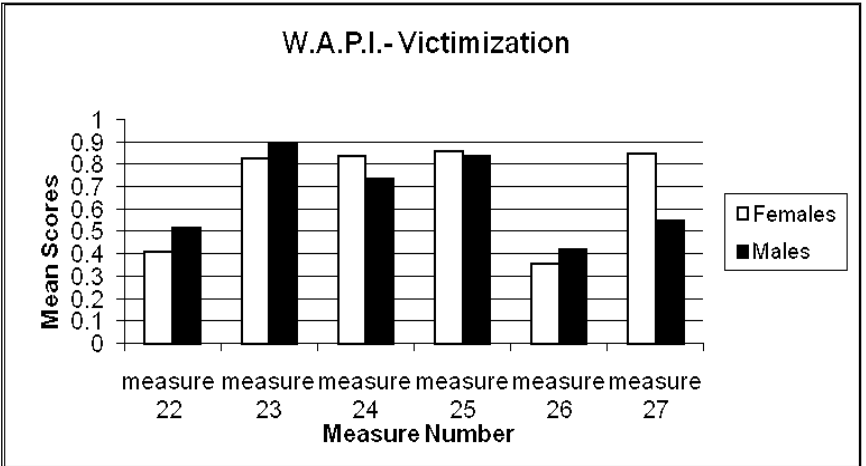


A statistically significant difference was found between males and females in their responses to measure 3, "Missed out on other things because you spent too much money on alcohol": scores for males were $\underline{M} = .24$, $\underline{SD} = .636$, whereas females were $\underline{M} = .08$, $\underline{SD} = .268$, $t(118) = -1.987$, $p = .049$. Therefore, the analysis found that males tended to have missed out on other things more than females because they had spent too much money on alcohol. Males scored higher, though not significantly, on all measures on the R.A.P.I. except for measure 7, "Friends or relatives avoided you," in which males ($\underline{M} = .06$, $\underline{SD} = .250$) scored much lower than females ($\underline{M} = .13$, $\underline{SD} = .427$). Measure 4, "Went to work or school high or drunk," could be considered borderline statistically significant as males' scores were $\underline{M} = .45$, $\underline{SD} = .850$, and females' were $\underline{M} = .21$, $\underline{SD} = .587$, $t(120) = -1.762$, $p = .081$. A difference between male and female responses was also evident on measure 9, "Tried to control your drinking (tried to drink only at certain times in the day or in certain places, that is, tried to change your pattern of drinking)." However, this difference was not statistically significant—males' scores were $\underline{M} = .40$, $\underline{SD} = .770$ and females' scores were $\underline{M} = .29$, $\underline{SD} = .661$, $t(118) = -1.797$, $p = .075$. Measure 12, "Felt that you had a problem with alcohol," also fell short of statistical significance, as males' scores were $\underline{M} = .47$, $\underline{SD} = .973$ and females' scores were $\underline{M} = .20$, $\underline{SD} = .587$, $t(117) = -1.782$, $p = .077$. The scores do suggest, however, a possible trend between genders, as males tended to have experienced more alcohol related problems.

W.A.P.I. – Victimization: The overall means for males and females were calculated first, with the males' scores as $\underline{M} = .2213$, $\underline{SD} = .2118$ and females' scores as $\underline{M} = .2300$, $\underline{SD} = .19153$. An independent samples t-test was performed on each individual W.A.P.I. question to investigate possible gender differences in response to the measures of victimization. Despite the hypothesis that females would experience more victimization due to binge drinking, the t-test indicated no statistically significant differences in responses between males and females. However, it is worth noting that through observing the means, males scored lower on measures 23, "Witnessed property damaged" (males $\underline{M} = .870$ and females $\underline{M} = .921$), as well as on measure 27, "Felt shame or embarrassment" (males $\underline{M} = .850$ and females $\underline{M} = .893$). The disparity suggests that on some ratings of victimization there are differences between sexes, though not significant. However, the

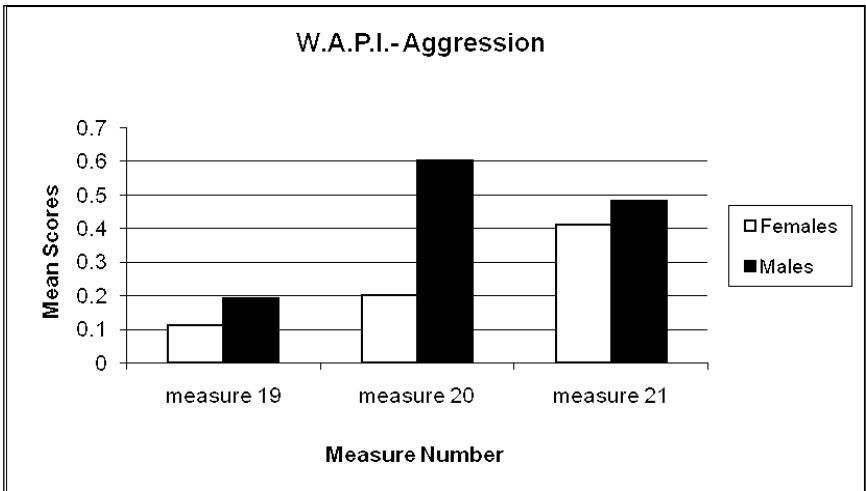
means for each measure were extremely high for both males and females, suggesting high levels of alcohol related victimization among both groups.

Figure 3



W.A.P.I. – Aggression: Finally, the main hypothesis of this study was that males would be more physically aggressive than females while under the influence, while males and females would tend to engage in similar amounts of verbal disagreement. In order to assess whether males were more physically aggressive

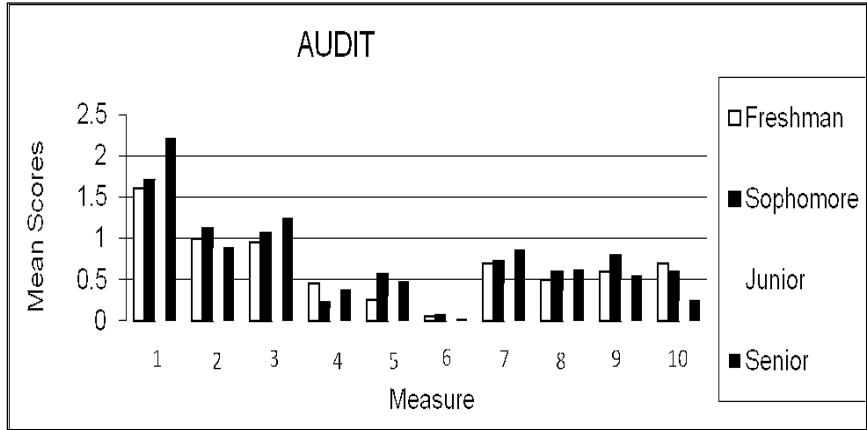
Figure 4



than females, the same type of analysis was performed on measure 19, “Been involved in a physical fight,” yielding scores for males of $M=.19$, $SD=.543$, and for females $M=.11$, $SD= .313$, $t(121)=-1.067$, $p=.288$. Although this analysis did not provide evidence of statistical significance, the means demonstrate that males do tend to engage in somewhat higher levels of physical aggression than females after binge drinking. In spite of the hypothesis that there would be no significant differences between whether males or females were more likely to engage in a verbal argument with someone of the same sex, an independent samples t-test revealed a highly significant difference between sexes. Males’ scores were $M= .60$, $SD= 1.037$, while females’ scores were $M= .20$, $SD= .519$, $t(120)= -2.823$, $p= .006$. However, a t-test for measure 21, “Been in a verbal argument with someone of the opposite sex,” revealed that there was no significant difference between males and females in their likelihood of engaging in a verbal argument with someone of the opposite sex, with males’ scores as $M= .48$, $SD= .890$, and females’ scores as $M= .41$, $SD= .713$, $t(121)= -.448$, $p= .655$. Therefore, the analysis did not support the hypothesis, and only provided evidence for a significant difference between sexes in their likelihood to engage in an argument with someone of the same sex.

Class Year: Another hypothesis stated that upperclassmen would tend to score lower on the AUDIT, as previous studies have shown binge drinking tends to decrease with age. Despite the

Figure 5



original hypothesis that higher AUDIT scores would be correlated with underclassmen, no significant correlation was found between AUDIT scores and class year $r=-.091$. Though there was some negative correlation between AUDIT scores and class year, the difference was not significant enough to support the original hypothesis. Slightly negative correlations were also found between class year and R.A.P.I. scores $r=-.090$, and W.A.P.I. scores, $r=-.079$, but, again, were not statistically significant.

Discussion

Male students were found to engage in higher levels of alcohol consumption, demonstrated by their tendency to score higher on each question on the AUDIT. Furthermore, the particular measures in which a significant difference between genders was found might provide further insight into possible gender differences. Males scored significantly higher on question 3, "How often do you have 5 or more drinks on one occasion?" This difference might be explained by the typically larger body masses of males, which oftentimes grants males a higher tolerance to alcohol. Males also scored significantly higher on question 6, "How often during the last year have you needed a first drink in the morning to get yourself going after a heavy drinking session?" As previous research has shown, males tend to engage in higher levels of alcohol consumption (Wechsler and Meichun 2003). This study provides further evidence for such a trend, while also indicating that males experience more alcohol-related problems than females shown by their higher scores on the R.A.P.I., which is most likely due to the higher levels of binge drinking that males report.

The main hypothesis, that males and females would differ in measures of aggression after binge drinking, was largely unsupported by the present data. Environments that might facilitate such hostile interactions, such as the presence of fraternities and sororities or high crime levels, are not present on Drew University's campus, perhaps contributing to this finding. In addition, the sample used did not have an evenly distributed number of males and females, which may have hindered finding significant differences. However, males were found to be significantly more likely to engage in a verbal disagreement with someone of the same sex, suggesting that males may be more verbally aggressive while under the influence of alcohol. As these

findings relied upon participants' self-reports, the responses may also have been influenced by females' reluctance to report such events, as aggression is not typically considered a valued feminine trait.

Participants' responses to the W.A.P.I., which measured victimization due to binge drinking, also suggested high rates of victimization. Despite the hypothesis that females would experience higher rates of victimization, no significant differences were found, suggesting that rates of victimization are high among both females and males. Furthermore, the measures in which males did score much lower than females, such as measure 27, "Felt shame or embarrassment," may be due to inaccurate self-reports. Males may be more hesitant to report feeling shame or embarrassment on a questionnaire, due to socialization and pre-existing gender roles in which males are expected to be strong and less emotionally vulnerable.

In addition, several of the results may not have been significant due to the small sample size ($n=125$), as well as the limited number of male participants ($n=31$) in comparison to female participants ($n=92$) who responded to this study. There also were limitations in the uneven distribution of the class years of participants. Further, it is important to remember that this study was conducted at a small, private, liberal arts college with a homogenous student population, making the results more difficult to generalize. If, in the future, such a study is conducted at a larger, public university that has more student diversity, results may differ greatly. It is also important to note that participants completed this study voluntarily online and that those students who chose to reply may have differed from a random sample taken at the university.

However, in spite of these limitations, there were several advantages to the present study. The use of e-mail and an online survey for participant recruitment allowed for a larger sample size and provided a sample with different demographic backgrounds, such as class year. In addition, a cookie was placed on the browser for the study that prohibited students from participating in the study more than once on the same computer. Finally, the time a participant's answers were submitted was carefully recorded by computer, so that submissions that came in suspiciously close together in time could be deleted from the data set, controlling for

participants who may have accidentally clicked the submit button more than once. The use of the R.A.P.I. and AUDIT as measures of problem drinking should also be considered a strength, as the standardization of these measures and their use in previous studies provides strong evidence for their validity.

While this study provided inconclusive results on gender differences in the relationship to binge drinking and aggression, the presence of one significant gender difference in verbal aggression warrants further research in this area. Future research should investigate gender differences in colleges with more heterogeneous populations in order to provide more generalizable results. Studies on campuses that have high risk factors for alcohol abuse, such as the presence of fraternities and sororities, might also provide useful results. In addition, future studies could include other types of aggression, such as vandalism and relational aggression. Furthermore, the disconcertingly high rates of victimization due to binge drinking reported by both genders should also be studied in order to obtain more useful information about the effects of binge drinking on non-binge drinkers. The creation of standardized measures that can be used to investigate victimization due to alcohol would be especially useful. Results from many studies, including the present one, indicate that binge drinking is a reckless form of drinking that has negative consequences. Surely, this area of research will prove to be invaluable in constructing prevention and intervention programs at universities that can reduce the elevated rates of binge drinking, as well as harmful alcohol- related incidents among college students.

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AMERICA ON TRIAL? ANALYZING THE CLARENCE THOMAS/ANITA HILL HEARINGS

STEPHEN YELLIN (CLA 2010)

Introduction

“This is not a trial,” Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden, Jr. declared at the start of the fourth round of the drama-infused, circus-like confirmation hearing for U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas (U.S. Senate Committee 2). Technically, Biden was correct, as his Committee lacked the Constitutional power to put either Thomas or Anita Hill, the woman accusing Thomas of sexual harassment, on trial. Substantively, however, Biden was completely wrong. October 1991, often through the distorted prism of the media, saw the eyes of the nation trained squarely at not only the two figures at the center of the controversy, but at the senators tasked with essentially determining who was telling the truth. That the Committee members being asked to judge two African-Americans on the basis of a sexual harassment charge were fourteen white males—and men who by and large had already made up their minds as to how to vote—only added to the turmoil of the hearings. Technically, the “winner” of the hearings was Thomas, who survived the maelstrom and was confirmed. In reality, everyone involved in the dispute lost—some careers were ended, people’s reputations were ruined or damaged, and public confidence in their government sank to new lows.

There were several, thorny issues at hand in the Thomas/Hill hearings, which was actually a fourth, emergency hearing on whether Thomas was qualified to serve on the Supreme Court—the “emergency” being the appearance of Hill’s accusations in the press. Racial, gender, and class tensions were all involved, as was public discontent with the federal government. Further, the media’s role in sensationalizing the hearings, particularly Hill’s testimony and Thomas’s response, must also be taken into account. The hearings, then, can be seen as a microcosm of American society in October 1991, with legal and political issues existing alongside, and often clashing with, racial and gender-related tensions within the United States at that time. What at times seemed to be an almost farcical piece of theatre actually reflected something more serious: the fundamental

divides in the country's social, economic, and political fabric were fully on display.

The Judiciary Committee's Role

The Senate Judiciary Committee, the stage on which the Thomas-Hill hearings were seen and heard, was comprised of 14 United States Senators from across the country and the ideological spectrum. Eight Democrats and six Republicans, ranging in experience from six-term veteran J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina—already nearly ninety, he would serve for another decade afterward—to newcomer Hank Brown of Colorado, the Senators were part of what has been commonly called “the most exclusive club in the world.” Despite this moniker, with its implication of the Senate as a well-connected, close-knit group of American elites, the Judiciary Committee had a reputation for argumentative and confrontational meetings. Despite Chairman Biden's best efforts, especially during the Thomas/Hill hearings, to keep his colleagues civil, the senators America came to know in October 1991 came across (to paraphrase the famous play) as “14 angry (white) men.”

It is important to remember that the Judiciary Committee had already spent over a month debating Clarence Thomas' qualifications before Anita Hill's accusations went public. The first three portions of the hearing, while mainly forgotten following the sexual harassment scandal that required a final hearing, largely set the stage for how the Committee, and the Senate itself, would vote. In a 7-7 vote in late September, the Committee had voted to neither recommend nor reject Thomas's nomination, allowing the full Senate to vote on his confirmation (Flax 3). Democrat Dennis DeConcini of Arizona was the only member of the Committee to cross party lines in backing Thomas, and his vote was hotly contested by both pro and anti-Thomas forces following the scandal's appearance. In the end, DeConcini did not change his mind, meaning that the entire Judiciary Committee, despite Biden's protestations that the Committee would be open-minded, simply repeated their previous votes after Anita Hill testified before them in person.

With the actual vote not in doubt, the Judiciary Committee essentially transformed into an interrogative panel, although some of the senators genuinely attempted to avoid both adversarial

questions and arguing with Thomas and Hill. Yet, this Judiciary Committee was comprised of many of the same members of the committee that had scuttled Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court in 1987 and was well-versed in attacking, or defending, judicial nominees in order to score points for their side. Like the Bork hearings, the Thomas hearings, and later the hearings for John Roberts, Samuel Alito, and Sonia Sotomayor, would become a venue where senators in opposition would interrogate the nominees in the hopes of their making a disqualifying mistake, while the nominee's proponents would heap praise on them and haughtily defend their "honor" against "partisan" attacks.

In the Thomas/Hill hearings, the chief "interrogators" for both sides were played by Vermont Democrat Patrick Leahy and Pennsylvania Republican (now Democrat) Arlen Specter. Leahy, a former prosecutor who had already questioned Thomas repeatedly on his ideological views, was tasked in light of Hill's accusations with interrogating the nominee as to every possible chink in his testimony denying the charges. Specter's job was the opposite: the former Philadelphia D.A. was tasked with exposing holes in Hill's testimony, with the hope of discrediting her as a witness. Experienced as they were in the courtroom, it made sense for Leahy and Specter to fill those roles again, albeit in a far more dramatic and public domain.

The chief proponents of Thomas and Hill on the Committee were Orin Hatch of Utah and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, respectively. Hatch's cheerleading of Thomas in the previous hearings (as described below) made him the obvious choice of his Republican colleagues to lead the charge for the nominee once again. As for Kennedy, his experience and the respect his colleagues had for him made him the natural "champion" of Hill. One of the highlights of the hearings as seen on television would be the repeated clashes between these four men, and some of their colleagues, as they argued with Thomas, Hill, and, often, each other.

One final issue that dominated the Judiciary Committee's outlook on the hearings involved the fact that Hill's testimony was never supposed to be made public. Initially, Hill had faxed a statement detailing her allegations to the Committee, shortly after the conclusion of the third round of hearings (Flax 3). That

testimony was leaked to the press in the first week of October, setting off a political firestorm that required Biden to schedule a fourth round of hearings dedicated completely to the sexual harassment issue. For Thomas's backers on the Committee, especially Hatch, the leaking of the explosive accusations was a deliberate attempt to scuttle the Thomas nomination, and that Hill was either a willing or unwilling tool in what Thomas himself called "a high-tech lynching" (Mayer and Abramson 299). As a result, many of the sharpest exchanges during the hearings between the senators involved the question of who was responsible for leaking Hill's testimony, ultimately a Congressional investigation was organized, though no one was caught.

In the course of the fourth round of hearings, the Judiciary Committee would hear, speak on, and argue about not only the actual issue at hand, but the key issues surrounding it: race, gender, and class. Each theme will be explored separately.

Race and the Thomas/Hill Hearings

Clarence Thomas's confirmation hearings marked only the second time a racial minority had been nominated to the Supreme Court; the first, Thurgood Marshall, was the Justice whose retirement allowed Thomas to be nominated by President George H.W. Bush. Marshall's nomination was defined by the Civil Rights movement and Southern hostility to it: of the thirty-one senators who voted against confirming Marshall, twenty were from the eleven states of the "Old Confederacy." By 1991, the tensions of that movement had eased sufficiently for Thurmond, a staunch defender of segregation in the past, to strongly back Thomas. Yet while race was no longer an automatic bar for judicial nominees, it remained a potent issue during Thomas's confirmation. Whereas in 1967 Marshall's race had been a subtle argument used by conservative opponents, in 1991 it was Thomas's liberal opponents in the Senate who brought the issue up. However, in this case, the reasoning was different; the argument made by liberals in the Senate and elsewhere was that Thomas's race was the only reason he had been nominated to succeed Marshall.

Although both Marshall and Thomas's nominations were criticized on racial grounds, the emphasis behind them was different. In Thomas's case, liberals pointed to his meager judicial experience and youth (he was only 43 in 1991) and argued that a

white male with his background would never have been chosen by Bush to replace Marshall. As Mark Tushnet pointed out in his book *A Court Divided*, this argument had some validity to it; the Bush Administration had been looking for a conservative minority to replace Marshall, and Thomas fit the bill (Tushnet 83). On the other hand, it was certainly true that liberal dismay at Thomas's nomination was political in nature. Placing a conservative African-American in lieu of a liberal African-American on the bench was considered a political masterstroke by the Bush Administration.

Over the course of the first three hearings, liberals on the Judiciary Committee extensively questioned Thomas on his ideological and judicial views. As Thomas skillfully avoided answering those questions substantively, they were unable to "prove" that Thomas would be a conservative on the Court, much as they would be frustrated in "proving" the ideological views of Roberts and Alito in 2005. The Committee's liberals also hammered away at Thomas's lack of judicial "experience." To counter this, conservatives on the Committee such as Hatch, in conjunction with Thomas's mentor and Missouri Republican John Danforth, emphasized Thomas's inspiring life story and stressed his strength of character. This effort was originally developed in the White House and called the "Pin Point Strategy," named after Thomas's place of birth in segregated and poverty-stricken Pin Point, South Carolina (Mayer and Abramson 31). Thomas's supporters on the Committee, especially Hatch, fulsomely praised Thomas during this part of the hearings as well, with statements such as:

Finally, I just wish to mention my own delight at Judge Thomas' success. That success says a great deal about our country and about Judge Thomas, the man. Having grown up in the era of Jim Crow and gone barefoot in the unpaved streets of his community, he will soon be able to put his feet under the bench in the highest court in this land as he contemplates the finer points of the law...And I have to tell you, Judge Thomas, I am so doggone proud of you I can hardly stand it. I think it is [a] terrific thing that you are nominated to this position, and I personally will support you with every fiber of my being. As you yourself said when nominated, only in America could such a thing happen. (U.S. Senate Committee 43)

Hatch would be as good as his word when he said, “I personally will support you with every fiber of my being.”

Gender and the Thomas/Hill Hearings

The simple, if still politically touchy, issue of Thomas's skin color was strongly complicated by Hill's arrival on the scene. Now, in order to defend one African-American, white men such as Hatch and Specter were required to attack another African-American in the hopes of destroying her credibility as an accuser. As Jane Flax writes in *The American Dream in Black and White*, “Challenges to [Thomas's] character would have undermined his qualifications, calling the Committee's judgment and objectivity into question” (Flax 49). This led to some tense moments during the Committee's questioning of Hill, such as when Specter “cross-examined” her on the allegations she had made:

Senator Specter: So that Mr. [Carlton] Stewart and Mr. [Stanley] Grayson are simply wrong when they say, and this is a quotation from Mr. Stewart that you said, specifically, “how great [Thomas'] nomination was, and how much he deserved it. They are just wrong?

Ms. Hill: The latter part is certainly wrong. I did say that it is a great opportunity for Clarence Thomas. I did not say he deserved it.

Specter: We have a statement from [the] former dean of Oral Roberts Law School, Roger Tuttle, who quotes you as making laudatory comments about Judge Thomas, that he “is a fine man and an excellent legal scholar.” In the course of 3 years when Dean Tuttle knew you at the law school, [he claims that] you had always praised [Thomas] and never made any derogatory comments. Is Dean Tuttle correct?

Hill: ...I don't recall any specific conversations about Clarence Thomas in which I said anything about his legal scholarship. I do not really know of his legal scholarship, certainly at that time.

Specter: Well, I can understand it if you did not say anything, but Dean Tuttle makes the specific statement. His words are, that you said, “The most laudatory comments.” (U.S. Senate Committee 59)

Apart from attacking her credibility, Specter also challenged Hill's motivations:

Specter: There is a question about Phyllis Barry who was quoted in the New York Times on October 7, "In an interview Ms. Barry suggested that the allegations", referring to your [Hill's] allegations, "were the result of Ms. Hill's disappointment and frustration that Mr. Thomas did not show any sexual interest in her." You were asked about Ms. Barry at the interview on October 9 and were reported to have said, "Well, I don't know Phyllis Barry, and she doesn't know me." And there are quite a few people who have come forward to say that they saw you and Ms. Barry together and that you knew each other very well...

[Hill denied the allegation]

...Did Ms. Anna Jenkins and Ms. J.C. Alvarez, who both have provided statements attesting to the relationship between you and Ms. Barry, a friendly one. Where Ms. Barry would have known you, were both Ms. Jenkins and Ms. Alvarez in a position to observe out relationship with Ms. Barry?

Hill: ...We were professional acquaintances.

Specter: So that when you said, ["I Ms. Barry doesn't know me and I don't know her ["]], you weren't referring to just that, but some intensity of knowledge?

Hill: Well, this is a specific remark about my sexual interest. And I think one has to know another person very well to make those kinds of remarks unless they are very openly expressed.

Specter: Well, did Ms. Barry observe you and Judge Thomas together at the EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] office?

Hill: Yes, at staff meetings where she attended and at the office, yes. (U.S. Senate Committee 59-60)

Later on, following Hill's testimony, Specter made the following comment to Thomas:

Judge Thomas, I went through that [Hill's testimony] in some detail, because it is my legal judgment, having had

some experience in perjury prosecutions, that the testimony of Professor Hill in the morning was flat-out perjury, and that she specifically changed it in the afternoon, when confronted with the possibility of being contradicted...but in the context of those continual denials and consulting [her] attorney and repeatedly asking the question, with negative responses, that, simply stated, was false and perjurious, in my legal opinion. The change in the afternoon was a concession flatly to that effect. (U.S. Senate Committee 230)

Specter's critiques of Hill's testimony were strongly criticized by liberals and women's groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), who claimed that the Senator was being far too harsh in his "questioning" of Hill. Specter would barely win reelection in 1992, after a concerted effort to defeat him based entirely on his actions in the Thomas/Hill hearings was launched. He was not the only Judiciary Committee member, however, to find himself accused of making sexist remarks or holding Hill's word less than Thomas's. In defending Hill's "honor," Senator Kennedy failed to treat her as a credible witness whose testimony could stand for itself:

Senator Kennedy:...I hope we are not going to hear a lot more comments about fantasy stories picked out of books and law cases...or how there have been attempts in the eleventh hour to derail this nomination. I hope we can clear this room of the dirt and innuendo that has been suggested by Professor Hill as well, about over-the-transom information, about faxes, about proclivities. We heard a good deal about character assassination yesterday [regarding Thomas], and I hope we are going to be sensitive to the attempts of character assassination on Professor Hill. They are unworthy...The issue isn't discrimination and racism. It's about sexual harassment, and I hope we can keep our eye on that particular issue. (U.S. Senate Committee 307-308)

According to Howard University Professor Jane Flax, Kennedy and his colleagues on the Judiciary Committee were simply unable to treat Hill as an equal witness with Thomas, due to her gender. While Flax's treatment of the Thomas/Hill hearings is undeniably from a feminist perspective, her main argument has

credibility. Another argument as to why Kennedy and his Democratic colleagues did not adequately defend Hill is simpler than this; namely, that Biden's decision to leave the bulk of the questioning to Leahy and Alabama Senator Howell Heflin, a former State Supreme Court judge, meant that there was less time available for Kennedy and others like him to counterattack. That, at least, is what Kennedy claimed in his memoir *True Compass* (Kennedy), although speculation persists that the legal woes of his nephew, William Kennedy Smith, relating to a rape charge may have been more important. Regardless of whether or not Hill's accusations and Thomas's denials were truthful—and I agree with Tushnet that both were saying what they believed was the truth—the concept of fourteen men being asked to determine the credibility of a woman's charges, on an issue they as a group had no experience with, seems to have been an exercise in futility.

An additional point of contention in the Judiciary Committee's questioning of Thomas and Hill revolved around class. As a group, the senators belonged to the "elite" of American society, by virtue of the office they held. Since Thomas had a "rags-to-riches" background, and because Hill had worked her way up through the legal community from poverty, the senators were in the awkward situation of judging two individuals they believed came from inferior class backgrounds. In addressing and questioning Thomas and Hill, the Committee largely divided itself along the lines of how they had already voted and would vote again. The Republicans on the Committee, along with Democrat DeConcini, tried to identify themselves with Thomas on a class as well as an ideological basis, lumping themselves into the same category of "American Dream" achievers as the nominee.

The remaining Democrats attempted the same framing technique with Hill, praising her self-made rise through the legal system, as well as her intelligence and poise while rhetorically under fire. A review of the transcript from the Thomas/Hill hearings shows, however, that neither side seriously attempted to attack the other as being elitist. While both sides, Democrat Herb Kohl and Republican Alan Simpson, for example, cited the concept that "the American Dream is at stake," (U.S. Senate Committee 264) neither blamed the other directly for endangering the country. Class warfare was thus avoided in the hearings.

The Law in the Thomas/Hill Hearings

The introduction of legal jargon and quasi-judicial proceedings into the Judiciary Committee's hearing could not, however, be avoided. Despite Biden's best efforts, Senators on both sides would increasingly abandon what Shirley Wiegand referred to as "the foundation of fairness," that is, their impartiality as "judges" in search of the truth of Hill's accusation (Wiegand 8). Not only did this result in both Thomas and Hill being "on trial," but it led to many of the Senators (ten of the fourteen were lawyers by profession) practicing their examination and cross-examination skills on the two. While Senator Hatch began this process by loudly decrying the fact that Thomas had "been badly maligned," thus accusing Hill of lying before she had spoken, it was hardly the last occasion in which Biden's carefully described "rules" for the hearings were forgotten (U.S. Senate Committee 300). Some examples of the Committee "adopting" judicial language and roles include:

Senator Specter: How reliable is your testimony in October of 1991 on events that occurred eight, ten year ago, when you are adding new factors, explaining them by saying you have repressed a lot? (U.S. Senate Committee 84)

Senator Hatch: I hope that nobody here, either on this panel or in this room, is saying that, Judge [Thomas], you have to prove your innocence, because I think we have to remember and we have to insist that Anita Hill has the burden of proof or any other challenger [for that matter], and not you, Judge. The fact of the matter is, the accuser, under our system of jurisprudence and under any system of fairness, would have to prove their case. (U.S. Senate Committee 301)

Senator Biden: My job is not to defend you [Thomas] or to prosecute you. It is to see to it that you get a fair shot in a system that is imperfect, but it is a good system. (U.S. Senate Committee 178)

The above examples resemble the words of a prosecutor, a defense attorney and a judge, respectively. Despite Biden's best efforts, he too was dragged away from the impartial standard he had set out at the beginning. Tensions between the Senators, particularly over the issue of who was responsible for the leak of

Hill's testimony, threatened to derail the entire hearing, leading Biden to order the Committee into recess on several occasions. Ironically, by putting their biases on display through judging Thomas and Hill, the senators wound up being judged themselves—by the American people. And in the anti-Washington atmosphere that permeated the United States at the time, it should not come as a surprise that the Judiciary Committee emerged as damaged goods in the eyes of the public. Public opinion polls from 1992 showed that more Americans believed Hill than Thomas, which represents a reversal from the time of the actual hearings, and blamed the Committee for not rejecting him (Rucinski 576).

Conclusion

Of course, the Senate Judiciary Committee was not the only “loser” in the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings. Thomas himself emerged badly scarred, with his reputation tattered and his legacy forever linked, in part, to Anita Hill. Despite Biden's efforts to keep the Thomas/Hill hearings on as even a keel as possible, the Judiciary Committee in October 1991 came to resemble a three-ring circus, and not a sober example of statesmen doing their job properly. The fault lies with both sides; conservatives and liberals alike reacted to Anita Hill's appearance on the national stage through the lens of political gains and losses, and not on the actual issue of sexual harassment. The end result was a clear picture of American society in 1991, preserved in its unedifying glory by the media for generations to come. The Thomas/Hill hearings may not have been a trial, but the United States was being weighed in the balance, and it was found wanting.

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Acknowledgments

The Editors of *The Drew Review* would like to thank especially President Robert Weisbuch and The Board of Trustees for their ongoing and generous support of the *Review*.

While less than one-third of all nominated papers are published, the *Review* reflects the efforts of the entire Drew University community. Without the participation of the more than twenty students who submitted their essays and the forty faculty members who participated as nominators or outside readers, *The Drew Review* would not be able to maintain its high standards for publication. All nominated essays were recognized by their nominating professors as particularly outstanding examples of undergraduate research and writing; a nomination to the *Review* honors that achievement. We are grateful to those who made the *Review* possible by serving in all of these capacities.