The Drew Review

The College of Liberal Arts

Drew University
May 2016
Volume 9

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 six 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. Published students will be able to apply for 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 twenty-five pages in October and February from the previous semester.

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's 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.

2016 Drew Review Editorial Board

Haviland Atha-Simonton (CLA 2018), Editor Michael Collina (CLA 2016), Editor Madeline Lederer (CLA 2016), Corresponding Editor Alexander Slotkin (CLA 2017), Editor Jared Sutton (CLA 2018), Editor Saif Yasin (CLA 2017), Corresponding Editor

Cover Art by Shayna Miller (CLA 2019)

Giandomenico Sarolli, Faculty Advisor

The Drew Review Volume 9 May 2016

Table of Contents

Ugly Truth and Difficult Beauty: Dorothea	Lange's
Social Realist Photography	
Alexa Zbieronowski (CLA 2017)	4

Natural defenses: reactivating the native immune system to combat cancers through immune-checkpoint mediated pathways

Tyler Dorrity (CLA 2018)

28

Reproductive Futurism and Queer Utopia in Octavia Butler's Dawn Chris Recio (CLA 2015) 45

Do Car Reviews Matter?: An Econometric Analysis on the Influence of Car Reviews on Car Sales in the U.S. Auto Market

Adam Campos (CLA 2016) 60

Who Has More Racial Bias?
An Examination of Racial Bias between Police Officers and the General Population

Jessica Fortier (CLA 2017)

96

The Construction of Masculinity in Post-9/11 Literary Narratives: *The 9/11 Report* **Michael Collina (CLA 2016)**118

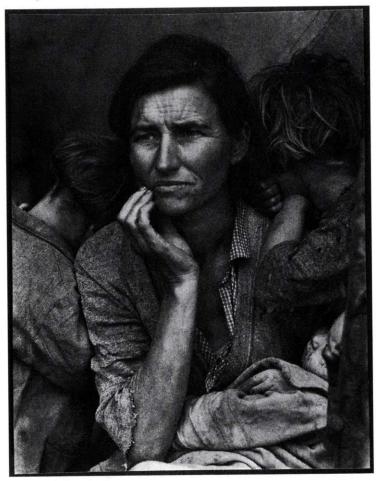
Ugly Truth and Difficult Beauty: Dorothea Lange's Social Realist Photography Alexa Zbieronowski (CLA 2017)

That which is beautiful is often considered to be true; the relationship between appearance and authenticity is the heart of classical aesthetics. A grounding sense of reality brings gratification to the viewer because it allows them to make sense of the human experience and the immediate world. The connection between Beauty and Truth appears in a multidisciplinary context as both artists and scientists ground theory in observable characteristics of symmetry, order, and simplicity. This definition of Beauty leaves little room for artworks that confound the viewing experience and destabilize the viewer. As a challenge to the tie between idealized subjects and reality, artists like twentieth century photographer Dorothea Lange reveal how raw images of distress also signify Truth.

photographic medium allows the artist to transparently frame human existence, capturing a sense of social realism that represents poverty, hunger, and pain. In this discussion, philosophers like Roger Scruton in Beauty, A Very Short Introduction and Bernard Bosanguet in Three Lectures on Aesthetics serve to complicate the aesthetic lens with which one views Lange's social realist works. Both Scruton and Bosanquet place visual Truth in the logical space between artistic beauty and ugliness; beautiful representations are fulfilling and ugly ones are subversive. Though Lange's photography serves a specific propagandistic function its expressive quality is subject to profound aesthetic appreciation. Beginning with Lange's iconic photograph, Migrant Mother (1936), I will investigate how Lange's depiction of rural poverty at the height of the Great Depression challenges viewers to identify with, and even appreciate, the un-idealized image. I will consequently explore Dorothea Lange's pictorial criticism of social structures to deconstruct the spectrum of beauty and ugliness, ultimately arguing that philosophical "truth" is not essentially dependent on visual pleasure in social realist photography or the world beyond.

To contextualize Lange's aesthetic relationship to truthfulness, it is best to begin by examining one of Lange's most famous photographs, Migrant Mother [Fig.1]. As a portrait in three-quarters view, the photograph recalls a practice that began in sixteenth century European painting. Artists such as Leonardo da Vinci established the tradition of the psychologized portrait as an expression of inner-life, but Lange departs from this theme as her sitters are highly imperfect. A woman with a weathered and fatigued appearance sits in the center of the composition. Her youthful frame is creased with weariness and worry; her frown lines and furrowed brow seem premature. The figure's clothes are soiled and threadbare as a testament to her desperation. Two young sons flank the mother, and an infant sleeps on her lap. The children face away from the viewer; their anonymity emphasizes the solitude of the mother's burden. Lange's mother seems mentally distant, but her physical proximity to her children demonstrates that she is their nurturer and comforter. She gives them all that she has. Though the mother's eyes are disengaged and introspective, the close distance between viewers and the subject permits entrance into the scene. Viewers experience a moment that signifies the conditions of agrarian hardship. The lack of background underscores the universality of poverty and oppression where the mother embodies the impacts of modern life, but the title alludes to the specific cultural context of the work.

Lange's *Migrant Mother* represents the raw destitution of impoverished farm workers that resulted from the Great Depression in the American West.



[Fig. 1] *Migrant Mother* or "Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California. February 1936". 1936.

Lange's photography represents the experiences of Depression-era farmers above all because she worked on commissions from the Farmer Security Administration, or FSA. Lange's assignment was one of many projects under the New Deal's art revitalization, which was a governmental effort intended to inspire nationalism outside of large urban centers. According to Linda Gordon, author of article "Dorothea Lange: Photographer as Agricultural Sociologist", "The FSA photography project aimed to examine systematically the social and economic relations of American agricultural labor...[and] challenged an entire agricultural political economy...". 1 This means that Lange's artistic undertaking had political utility as Lange's husband, an agricultural economist and member of the FSA, adopted the images to facilitate legislation. The images expose the poor accommodations for laborers and over worked lands in the hope of calling attention to the problems of the agricultural economy. Gordon speaks to this objective as she says that her goal was "not only to document poverty but to show also the agricultural system from which it grew...[because] the photos also raised questions about who was working. She made pointed images of whole families, including children and old people, doing heavy work,".2 This is true since Lange's images resist romanticizing the farming culture as a way to represent the browbeaten independent farmers and migrant workers that nourished American citizens. Despite the universal appeal of hardship, the particular function of Lange's works speaks to the importance of its cultural context. This purpose is demonstrated in Lange's original

² Gordon, Ibid., 6-7

¹ Gordon, Linda. "Dorothea Lange: The Photographer as Agricultural Sociologist." The Journal of American History 93.3 (2006): 698-727. ProQuest. Web. 3 May 2015.

caption for Migrant Mother: "Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California. February 1936". Her photographs are politically and conceptually significant for this reason. This assignment's original context was a tool that gave agency to the individuals she photographed.

Dorothea Lange's artistic career was also grounded in revealing the personal histories of laborers and social outliers. This speaks to her artistic capacity to capture the essence of the fleeting moment. In his essay "Dorothea Lange And Visionary Change", Louis C. Gawthrop says that "Lange was a photographer by profession, a "bureaucrat" by necessity, a change agent by temperament, and a visionary by instinct,".3 Effectively, Lange did not simply take photographs; her ability to engage with her subjects delivers some of the most influential images of the Great Depression and early twentieth century America. Lange's own connection to hardship may have served as an influence in her oeuvre. In Daring to Look: Dorothea Lange's Photographs and Reports from the Field, Anne Whiston Spirn describes that Lange was no stranger to a harsh life of economic turmoil. She was brought up in the Depression of 1907 by a single mother. Her proximity to "people in trouble" led to a sensitivity that would make her organic narratives iconic.4

More important, however, Lange formed a trust-based relationship with her sitters that allowed her a privileged

³ Gawthrop, Louis C. "Dorothea Lange And Visionary Change." Society 30.5 (1993): 64. Points of View Reference Center. Web. 3 May 2015. 64

⁴ Whitson Spirn, Anne. Daring to Look: Dorothea Lange's Photographs and Reports from the Field. University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 2008: 15

glance into their lives. Lange said, "I never stole a photograph" and describes that "she considered her subjects complicit in the creation of their own portraits" based on her attempts to sympathize with them. This is also evidenced by her extensive field journals that detailed her interactions with the people she met. Lange's depth of engagement is crucial for understanding her closeness to sociological realism. Her objective was to expose the uncomfortable truths of daily life because "seeing is a way of knowing". This alludes to the human need to recognize the truth of our surroundings through visual observation. Therefore, Lange's lens acts as an authentic window into contemporary life. She appeals to the humanity of the viewer in the way she artistically frames her portraits.

The social and artistic qualities of Lange's oeuvre are complicated by the ranging definitions of classical and modern modes of beauty. A working definition of "beauty" is essential to understanding how truth and beauty correlate to social realist photography, and even the aestheticized world beyond the photographic lens. A blend of multiple perspectives on artistic beauty provides a moderate point from which to view Lange's photographs. First, consider Roger Scruton's traditional approach to beauty that he advocates in his book *Beauty*, *A Very Short Introduction*. Scruton's condensed definition borrows from eighteenth century philosopher Immanuel Kant as it reads: "we call something beautiful when we gain pleasure from contemplating it as an individual object, for its own sake, and in its presented form". ⁷In

⁵ Whitson, Ibid., 23

⁶ Whitson, Ibid., xi

⁷ Scruton, Roger. Beauty: A very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press. 2011: 22.

this definition, it is clear that Scruton's theory of beauty contains two major components: appreciation of the object for its individual subjectivity and a deliberate intellectual engagement with the object "for its own sake". The idea of engagement with an art object "for its own sake" is termed disinterested interest. This concept suggests that the viewer should exclude their own desires from the viewing experience. Scruton's sense of beauty also encompasses a metaphorical departure from arbitrariness of the human condition, as a sort of escape from harsh quotidian realities. Scruton is careful to eliminate any mystical implications of his definition of beauty, which.⁸

This is where early twentieth century philosopher Bernard Bosanquet's more generous definition of beauty acts as a counterpoint. In his lecture, Forms of Aesthetic Satisfaction-Beauty and Ugliness, Bosanquet says that "there must be a general word for what we consider aesthetically excellent...and the only word we can find for this property is the word 'beautiful'.9 Effectively. Bosanquet's application of beauty is fluid compared to Scruton's because it expresses a wider conception of aesthetic superiority. For Bosanquet, such aesthetic excellence is where "feeling becomes plastic" for "beauty above is above all a creation, a new individual expression in which a new feeling comes to exist". 10 This means that at a basic level, the viewer's pleasure stems from an object's expressive embodiment rather than its form alone. This philosophical dialogue on aesthetic pleasure supplies a stepping stone towards appreciating Lange's

8 Scruton, Ibid., 109

10 Bosanquet, Ibid., 97-109

⁹ Bosanquet, Bernard. Three Lectures on Aesthetic. Macmillan and Co., Limited: London. 1931: 83-84.

un-idealized truths. The three components of expressivity, subjectivity, and disinterested interest provide the artistic foundation to compare Lange's unconventional sense of beauty with accepted artistic beauty.

Generally speaking, Scruton and Bosanquet agree that successful art represents visualized emotion. This is proven where Scruton says that "we want to say that works of art are meaningful...they are acts of communication which presents us with a meaning; and this meaning must be understood,".11 It seems that an artist achieves aesthetic success when she translates her ideas in a way that viewers understand. By way of reduction it is reasonable to claim that Lange's photography is excellent in its expressivity because her sociological truths are understood in the way she frames her subjects. For example, Lange's statement of contempt for the working conditions of migrant laborers unmistakably demonstrated in her photograph from 1935 titled Desperation [Fig. 2]. A man, his wife, and an infant son lounge on the wooden planks of their lean-to. While the mother's exasperated expression is directed off frame, the infant and the father engage with the viewer. The generational gap between their dirty faces alludes to perpetuation of systematic oppression; the young boy will know no life other than migrant farming and will inevitably succumb to the same fate as his father. Lange's work is meaningful because of the way she engages with her subject and the way the subjects' direct gaze challenges the viewer. At the same time, Scruton makes his readers aware of the "cultivation of effect," in artistic expression.12 Wariness of propagandistic art is

¹¹ Scruton, Ibid, 93

¹² Scruton, Ibid., 86

one of the reasons why Lange's FSA commission is legitimately debatable, but a third theoretical voice casts off Scruton's sense of doubt. In Dabney Townsend's critique titled Hume's Aesthetic Theory: Taste and Sentiment, ontology of sentiment explains Lange is effective. Townsend states that "an artistic image is an enhanced...version of an original whose existence in nature is less important than its existence in the mind.". ¹³This means that the intellectual and emotional engagement of Lange's snapshots is "more important" than the fact that they trope human suffering. Lange's manifestation of woe in Desperation is less essential to the aesthetic experience than the concept that it carries. Lange's works visually express conditions that were under publicized, but part of her achievement rests in their ability to appeal to the emotional mind of the viewer in order to inspire change.



[Fig. 2] *Desperation*, 1935 Lange's sense of subjectivity is the next point that allows viewers to find contentment in unpleasant visualizations. This is true because the subjects of her

¹³ Townsend, Dabney. Hume's Aesthetic Theory: Taste and Sentiment. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, 2000: 24. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 3 May 2015.

photography not only enable her to comment on economic oppression, they are quite literally the sole focus of her portraits. This is critical to the blended definition of beauty. Scruton notes that "beauty invites us to focus on the individual object, so as to relish his or her presence". 14 As Scruton discusses subjectivity with attention to human beauty he notes that embodiment is "flesh animated by the individual soul, and expressing individuality in all its parts". 15 Though this sense of embodiment is typically linked to the aesthetic value of human forms, it appears to take on a double meaning of beauty where portraiture is Regardless of Scruton's spiritual undertone, the contemplation of identity is exactly what allows us to consider Lange's works beautiful in spite of their unidealized nature. This is demonstrated in Resident, Conway, Arkansas [Fig. 3] from 1938. This portrait of a youthful but stern woman is set against a plain wooden backdrop. Compared to images like Desperation, the woman in Resident, Conway, Arkansas, appears quiet and dignified in the way she looks into Lange's lens. It is also critical to note that Lange positions the camera at an angle below the sitter so that that viewers look up into her eyes as she looks down upon them. Lange engages with the psychological makeup of her sitters as a way to depict their embodiment as well as question the gulf between social objectification and agency. Anne Whiston Spirn quotes Lange as saying "all photographs are made in collaboration, as a part of their thinking as well as mine".16 Lange allowed her sitters to play a role in their own representation, giving them the agency as a way to authenticate their representation. This practice is

¹⁴ Scruton, Ibid., 36

¹⁵ Scruton, Ibid., 41

¹⁶ Whitson, Ibid., 23

evident in the energy that imbues the photographs, regardless of the mood of that life force. Fundamentally, Lange's works would have neither political resonance nor a capability to resonate with any qualities of artistic beauty if they did not have subjectivity. This more broadly demonstrates that personality as the essence of being is of equal or greater importance than appearances alone.



[Fig. 3] Resident, Conway, Arkansas, 1938



[Fig. 4] George Hurrell, Joan Crawford and Franchot Tone, 1936

Compared to the work of her contemporaries, Lange's sense of subjectivity sets her work apart as aesthetically excellent and emotionally memorable. When associated with photographers like George Hurrell, a portrait artist in California that worked contemporaneously, it is clear that Lange's subjectivity was innovative. George Hurrell made his name for framing the faces of Hollywood with a flare for glamour and idealization. Take, for example, *Joan Crawford and Franchot Tone* [Fig. 4] from 1936. This image undoubtedly uses light, shadow, and composition artistically. Hurrell shows the two subjects in profile and

from an angle that depicts Crawford sensuously resting her head on Tone's shoulder. Though the sitters are famous, their faces are barely recognizable in their shadowy distortion and there is no way to visually distinguish them. Their eyes are closed and there is little detectable expression or sentiment. Their inner thoughts or struggles are not known to the viewer. In effect, Hurrell formally demotes the subjectivity of his sitters despite their fame. This distinction allows Scruton to claim that "human beauty belongs to our embodiment, and art that 'objectifies' the body, removing it from the realm of moral relations, can never capture the true beauty ...".17 In some ways, Hurrell's portrait Joan Crawford and Franchot Tone actually denounces subjectivity for this reason. The beauty of the photograph is appreciated for its physical qualities but there is little story behind the pretty faces. Though the context of Lange's and Hurrell's commissions differs drastically, their formal ability to capture subjectivity proves that Lange is more successful.

Lange's oeuvre begins to depart from the traditional definition of Beauty when aesthetic appreciation arises from an outlook of disinterested interest. Scruton adopts from Immanuel Kant's theory on aesthetic attitudes to say that the observer should to appreciate an artwork without means for personal gratification. This suggests that the concept of true beauty leaves all personal desires and secondary needs unattended. Scruton describes the phenomenon of disinterested interest as a "kind of pleasure in" rather than "pleasure from" because it "abstracts from personal considerations". Though Lange's aesthetic success should not be described in

¹⁷ Scruton, Ibid., 138

¹⁸ Scruton, Ibid., 24-25

terms of "pleasure", Scruton contradicts her politicized objective. In many ways the principal of disinterested interest removes the viewer from an organic exchange with the artwork, and limits his or role to a passive worshipper of sorts. It is in this idea that Lange's sense of purpose departs from the conception of truthful beauty. Thus, the satisfaction gained from Lange's works should not be a means to an aesthetic end; rather the discomfort should inspire legislation that removes suffering. Her photographs should, and do, cause introspection. The subjectivity of works like Desperation invites the viewer to sympathize with the defeated father on a personal level. If it is true that we should look for satisfaction in a personal detachment from the images, we will be disappointed. However, this does not stop viewers from substituting themselves in the scene and imagining what it is like to know this desperation. The effectiveness of Lange's portraits lies in their potential for interaction. This helps the viewer identify with the humanity of the Depression era farmers and should inspire them to help. I believe it is Lange's objective for us to contemplate "personal considerations", not detachment. This marks a turning point in the understanding of Lange's relation to the pleasurableness. Still, this is not enough to write off the relationship between social truth and un-idealized beauty in her works just as it does not stop us from imagining the potential for political and economic change.

As it becomes increasingly clear that Lange's social realist photography cannot be considered classically beautiful, the next step is to define the aesthetic opposite: Ugliness. John Keats's poem "Ode to a Grecian Urn" tells us that "beauty is truth, truth beauty" so an attempt to understanding the reverse of should clarify the relationship between un-beautiful objects and

reality. Again, Scruton and Bosanquet's theories prove evaluation useful the of displeasure uncomfortable reality. For Scruton, all of modern art is a flight from beauty due to its "shock value" and commodification.¹⁹ This is to say that any art rejecting classical beauty is a challenge to Truth itself. He also notes that "ugly" modern art "devotes[s] itself to the real and unpleasant truth of our condition...[and refuses] to bless human life with anything like a vision of redemption,". 20 It almost goes without saying that his conflicts with the way that Lange presents social reality. To further this point Scruton illustrates that some of the most beautiful artworks contain difficult subject matter, like Michelangelo's Pieta. This differs from Lange's work, however, because the immediacy of Michelangelo's redemption is present within his composition: Christ suffered and died in order to bless humanity. Lange may offer a sense of redemption in her works, but it is only found through a catharsis with the unpleasant truth of human condition during the Great Depression.

Where Scruton's theory of ugliness is exclusive, Bosanquet's theory is relatively accommodating. Bosanquet believes that we should resist classifying things as ugly because the perception of ugliness is a flaw of aesthetic judgment rather than expression of nature. An artwork may at once be aesthetically excellent and evoke feelings of discomfort²¹. As Bosanquet speaks to the viewer's taste, he suggests that challenge manifests in the viewer's ability to cope with conceptual proximity. Thus, in the same way that beauty is comprised of three components, ugliness can be understood by three basic

¹⁹ Scruton, Ibid., 141

²⁰ Scruton, Ibid., 140

²¹ Bosanquet, Ibid., 102,106

factors: its formal qualities, its tendency towards commodification, and its proximity to the viewer's personal experiences.

Ugliness is first known to the viewer in its formal traits, but Lange's sense of aesthetic excellence challenges the claim of the term. In an essay titled "Nausea: Encounters with Ugliness" writer Mark Hutchinson identifies formal ugliness as visual unreliability. In this way, Hutchinson says that ugliness exists as a kind of "ontological meltdown... a figure which obliterates distinctions [and] murders the ground".22 In other words, surfaces that obscure the artist's message warrant ugliness. It seems that the very mission of social realist photographers contradicts this view because of their intentionality. Jiri Benovsky elaborates on the wavs that realist photographers pride their consistency in his essay "Three Kinds of Realism about Photographs". ultimately says that the formal qualities of realist photography are "partly transparent and partly factive,". ²³ This means that artists use their lenses as windows into the real world, attempting to help viewers experience their subjects as accurately as possible. If a realist photograph achieves these elements, it is reducibly aesthetically excellent. This is exemplified in such photos as Lange's Ex-Slave with a Long Memory (1937) [Fig. 5]. In this photograph Lange avoids tampering with

²² Hutchinson, Mark. Extract from catalogue essay, "Nausea: Encounters with Ugliness", Ed. Hutchinson and Nicola Cotton. Concepts and Contexts. Nottingham, England: Djanogly Gallery, March 2002:153-4.

 ²³ Benovsky, Jiri. "Three Kinds of Realism About
 Photographs." The Journal of Speculative Philosophy 25.4,
 2011: 392 Project MUSE. Web. 21 Apr. 2015.
 https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

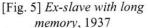
qualities like aperture, shutter speed and focal length to provide a mimetic image of her subject. Her subject is not distorted in her aperture, nor is she obscured from her background by focal length. This metaphorically connects her to her land and environment, but formally places her in a singular plane. Therefore, Lange's social realist photography does not qualify as ugly because it is transparent, factive, and thusly reliable. Based on Hutchinson's understanding of formal ugliness and Benovsky's proof that realist photographers actively avoid this problem, we can conclude that Lange's photographs inherently resist the formal title of "ugly". It appears that Lange maintains aesthetic excellence because of her artistic trustworthiness. If Lange's works are to be considered ugly, then, this name must lie in something other than her formal qualities since her use of space and form acts as a paper window into another world.

While it seems clear that Lange resists formal ugliness through her devotion to reality, the conceptual aspects of work, including photography's potential for commodification, blurs the line between truth and beauty. Scruton attempts to speak out against the creation of the image for the mere effect, but this was Lange's objective in her FSA commission. Does this mean that the propagandistic undertones of Lange's relegate her appeal to Truth? For Scruton, any art that is "repetitious, mechanical and cliché-ridden" aims to cultivate an effect rather than express aesthetic excellence.24 In this way Scruton targets photography for its reproducibility. Social Realist Photography inherently grounds the visual experience in truth through subjectivity, but it does so through mechanized

²⁴ Scruton, Ibid., 143

reproduction. It is the formal process of photographic creation. But in a larger sense, the reproducibility that goes along with ugliness is what made her works resonant and widely-received. The repetitiousness is integral to the experience of her portraits; the fact that it is reproducible speaks to the very function of her commissions. It makes the public aware of the particular situation of impoverished farmers because it acted as a transferable window into another world. The image is intentionally haunting as a means captivate the mind and heart of the viewer. Lange's ability to commodification through subjectivity further obscures the definition of the "ugly truth" because though she resists kitsch through subjectivity, the nature of her work infers cultivation of effect. Without cultivation of effect. her works would not be emotionally successful nor would they inspire legislative change. In this way, the "ugly truth" begins to conflict with her aesthetic excellence.







[Fig. 6] Damaged Child, 1936

The last consideration of ugliness lies in way displeasurable experiences impact the viewer through visual proximity. An artist's ability to metaphorically touch the viewer makes it impossible for the viewer to

maintain an attitude of disinterested interest. Mark Cousins elaborates on this classification of "ugliness" in his book "The Ugly". Cousins says in a simplistic way that ugliness is a disruption of the conceptual space between subject and viewer. He uses dirt as an example to show how proximity is displeasurable: "What makes dirt dirty is not its substantial form, however much we commonly believe this to be the case, but the fact that it is in the wrong place,". 25This analogy perfectly describes the transgression in Lange's photography. Her works make viewers uncomfortable in their representation not because bedraggled individuals are unattractive, but because it renders an undesirable economic condition close to the viewer. Hutchinson further illustrates this point as he says "Ugliness is relentless. It threatens to dissolve distance. It is apocalyptic....the ugly both threatens death and promises to fulfill utopian longing,".26 Indeed, Lange's works are founded on the fulfillment of a utopian longing because of their context, but it is also relentless because there is no way out of this destitution without a socio-economic solution. This sense of subjectivity "in the wrong place" makes photographs like Damaged Child (1936) [Fig. 6] difficult. Here, Lange depicts a child, unwashed and barely clothed, in a shallow pictorial plane. The composition is cropped since we do not see her entire body, indicating that she and viewers share the same space. The corrugated shanty backdrop provides the viewer no visual escape from the gaze of the child. The image is intentionally haunting, with a pervasive spirit, as a means captivate the mind and heart of the viewer. Like

²⁶ Hutchinson, Ibid., 154

²⁵ Cousins, Mark. Extract from "The Ugly" (part 1), Concepts and Contexts. AA files, no.8. London: Architectural Associations, 1994: 61-4.

dirt, we do not belong in her world and she remains distanced from ours by the reality of her socio-economic condition. Lange's images are not considered "ugly" because they are untrue; they are visually unpleasant because they represent the social injustices that traditionally have no place in the art world.

By now it is clear that the way Dorothea Lange represents reality Social Realist Photography has values of both beauty and ugliness. Lange's oeuvre of FSA commissions contains qualities ranging from formal splendor to conceptual disquiet, demonstrating that Truth is neither accurately described by Beauty nor its aesthetic opposite. What does this mean in a world where Beauty and Truth are supposed to be synonymous? Bosanquet, in his lenient view of aesthetic hierarchies, presents a possible solution in Forms of Aesthetic Stratification—Beauty and Ugliness. In this, the last of three lectures, Bosanquet takes a modern approach to artistic expression as he goes so far as to question whether beauty is the aim of art.²⁷ He says that Truth can be known in two ways: through facile (easy) beauty and difficult beauty. Facile beauty is "readily recognizable...[and] pleasant to practically everyone,".28 Difficult beauty, on the other hand, expresses a type of aesthetic excellence that challenges the viewer with overwhelming qualities of intricacy, tension and width,".29 This suggests that meaning of difficult beauty is less readily obtainable, and it engages more deeply with the mind and sentiment of the viewer. Avoiding a tangential foray into aesthetic attitudes, Bosanguet basically locates the responsibility of dealing with unpleasant images in the viewer rather than in

²⁷ Bosanquet, Ibid., 108

²⁸ Bosanquet, Ibid., 85

²⁹ Bosanquet, Ibid., 87

visual artist's success or failure. This is true where he says that "the current idea of ugliness is all of man's making and not of nature's,". 30 Bosanquet advocates for a removal of the word "ugliness" from our aesthetic vocabulary because it comes down to the viewer's willingness to engage with truths that are not pleasurable. "Ugliness" seems to be as much of a social construction as the socio-economic status of Lange's subjects. This broader understanding of visual excellence permits viewers to associate with the challenging aspects of Lange's work. Bosanquet's aesthetic hierarchy demonstrates that Truth can exist as a medium between aesthetic excellence and challenge.

Additionally, if Truth must be expressed as pleasure or displeasure, more profound emotional investment is wasted. In a critical interpretation of emotion, beauty, and pleasure Dabney Townsend says that "pleasure is not the same as beauty, nor is it antecedent to beauty. One has a sensation of pleasure...[and] beauty is an emotion, but it can be treated as a quality because it refers to something that one denominates as beautiful,". 31 This is relevant to Lange's photography because it distinguishes aesthetic excellence and the viewer's Additionally, as Townsend suggests that "emotion [is] a legitimate epistemological and ontological principle...Emotions and passions must stand as their own evidence,".32 Thusly, the viewer's internal reaction in response to aesthetic excellence is legitimized. Viewers can channel their emotions upon interacting with an artwork as a valid way to recognize Truth. Lange's photographs are some of the best examples of this

³⁰ Bosanquet, Ibid., 108

Townsend, Ibid., 183

³² Townsend, Ibid., 97

principle because if Lange did not appeal to emotion, her images would grant neither gratification nor discomfort. Viewer must learn to invest their hearts and mind into the experience of Lange's *Migrant Mother*, just as Lange invested her own time and interest in the individual narratives of the agricultural economy.

Bosanquet's solution of "difficult beauty" provides a new way of viewing aesthetics; one that is less firmly dependent upon the notion of "good" and "bad" and "pleasure" and "displeasure". In fact, Meyer Schapiro, author of Social Realism: Art as a Weapon determines that the modern's art very purpose is to challenge aesthetic beauty and ugliness and uproot the traditional notion of aesthetic judgment. Where Scruton's traditional art uses formal beauty as a way to escape the cruelty of the human condition, twentieth century artists recognized that the only way to address social issues was to first expose them. In this light, Meyer Schapiro concisely summarizes the objectives of Social Realist artists:

The social origins of such forms of modern art do not in themselves permit one to judge this art as good or bad; they simply throw light upon some aspects of their character and enable us to see more clearly that ideas of modern artists, far from describing eternal and necessary conditions of art, are simply the results to recent history. In recognizing the dependence of his situation and attitudes on the character of modern society, the artist acquires the courage to change things, to act on his society and for himself in an effective manner. ³³

³³ Schapiro Shapiro, David. Social Realism: Art as Weapon. Critical Studies in American Art. Frederick New York: Ungar Publishing Co., 1973: 49.

Shapiro explains in words what Lange expresses in subjectivity and proximity. The Truth in social realist art is realized when viewers muster the "courage to change things", not just through an observation of visual characteristics. As Wendy Steiner also demonstrates in "Venus in Exile", "it is the task of contemporary art and criticism to imagine beauty as an experience of empathy and equality,".³⁴ This speaks directly to Lange's objective in her social realist photography because it is her goal to evoke empathy in the viewer. The result of social progress is as pleasurable as the modern art that inspires it.

Ultimately, this theoretical dialogue of philosophers and art historians implies that Truth can be known through means other than Beauty. Early twentieth century social realist photographer Dorothea Lange shows that the harsh reality of agrarian laborers does not warrant a gratifying representation. The beauty of Lange's works is incidental to her talent, but not essential to her purpose. Lange's FSA commissions represent the unpleasant aspects of the human condition in order to strike a nerve and inspire change. Thinkers like Roger Scruton believe that beauty arises from a necessity to reveal the truth of the human condition, but social realist photography demonstrates that "ugliness" develops from the same drive. Lange's sense of subjectivity in such works as Migrant Mother and Desperation breaks down the emotional barrier between subject and viewer, posing a challenge to the aesthetic attitude of disinterested interest. She invites one to associate with her subjects as starting place in the quest for change. Bernard Bosanquet's position on aesthetics bridges the gap

³⁴ Steiner, Wendy. Extract from 'Proem', Venus in Exile: The Rejection of Beauty in Twentieth-Century art., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001: 49.

between beauty and its opposite on the grounds that even challenging concepts can display aesthetic excellence. This aesthetic perspective encourages viewers approach art with emotional mindfulness. The viewer does not experience gratification when interacting with Lange's photographs despite her artistic talent, because emotional appeal has the largest impact. This strongly suggests that Truth cannot be firmly equated with beauty or ugliness. As the idiomatic expression of "ugly truth" implies, certain realities are uncomfortable. This means that beauty can be found in challenging spaces, and it matters because viewers can work to recognize art as a tool of communication beyond its surface. Aesthetic Truth can, and should, be as varied as the human condition and Lange proves this need in her artistic exploration of Depression-era farm workers.

References

- Benovsky, Jiri. "Three Kinds of Realism About Photographs." 375-395. The Journal of Speculative Philosophy 25.4 (2011): Project MUSE. Web. 21 Apr. 2015. https://muse.jhu.edu/>.
- Bosanquet, Bernard. Three Lectures on Aesthetic. Macmillan and Co., Limited: London (1931)
- Cousins, Mark. Extract from "The Ugly" (part 1), AA files, no.8. London: Architectural Associations, (1994) 61-4. Concepts and Contexts.
- Gawthrop, Louis C. "Dorothea Lange And Visionary Change." Society 30.5 (1993): 64. Points of View Reference Center. Web. 3 May 2015.
- Gordon, Linda. "Dorothea Lange: The Photographer as Agricultural Sociologist." 698-727. The Journal of American History 93.3, 2006. ProQuest. Web. 3 May 2015

- Hutchinson, Mark. Extract from catalogue essay, "Nausea: Encounters with Ugliness", Ed. Hutchinson and Nicola Cotton. Nottingham, England: Djanogly Gallery. Concepts and Contexts, March 2002.
- Scruton, Roger. Beauty: A very Short Introduction. (2011). Oxford University Press.
- Shapiro, David. Social Realism: Art as Weapon. Critical Studies in American Art. Frederick New York: Ungar Publishing Co., 1973.
- Stiener, Wendy. Extract from 'Proem', Venus in Exile: The Rejection of Beauty in Twentieth-Century art. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Townsend, Dabney. Hume's Aesthetic Theory: Taste and Sentiment. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge, 2000. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 3 May 2015.Copyright © 2000. Routledge.
- Whitson Spirn, Anne. Daring to Look: Dorothea Lange's Photographs and Reports from the Field. University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London. 2008. Print.

Natural defenses: reactivating the native immune system to combat cancers through immune-checkpoint mediated pathways Tyler Dorrity (CLA 2018)

Abstract

Specific cancer immunotherapies have been a focal point of cancer research in the past decade. In recent clinical trials, blocking inhibitory immune checkpoints with antibodies has been shown to be a breakthrough discovery resulting in an effective treatment. These checkpoints are responsible mainly for preventing autoimmunity and regulating T lymphoid cell response. but these pathways are exploited by cancer cells to avoid a native immune response. The discovery of the first checkpoint inhibitor (CTLA-4 antibody) allowed for research in this new field of therapeutics. After the creation of anti-CTLA-4 drugs, the programmed cell death protein 1 (PD-1) pathway became a popular contender as a pharmaceutical target. Within the PD-1 pathway, both the receptor and the ligand make accessible targets. However there are unique advantages and disadvantages to targeting one over the other, as well as the possibly for the advent of resistance against the therapy.

Introduction

Cancer is, at its simplest, the uncontrollable growth of abnormal cells. There are eight main hallmarks to the disease that enable its endless growth and proliferation. These include the evasion of cell death, the induction of angiogenesis, and the ability to avoid the host immune system (Fig. 1)1. These factors have allowed cancer to exist as an extremely deadly disease, with 14.6 million new cases in 2012 and 8.6 million deaths from existing cases². Early treatments consisted of surgeries to remove the tumor, toxic chemotherapies and radiotherapies. However, surgery left a high chance of remission and the other two would kill cells indiscriminately. These issues pushed for the development of targeted therapies that would leave the patient healthy but inhibit or kill the cancer cells permanently. This movement led to drugs such as Herceptin and Gleevec, as well as many other therapies³. Yet many of the approved treatments were effective only in cancers with a specific mutation, limiting their applicability. Moreover, the development of resistance against these targeted therapies make them less effective with time. Targeting a specific defect in a single protein in the cancer cell creates a selective pressure for cells with a different protein structure. This reduces the efficacy of the previous treatment. The recent breakthrough studies targeting immune checkpoint inhibition and its recent approval by the FDA started another revolution in cancer treatments: the

-

¹ Hanahan, D. & Weinberg, R. Hallmarks of Cancer: The Next Generation. *Cell* **144**, (2011)

² Globocan 2012 [Internet]. Lyon (France): World Health Organization (2015).

³ Ross, J. et al. Targeted Therapies for Cancer 2004. American Journal of Clinical Pathology **122**,598609 (2004).

ability to reactivate our own immune system to fight the disease by removing the inhibitory pathways. This increase in the effectiveness of the immune response is achieved through the use of immunotherapies⁴.

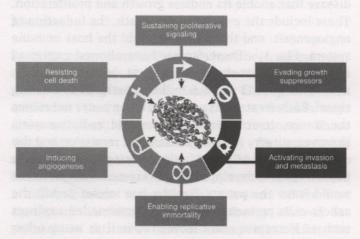


Fig. 1: These are the six original hallmarks that defined how cancer could grow, multiply and invade. In addition, there are two newer additions, immune evasion and energetic deregulation¹.

The immune system consists of two main parts: the innate (non-specific) immune system and the adaptive (specific) immune system. Both systems are required to fight a disease, as the innate slows spread in the short term while the adaptive prepares itself to end the infection. Research has focused mainly on dendritic cells,

⁴ Pardoll, D. The blockade of immune checkpoints in cancer immunotherapy. *Nat Rev Cancer* 12, 252–264 (2012).

T-cells, and their interactions⁵. Immune reactions focus on the recognition of a foreign antigen, a molecule or portion of a molecule that is not normally found in the body. An antigen could range from a bacterial polysaccharide to a viral coating protein, but in the case of T-cell reactions, the antigen is a peptide. Dendritic cells pick up unique antigens from pathogens and present those antigens, along with the requisite co-stimulatory ligands, to naïve T-cells in order to activate the T-cells. This activation causes T-cells to differentiate into memory T-cells and many types of effector T-cells. The active effector cytotoxic T-cells (CTLs) then travel and search for the antigen that they were originally presented. Most cells will present an antigen on their membrane using a protein complex known as the major histocompatibility complex (MHC), and binding of this antigen to a matching T-cell receptor will induce an immune response⁶. However, this response can be controlled and limited through the activity of several checkpoint pathways.

Immune Checkpoints

CTLA-4 (cytotoxic T lymphocyte-associated antigen 4) is part of a series of immune checkpoint pathways, which are natural barriers that normally prevent the induction of immunity by harmless cells⁷. These receptor-ligand pathways are vital to categorizing cells into levels of danger, ranging from an innocuous host cell to a

⁷ Pardoll, Ibid.

⁵ Joyce, J. A. & Fearon, D. T. T cell exclusion, immune privilege, and the tumor microenvironment. *Science* **348**, 74–80 (2015).

⁶ Owen JA, Punt J, Stranford SA. Immunology. New York: WH Freeman (2013).

dangerous active infection; this provides a system of checks that both prevents autoimmunity and controls tolerance⁸⁹. Checkpoints can be either stimulatory or inhibitory and under normal circumstances will localize the immune response to the pathogen while protecting the host's cells. Yet, several cancers are able to misuse these interactions to stop the immune cycle, usually by inhibiting cytotoxic T-cells and their activation¹⁰.

When a T-cell interacts with another cell during antigen presentation, the cell is not fully activated until it receives a secondary signal. This additional communication occurs when the receptor CD28 on the Tcell binds to its ligand B7-1 (or CD80) on the target cell. This leads to production of certain proteins in the T-cells, which leads to T-cell proliferation and activation of effector functions¹¹. However, continued stimulation through this CD28/B7-1 signal in an active T-cell would lead to autoimmunity, as that T-cell would begin to cause collateral damage to nearby cells. In order to prevent this damage, one of the proteins an active T-cell produces is CTLA-4. CTLA-4 will bind to B7-1 ligand with high affinity, gradually replacing the activating CD28/B7-1 bonds. CTLA-4 will continue to be produced, and as it begins to outcompete CD28, it will halt the T-cell's

⁸ Greenwald, R., Freeman, G. & Sharpe, A. THE B7 FAMILY REVISITED. *Annu. Rev. Immunol.* **23**, 515–548 (2005).

⁹ Blander, J. & Sander, L. Beyond pattern recognition: five immune checkpoints for scaling the microbial threat. *Nat. Rev. Immunol.*(2012).

¹⁰ Pardoll, Ibid.

¹¹ Sharma, P. & Allison, J. P. The future of immune checkpoint therapy. *Science* **348**, 56–61 (2015).

response, preventing autoimmunity¹². This is why antibodies that block CTLA-4/B7-1 interactions allow T-cells to remain active longer, because the T-cell's own negative feedback is blocked and the activation signal continues to propagate¹³.

Another major checkpoint that is currently under pharmaceutical scrutiny is programmed cell death protein 1 (PD-1) and its two ligands, PD-L1 and PD-L2. Binding of these two ligands to PD-1 on T-cells leads to inhibition of effector T-cells and halts their activation 1415. Unlike the CTLA-4 pathway, which stops T-cells after activation, PD-1/PD-L pathways act to protect cells from T cell attack by preventing activation altogether. PD-1 receptor is found on T-cells and PD-L1 is normally expressed by antigen-presenting immune cells and other tissues that see constant immune stimulation, like some epithelial tissues. This is important to preventing autoimmunity during a normal immune reaction 16. For example, a macrophage that presents a foreign antigen uses PD-L1 to prevent effector T-cells from mistakenly

1

¹³ Korman, AJ, Peggs, KS & Allison, JP. Checkpoint blockade in cancer immunotherapy. *Advances in Immunology* (2006).

Latchman, Y. et al. PD-L2 is a second ligand for PD-1 and inhibits T cell activation. *Nature Immunology* 2, 261–268 (2001)

¹² Krummel, M. F. & Allison, J. P. CD28 and CTLA-4 have opposing effects on the response of T cells to stimulation. *The journal of experimental medicine* **182**, 459–465 (1995).

¹⁴ Chen BJ. *et al.* PD-L1 expression is characteristic of a subset of aggressive B-cell lymphomas and virus-associated malignancies. *Clinical Cancer Research* **15**, 3462-3473 (2014).

¹⁶ Keir, M., Butte, M., Freeman, G. & Sharpe, A. PD-1 and Its Ligands in Tolerance and Immunity. *Annu. Rev. Immunol.* **26**, 677–704 (2008).

attacking it. When PD-L1 binds to PD-1, T-cell mediated killing is downregulated; this interaction also stops maturation of T-cells by stopping cells in the G1 phase¹⁷. This activity of PD-1 prevents cell death, which can be abused by cancerous cells to evade natural immunity.

The PD-1 receptor is expressed by T-cells that infiltrate tumors18, and the cancerous cells can recognize the presence of T-cells. The production of a certain immune signaling protein, interferon-γ, stimulates healthy cells to produce a normal amount of PD-L1 to prevent autoimmunity, but the cancer cells will overexpress PD-L119. When the T-cell then binds to the antigen presented by the cancer cell, even though the antigen may be nonself, the T-cell will not induce cytotoxicity due to the large presence of PD-L1 on the tumor cell²⁰. Subsequently, when cancer cells with upregulated PD-L1 die, dendritic cells could pick up the PD-L1 and present the ligand as an antigen to developing T-cells in the thymus. This prevents proper development of T-cells and interferes with the immune response throughout the entire body, not just the tumor microenvironment²¹.

¹⁷ McDermott, D. & Atkins, M. PD-1 as a potential target in cancer therapy. *Cancer Med* **2**, 662–673 (2013).

¹⁸ Thompson, R. *et al.* PD-1 Is Expressed by Tumor-Infiltrating Immune Cells and Is Associated with Poor Outcome for Patients with Renal Cell Carcinoma. *Clinical Cancer Research* **13**, 17571761 (2007).

¹⁹ Chen DS, Irving BA, Hodi FS. Molecular pathways: next-generation immunotherapy—inhibiting programmed deathligand 1 and programmed death-1. *Clinical Cancer Research* **18,** 6580-6587 (2012).

²⁰ McDermott, Ibid.

²¹ Keir, Ibid.

Because many immune checkpoints can be utilized by cancer cells to avoid immune detection, therapies have been developed to block negative immune signals from the tumor. In regards to cancer immunotherapies, only two pathway-targets have made it out of clinical trials so far: CTLA4 pathways²² and PD-1 pathways²³. Anti-CTLA-4 antibodies are easily chosen, because they have to bind to the CTLA-4 receptor. If the B7-1 ligand was chosen, all co-stimulation would stop and no T-cells would be activated²⁴. The PD-1 pathway differs in that either the receptor or the ligand could be targeted, and both would have slightly different effects.

PD-1 as a Target

By targeting the PD-1 receptor, the antibodies would only bind to T-cells, because they are the primary cell line to express the receptor²⁵. However, because PD-1 is a primary inhibitory checkpoint, by blocking the receptor you can block the checkpoint as a whole (Fig. 2A). Without PD-1/PD-L1 interactions, the T-cells will be able to recognize the previously masked cancer cells. Yet this also blocks PD-1/PD-L1 and PD-1/PD-L2 interactions on non-cancerous cells. With the PD-1 checkpoint blocked throughout the body, autoimmunity would increase. However, the B7-1 ligand has a secondary affinity for PD-L1 (Fig. 2B), and this allows B7-1 to act as a receptor for

²² Phan, G. Q. et al. Cancer regression and autoimmunity induced by cytotoxic T lymphocyte-associated antigen 4 blockade in patients with metastatic melanoma. *Proc. Natl Acad. Sci.* **100**, 8372–8377 (2003).

²³ Vanneman, M. & Dranoff, G. Combining immunotherapy and targeted therapies in cancer treatment. *Nat Rev Cancer* **12.** 237–251 (2012).

²⁴ Sharma, Ibid.

²⁵ Keir, Ibid.

PD-L1. By just blocking PD-1, this secondary binding to B7-1 can still occur, and the checkpoint is not totally blocked. This means cancer cells that express PD-L1 could still partially evade the immune system even with PD-1 blocked. There is also evidence supporting a new PD-1 independent pathway for PD-L1²⁶. In this case if PD-1 is blocked, PD-L1 can still function, which inhibits T-cell response and undermines the efforts of the immunotherapy.

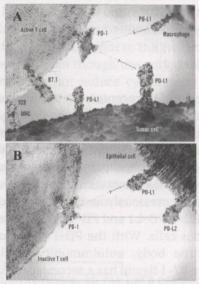


Fig. 2: (A) The PD interactions between a cancer cell and a CTL. PD-L1 can bind to either PD-1 or B7-1 to inhibit the T-cell's functions. (B) The PD interactions between a healthy cell and a CTL. Even with PD-L1 inhibited, PD-L2 can still prevent autoimmunity. (Adapted from Research PD-L1)

²⁶ Dong, H. *et al.* Tumor-associated B7-H1 promotes T-cell apoptosis: a potential mechanism of immune evasion. *Nat. Med.* **8,**793–800 (2002).

Yet PD-1 therapies, such as nivolumab and pembrolizumab, have been very successful and have lead to few side effects²⁷. This is in part due to combination therapies that involve immunosuppressant drugs as well as the ratio of PD-1 to PD-L1. PD-1 is only present on T-cells, whereas the ligand is expressed in many tissues and the cancer. Small amount of PD-1 inhibitory antibodies can have a profound effect on a patient because the receptor is only present on one cell type.

PD-L1 as a Target

PD-L1 inhibitory antibodies are less directed than PD-1 treatments, due to the broad expression of the PD-L1 ligand across almost all cell types. Broad expression of PD-L1 means that the antibodies would need to be targeted at the tumor, otherwise they could bind to healthy tissues and create an autoimmune risk. Yet this risk is much less than in anti-PD-1 drugs because of the presence of the second ligand, PD-L2²⁸. PD-L2 is present on many cells that experience regular, heavy immune stress, and this ligand functions identically to PD-L1. The main difference between the two is that PD-L1 is much more widely expressed on cancers than PD-L2²⁹, and that anti PD-L1 antibodies will not bind to PD-L2³⁰. This has

(2014). ²⁸ Latchman, Ibid.

30 Pardoll, Ibid.

²⁷ Webster, R. M. The immune checkpoint inhibitors: where are we now? *Nature Reviews Drug Discovery* **13**, 883–884 (2014).

²⁹ Liu, X. *et al.* B7DC/PDL2 Promotes Tumor Immunity by a PD-1–independent Mechanism. *Journal of Experimental Medicine* **197**, 1721–1730 (2003).

the benefit of preventing autoimmunity because PD-L2 on healthy cells will still function, so combination therapy with immunosuppressant drugs will not be needed. However, because PD-L1 is so widely expressed, one treatment will not achieve much efficiency due to the large number of ligand molecules, making this treatment slightly less effective than PD-1 treatments³¹. Using an anti-PD-L1 treatment will allow CTLs to target and kill cancer cells, but the expression of PD-L2 on nearby healthy cells will still function and prevent immune attack of the healthy cells.

Another issue surrounding PD-L1 therapies is the concentration necessary to control the tumor. In a patient with PD-L1+ cancer cells, the highest concentration of the ligand will be found in the tumor. Larger doses of antibodies will destroy the cancer cells faster, but will also lead to a high autoimmune response³². This has led to a decrease in recommended doses, but preservation of tumor viability. If there is not sufficient blockage of the PD-L1 on cancer cells, the ligand can still function to evade immunity. The possibility of continued immune evasion even after treatment creates difficulty in determining an effective dose for patients, high enough to be effective, but low enough to prevent the rampant autoimmunity. However, dosing issues can be remedied with combination therapies. By enhancing CD-28 interactions during T-cell co-stimulation, the effects of PD-L signaling can be overcome³³, allowing for smaller doses of PD-L1 therapy to be more effective.

³¹ McDermott, Ibid.

³² Sharma, Ibid.

³³ Keir, Ibid.

Resistance in Cancer

Through use of these PD-L1 immunotherapies, a selective force is created for cancer cells that do not express the PD-L1 protein. It would be possible for these new cancer cells to evade the immune response through a different pathway. If the cell utilizes a pathway that completely bypasses the PD pathway, then the PD targeted therapies will be rendered ineffective against that new strain³⁴. There is another possibility that the cancer cells will switch to expressing PD-L2, which will not be blocked by anti-PD-L1 antibodies but will still have a similar immune effect³⁵.

PD-L2+ cancer cells would still evade immunity, and would avoid the therapy that previously revealed them. However, PD-L2 on cancer cells has been shown to activate, not deactivate, T-cells through a PD-1 independent pathway³⁶. These PD-L2+ tumors grew briefly, and then immediately shrunk under immune attack. The mechanism for this T-lymphocyte stimulatory PD-L2 pathway is still not known, but it would impede resistant, PD-L2+ cancer cells.

Yet, the development of resistance in cancer cells is usually rare in immune checkpoint cases³⁷. If the structure of the ligand is only slightly altered, it will no longer bind and it loses its intended function. A total ligand replacement is necessary, and this would only appear quickly if the cancer cells already expressed these alternate ligands. Another benefit to PD treatments is

³⁴ Pardoll, Ibid.

³⁵ Latchmann, Ibid.

³⁶ Liu, Ibid.

that they are cytotoxic and directly kill the cancer cell³⁸. By killing the cancer cell outright, you prevent the opportunity for mutation that normally arises during division. Other treatments that only prevent growth do not have this benefit, and are thus more susceptible to the development of resistance. Direct cellular immunemediated killing helps PD therapies to slow the development of resistance.

Limitations to Immune Checkpoint Therapies

Currently, there are still many setbacks preventing widespread use of immune-checkpoint therapies. Many of the approved therapies have adverse side effects. mainly related to immune issues³⁹. The CTLA-4 therapy ipilimumab shows side effects such as inflammation of the eye, colitis and hepatitis, paralysis due to nerve inflammation, and inflammation of hormonal glands⁴⁰. Nivolumab was one of the first treatments to lower the severity of the autoimmune complications, but it still falls to the another limitation: specificity. Immune checkpoint therapies depend on the receptors expressed by the cancer cells. If the tumor evades immunity using a PD-independent pathway, then PD-1/PD-L1 antibodies will not be effective against the tumor. The cancer must be analyzed through a biopsy or with a biomarker in order to determine which checkpoint-treatment would be effective. All checkpoint therapies assume that a tumor is immunogenic and can be infiltrated by immune cells. If a cancer cell cannot be analyzed by a T-cell, or if the cancer

³⁸ McDermott, Ibid.

³⁹ Webster, Ibid.

⁴⁰ Weber, J. Immune checkpoint proteins: a new therapeutic paradigm for cancer preclinical background: CTLA-4 and PD-1 blockade. **37**,430–439 (2010).

does not exhibit some form of differentiation from healthy cells, the tumor can not be killed using the host immune system⁴¹.

Benefits of PD Pathway

Overall, the PD pathway is a very promising target for the development of cancer immunotherapies. The PD pathway has more than one target that could be utilized for treatment: the receptor PD-1 or its primary ligand PD-L1. While both have advantages, the important consideration is that both could be targeted in tandem to produce better remission in a combination therapy. These treatments are improved because the PD system has its own backup ligand, PD-L2. This is important for therapies because it prevents autoimmune responses. PD therapies can induce autoimmunity as a side effect, but it is at a lower scale, and in fewer tissues, than in other Tcell activating treatments⁴². Several properties of the PD pathway also allow it to prevent resistance: its cytotoxicity, PD-L2+ cancers activating a secondary pathway to activate T-cells, and the necessity for a total ligand replacement, not just a mutation. With further development of these treatments and further research into synergistic combination therapies, PD treatments could possibly become effective against a wide range of

⁴¹ Joyce, Ibid.

⁴² Sharma, Ibid.

References

- Blander, J. & Sander, L. Beyond pattern recognition: five immune checkpoints for scaling the microbial threat. *Nat. Rev. Immunol.*(2012). doi:10.1038/nri3167
- Chen BJ. et al. PD-L1 expression is characteristic of a subset of aggressive B-cell lymphomas and virus-associated malignancies. Clinical Cancer Research 15, 3462-3473 (2014).
- Chen DS, Irving BA, Hodi FS. Molecular pathways: next-generation immunotherapy—inhibiting programmed death-ligand 1 and programmed death-1. *Clinical Cancer Research* **18**, 6580-6587 (2012).
- Dong, H. *et al.* Tumor-associated B7-H1 promotes T-cell apoptosis: a potential mechanism of immune evasion. *Nat. Med.* **8,**793–800 (2002).
- Gao, Q. et al. Overexpression of PD-L1 Significantly Associates with Tumor Aggressiveness and Postoperative Recurrence in Human Hepatocellular Carcinoma. Clinical Cancer Research 15, 971–979 (2009).
- Globocan 2012 [Internet]. Lyon (France): World Health Organization (2015).
- Greenwald, R., Freeman, G. & Sharpe, A. THE B7 FAMILY REVISITED. *Annu. Rev. Immunol.* **23,** 515–548 (2005).
- Hackstein, H. & Thomson, A. Dendritic cells: emerging pharmacological targets of immunosuppressive drugs. *Nat Rev Immunol* **4,**24–35 (2004).
- Hanahan, D. & Weinberg, R. Hallmarks of Cancer: The Next Generation. *Cell* **144**, (2011)
- Keir, M., Butte, M., Freeman, G. & Sharpe, A. PD-1 and Its Ligands in Tolerance and Immunity. *Annu. Rev. Immunol.* **26**, 677–704 (2008).

- Joyce, J. A. & Fearon, D. T. T cell exclusion, immune privilege, and the tumor microenvironment. *Science* **348**, 74–80 (2015).
- Korman, AJ, Peggs, KS & Allison, JP. Checkpoint blockade in cancer immunotherapy. *Advances in Immunology* (2006).
- Krummel, M. F. & Allison, J. P. CD28 and CTLA-4 have opposing effects on the response of T cells to stimulation. *The journal of experimental medicine* **182**, 459–465 (1995).
- Latchman, Y. *et al.* PD-L2 is a second ligand for PD-1 and inhibits T cell activation. *Nature Immunology* **2**, 261–268 (2001).
- Liu, X. et al. B7DC/PDL2 Promotes Tumor Immunity by a PD-1-independent Mechanism. *Journal of Experimental Medicine* **197**, 1721–1730 (2003).
- McDermott, D. & Atkins, M. PD-1 as a potential target in cancer therapy. *Cancer Med***2**, 662–673 (2013).
- Owen JA, Punt J, Stranford SA. Immunology. New York: WH Freeman (2013).
- Pardoll, D. The blockade of immune checkpoints in cancer immunotherapy. *Nat Rev Cancer* **12**, 252–264 (2012).
- Phan, G. Q. et al. Cancer regression and autoimmunity induced by cytotoxic T lymphocyte-associated antigen 4 blockade in patients with metastatic melanoma. *Proc. Natl Acad. Sci.* **100**, 8372–8377 (2003).
- Research PD-L1 [Internet]. San Francisco (CA): Genentech Biooncology (2015).
- Ross, J. et al. Targeted Therapies for Cancer 2004. American Journal of Clinical Pathology 122,598609 (2004).
- Sharma, P. & Allison, J. P. The future of immune checkpoint therapy. *Science* **348**, 56–61 (2015).

- Si L. *et al.* B7-1 antigen expression in tumor cells from cancerous human tissues. *Analysis Quant Cytol Histol* **21**, 521-526 (1999).
- Sznol, M. & Chen, L. Antagonist Antibodies to PD-1 and B7-H1 (PD-L1) in the Treatment of Advanced Human Cancer. *Clin. Cancer Res.* **19**,1021–1034 (2013).
- Thompson, R. *et al.* PD-1 Is Expressed by Tumor-Infiltrating Immune Cells and Is Associated with Poor Outcome for Patients with Renal Cell Carcinoma. *Clinical Cancer Research* **13**, 17571761 (2007).
- Vanneman, M. & Dranoff, G. Combining immunotherapy and targeted therapies in cancer treatment. *Nat Rev Cancer* **12**, 237–251 (2012).
- Weber, J. Immune checkpoint proteins: a new therapeutic paradigm for cancer preclinical background: CTLA-4 and PD-1 blockade. **37**,430–439 (2010).
- Webster, R. M. The immune checkpoint inhibitors: where are we now? *Nature Reviews Drug Discovery* **13**, 883–884 (2014).

Reproductive Futurism and Queer Utopia in Octavia Butler's Dawn Chris Recio (CLA 2015)

Utopia in this book has been about an insistence on something else, something better, something dawning.

José Esteban Muñoz, Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity

In his 1982 essay "Progress Versus Utopia; Or, Can We Imagine the Future?" Fredric Jameson considers his titular question through readings of various utopian science fiction texts. He comes to the interesting conclusion that, rather than "attempt[ing] to imagine the 'real' future of our social system," these texts' "deepest vocation" is to reveal "our constitutional inability to imagine Utopia itself". For Jameson, the utopian science fiction text does not so much imagine a perfected, futuristic society as it reflects on the fraught process of such imagining. The world created by the utopian text fails when readers perceive the unfeasibility of this or that utopian vision, but in this way, for Jameson, the text "succeed[s] by failure"². It allows us as readers to perceive "the present as history" when "upon our return from the imaginary constructs of SF [the present] is offered to us in the form of some future world's remote past"3. Through science fiction, the present is defamiliarized, as the otherwise invisible historical forces that produced it are laid bare. The question that utopian science fiction is

¹ Jameson, Fredric. "Progress versus Utopia; Or, Can We Imagine the Future?" *Science Fiction Studies* 9.2, Utopia and Anti-Utopia (1982), 152-153.

² Ibid., 153.

³ Ibid., 152-153.

preoccupied with is not "What might the future look like?" but rather "What does it mean to imagine the future?"

This latter question has been taken up by discussion around a recent trend in queer theory that has been called "the antisocial turn." So-called antisocial theorists such as Lee Edelman posit queerness and queer subjects as fundamentally opposed to the stifling conventions of heteronormative sociality. Edelman associates queerness with the death drive and favors "queer rebelliousness"4 over what Leo Bersani has termed the "rage for respectability" dominant in contemporary queer politics. Edelman has even coined a term for the ideology of what Mari Ruti calls a "relentlessly futureoriented optimism of reproductive heteronormativity".6 His claim is that what he calls "reproductive futurism," as it is represented by the figure of the innocent child, restricts our ability to imagine utopian visions of the future to the extent that all such visions are inevitably heteronormative:

[T]he image of the Child invariably shapes the logic within which the political itself can be thought. That logic compels us, to the extent that we would register as politically responsible, to submit to the framing of the political debate—and, indeed, of the political field—as defined by the terms of...reproductive futurism: terms that impose an ideological limit on political discourse

⁶ Ruti, "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory," 113.

⁴ Ruti, Mari. "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory." *Angelaki* 13.1 (2008), 113.

⁵ Bersani, Leo. *Homos*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 113

as such, preserving in the process the absolute privilege of heteronormativity.⁷

For Edelman, there can be no political (let alone utopian) vision of the future without the figure of the Child somewhere, whether implicitly or explicitly. To have a future there must be children, and children come from a very particular kind of sexuality: one that is not just heterosexual, but heteronormative. The reproductive potential of heterosexual sexuality is privileged and normativized by politics itself because the latter implicitly posits a stabilized social order. For Edelman, there is an inherent conservatism to politics itself, or to what he calls "the political field," which is constricted by "the terms of...reproductive futurism." This "ideological limit" means that *any* politics, whether wildly utopian or cautiously pragmatic, implies futurity and is therefore constrained by a heteronormative logic.

As a means of opposition to reproductive futurism, Edelman theorizes "queer sexuality as a site of constant and unmediated jouissance". Rather than challenge the stigmatization of queer subjects by the Symbolic order through more optimistic representation of those subjects, Edelman proposes that queers "accede to our cultural production as figures—within the dominant logic of narrative, within Symbolic reality—for the dismantling of such a logic". This means accepting the normative figuration of queerness as antithetical to society, and as death-driven as opposed to future-oriented. In exchange, Edelman argues, we get the explosive

⁹ Edelman, No Future, 22.

⁷ Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 2.

⁸ Ruti, "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory," 116.

potential of queer jouissance that presents the possibility of undoing heterosexist logics.

Not only does Edelman's text introduce an ethical dimension to the question of imagining utopia—it is not only "Can we imagine the future?" but also "Should we imagine the future?"—but his rejection of such imagining rehearses the Jamesonian point about the difficulty of such an act. For Jameson, doing so is difficult because of the constraints of the Symbolic, that is, of "the systemic, cultural, and ideological closure of which we are all in one way or another prisoners" 10. For Jameson, the Lacanian Symbolic represents "that boundary or limit beyond which thought cannot go" 11. While for Edelman, it is the space outside of this heteronormative Symbolic order—that of negativity—that is forcefully opened up by a recalcitrant queerness. 12

Edelman's difficulty in imagining a queer future, that is, one that is not always already heteronormative, and the recourse to anti-sociality that follows is not the only response to Jameson's question about futurity that queer theory has generated. Bersani, another prominent voice of the "anti-social turn," provocatively asks in his 1995 text *Homos*, "How...does a gay man's erotic joy in the penis inflect, or endanger, what he might like think of as his insubordinate relation to the paternal phallus?" ¹³. To

¹¹ Ibid., 148.

¹³ Bersani, *Homos*, 6.

¹⁰ Jameson, "Progress versus Utopia," 153.

¹² It is worth noting that, read this way, Edelman comes to look somewhat utopian, despite his professed antiutopianism and rejection of futurity itself as heteronormative. Queer negativity would seem to offer something definitively other than heteronormative sociality.

paraphrase Bersani (and put him in conversation with Edelman), does queer jouissance unproblematically negate a heteronormative Symbolic? Or are there ways in which, as Jameson suggests, the utopian future (even Edelman's non-future) is ineluctably difficult to imagine from within the ideological closure of the present? Bersani continues, "In what ways does that joy both qualify and fortify his investment in the Law, in patriarchal structures of dominance and submission he might prefer to think of himself as subverting?"14. Here Bersani lays out a particular situation in which the queer erotic imagination-like the utopian imagination-may appear subversive, but is entangled in complicated ways with precisely the system which it was supposed to upend. This is the same problem that Jameson productively analyzes in science fiction texts, a genre that, as Peter Fitting has suggested, became a repository for utopian thinking following the "collapse of the consensus in American politics" in the nineteen-sixties. 15

What follows will be an examination of how one particular science fiction novel, Octavia Butler's *Dawn*, negotiates the problem of imagining a queer utopian future. I do not see Butler's novel as providing a solution. Rather, I claim that Butler's novel demonstrates this problem in a way parallel to the antisocial turn. *Dawn* challenges heteronormativity and points to a queer future, even as it shows us how problematic this process can be. It therefore makes clearer to us, in a Jamesonian fashion, those "ideological limits" of heteronormativity. Edelman would perhaps claim that all speculative fiction set in an imagined future is inevitably heteronormative.

¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹⁵ Fitting, Peter. "The Concept of Utopia in the Work of Fredric Jameson." *Utopian Studies* 9.2 (1998): 8

Indeed, the figure of the Child and reproductive futurism are in fact omnipresent in *Dawn*. The novel itself plays with a number of futures as humans and the alien Oankali imagine repopulating Earth after a nuclear catastrophe has wiped out civilization.

At the same time, Dawn imagines a world in which humanity is left with no future. Captured, but also saved from a post-apocalyptic world by the non-hierarchical. non-monogamous Oankali, humanity must choose between fighting a hopeless battle against these extraterrestrials, or consenting to interbreed with them. as the aliens propose. Both options would be the end of humanity in its present state. They will either be killed by the Oankali or so altered by genetic engineering that they cease to be recognizably human. However, despite the seeming dystopian hopelessness for humanity of Butler's novel, there is also the possibility of utopian hope in the form of the Oankali and their proposal. As Amanda Thibodeau observes, "the alien body bears the burden of utopian representation, displaying a shifting pattern of fears and hopes for the future"16. Read in this way, the Oankali, who have different kinship structures and three sexes, figure a kind of queer utopian future: they become a way to denaturalize and think past the present's heteronormativity, by pointing to alternative possibilities for the organization of gender and sexuality. As Jameson would put it, after returning from the queerer world of the Oankali, our present is defamiliarized and made to look more explicitly heteronormative than it otherwise would. Thibodeau also refers to the

¹⁶ Thibodeau, Amanda. "Alien Bodies and a Queer Future: Sexual Revision in Octavia Butler's "Bloodchild" and James Tiptree, Jr.'s "With Delicate Mad Hands"." *Science Fiction Studies* 39.2 (2012), 263.

implication in science fiction and in mainstream culture "that aliens might not be heteronormative after all" 17. We might read the Oankali then, not as suppressing human potential but as a means to imagine new possibilities for gender and sexuality. In the words of another queer utopian critic, José Esteban Muñoz, the Oankali's queerness might be "the rejection of a here and now and an insistence on the potentiality or concrete possibility of another world"18. The Oankali could give us a glimpse of that queerer world. Edelman would likely disagree, and this essay will be a negotiation of his critique of reproductive futurism and of the queer utopian impulse as they are both found in Butler's novel. In other words, I will examine how Dawn succeeds and fails (and succeeds by failing) to imagine a queer future, how it problematically embraces an ideological reproductive futurism while at the same time creating a world unmistakably marked by a queer utopian impulse.

The earliest, most striking appearance of the figure of the Child comes early on in the novel when Lilith, the protagonist, is having a conversation with Jdahya, the first Oankali she encounters, about the Oankali's intentions for Earth and for humanity. Jdahya explains that they will make combinations of human and Oankali genes and alter humans' reproductive processes. Lilith asks Jdahya, "'What will our children be?'" to which he responds "'Different, as I said. Not quite like you. A little like us.'" Lilith is shocked to think of human children

17 Ibid., 262.

¹⁸ Muñoz, José Esteban. Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity. (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁹ Butler, Octavia E. *Dawn*. New York: Aspect/Warner Books, 1997., 40.

crossbred with the tentacled Oankali: "She thought of her son-how like her he had been, how like his father. Then she thought of grotesque, Medusa children. 'No!' she said...Just let us go". 20 This realization shatters Lilith's fantasy of reproductive futurism with the threat of difference and otherness. As Edelman observes, "though purporting to be wed to the value of difference in heterosexual combination and exchange, futurism merely perpetuates [a] tenacious will to sameness by endlessly turning the Other into the image of itself". 21 It is her understanding of her son as so much "like her" and "like his father" that sustains Lilith's conservative investment in reproductive futurism. So long as the future does not radically change and the Child is the same as its parents, the social order can be upheld in her imagination. Lilith cannot accept the radical difference that her son (and the Child) present: the queer potentiality that Muñoz sees in futurity itself for "new and better pleasures, other ways of being in the world. and ultimately new worlds". 22 The possibility of futurism not meaning a reproduction of the same, but instead meaning new ways of being is made strikingly apparent to Lilith at the moment when she is made to imagine a world of half-Oankali "Medusa-like" descendants. The heteronormative fantasy through which Lilith perceives futurity is undone by the recognition of the "otherness' in the alien body". 23 This otherness makes it impossible for Lilith to sustain a notion of the future as an unthreatening repetition of the present. It queers the future by queering the Child, and Lilith fails in her attempt to imagine such a future.

²⁰ Ibid., 41.

²¹ Edelman, No Future, 59.

²² Muñoz, Cruising Utopia, 1.

²³ Thibodeau, "Alien Bodies and a Queer Future," 263.

The Oankali, of course, would not generate such anxiety in Lilith and make the future so difficult to imagine if theirs were not radically different from human society as Lilith has grown accustomed to it. It is worth enumerating some of these differences here, as they have important implications for the kind of future Lilith is being asked to imagine. From the beginning, one of the first questions Lilith asks one of the Oankali is whether he is male or female. The immediate response: "It's wrong to assume that I must be a sex you're familiar with". 24 The Oankali, as it happens, are not just male and female, and crossbreeding with them would mean upending Lilith's heteronormative notions of gender and sexuality. In addition, the Oankali are not hierarchical. This is evident from the way in which one of the Oankali refers to humanity's hierarchical nature as "a terrestrial characteristic" that would have doomed humanity had the Oankali not saved them. 25 The Oankali are also nonmonogamous, as the Oankali Idhaya is revealed to not only have a wife, but a partner of a third sex known to the Oankali as "ooloi".26 Lastly, the Oankali's physical appearance is radically different from that of humans. One Oankali is described as "gray all over-pale gray skin" and covered in tentacles that serve as sensory organs.²⁷ We might read the Oankali as presenting a future devoid of stifling gender norms and oppressive hierarchies. But Lilith hesitates to accept such a future because she wonders whether losing hierarchy, gender, and physical appearance mean losing all that is human about her. We should not only read the Oankali's society as a kind of

²⁴ Butler, Dawn, 11.

²⁵ Ibid., 37.

²⁶ Ibid., 45-47.

²⁷ Ibid., 11-12.

queer utopia, but readers should be attentive to the ways in which the task of even imagining such a future, for Lilith and perhaps for ourselves, is always undercut and delimited by a heteronormative Symbolic. It is perhaps easy for Edelman to provocatively respond by saying, "fuck the whole network of Symbolic relations and the future that serves as its prop". 28 However, embracing such a commitment to absolute negativity means missing out on the chance to even glimpse the queer future envisioned, albeit imperfectly, by Butler's novel.

As I have been trying to suggest, it is unclear to what extent Lilith (or the novel) fully accepts such a queer future. When Lilith has to select the humans she wants to Awaken and invite to join her group of Earth recolonizers, she wonders "How could she Awaken these people, these survivors of war, and tell them that unless they could escape the Oankali, their children would not be human".29 Again, "human" here seems to essentially signify sameness. In other words, Lilith cannot bring herself to tell her fellow prisoners about their fate because to do so would mean shattering their illusions about their children being essentially the same as they are. The problem that the prisoners aboard the Oankali ship must wrestle with, the one that gives them so much anxiety throughout the second half of the novel, is that of coming to terms with a queer future, one that is unpredictable, different and challenges normative expectations. Lilith proposes one solution to this problem when she considers Awakening a poet: "She really was bright; she had memorized poetry, plays, songs-her own and those of more established writers. She had something that would help future human

²⁸ Edelman, No Future, 29

²⁹ Butler, *Dawn*, 117.

children remember who they were". ³⁰ In this vision of the future, art is given the domesticated, heteronormative mission of reminding imagined future generations "who they were." Rather than an exploration of difference, it is a reinforcing of sameness. For Lilith here, the formation of a human identity is always a matter of realizing that one is the same as one's predecessors. Any potential for creativity to create difference, imagine new, queer ways of being is absent from her account. The poet only exists to shore up the social order, and it is queerness, as Edelman claims, that "figures...the social order's death drive". ³¹ The queer is the site of "resistance to the viability of the social" and is thus predictably left out of Lilith's vision of the future.

One of the only passages in the *Dawn* to explicitly mention homosexuality further problematizes the novel's relationship to a queer utopian future. When Joseph, another human held by the Oankali, and Lilith find themselves leading the other human prisoners, there is speculation among the group that, in the words of the Oankali Nikanj, Jospeh is "something called a faggot". ³³ After Lilith explains the meaning of what is an unfamiliar word to Nikanj, this exchange follows:

"But they know he's not that. They know he's mated with you."

"Yes. Well there's been some doubt about me, too, I hear."

"None of them really believe it."

"Yet."

³⁰ Ibid., 123.

³¹Edelman, No Future, 3.

³² Ibid., 3.

³³ Butler, *Dawn*, 159.

"Serve them by leading them, Lilith. Help us send as many of them home as we can." ³⁴

Critics like Edelman and Bersani have suggested that there is a problematic relationship between being a homosexual and being "a good citizen". This passage stops short of suggesting, homophobically, that a homosexual cannot be a good leader. But perhaps Joseph and Lilith are particularly vulnerable to these homophobic rumors because they are close to the Oankali, and therefore easily associated with "perversity," and understood as "sleeping with the enemy." In any case, the passage suggests that a casual homophobia still goes unquestioned in this future Oankali society.

On the other hand, there are moments in the novel when Lilith seems to accept the "perverse" pleasures offered by intimacy with the Oankali. It is interesting to note that these pleasures are described in exactly this way several times in the novel: "She moved her hand over its chest, taking a perverse pleasure in feeling its tentacles squirm". Tater, "In a perverse way, Joseph too was probably enjoying himself, though he could not have said so". These are moments in which humans take pleasure

³⁴ Ibid., 160.

³⁵ Caserio, Robert L., Lee Edelman, Judith Halberstam, José Esteban Muñoz, and Tim Dean. "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory." *PMLA* 121.3 (2006), 819

an argument though, along the lines that a heteronormative Symbolic predetermines who can be a good leader, and that leadership requires a vision for an always already heteronormative future.

³⁷ Butler, *Dawn*, 164.

³⁸ Ibid., 190.

in sexual experiences with the Oankali without much anxiety. It is at these moments in the novel, rare and brief though they may be, when a queer future is explored and most seriously considered.³⁹

Another moment of such acceptance is the novel's conclusion. *Dawn* ends with Lilith learning that she is pregnant with a child that will be part Oankali. Even after spending so much time trying to overcome the otherness of the Oankali, Lilith is still horrified. She says, "'It won't be a daughter...'It will be a thing-not human.' She stared down at her own body in horror". 40 Bersani writes, in a queer utopian vein, that same-sex desire presents the opportunity to see "difference not as a trauma to be overcome...but as a nonthreatening supplement to sameness". 41 As evidenced by Lilith's reaction at the end of the novel, the difference that the Oankali represent is never entirely seen as nonthreatening, as more sameness than otherness. A future in which the Oankali crossbreed with humans is always to some extent repulsive and

³⁹ I have been trying to suggest that their rarity should not count against a reading of the novel as imbued with a queer utopian impulse, albeit one that it frequently represses. Rather, it should be for us a defamiliarization of a heteronormative reality principle (Muñoz 133-135), a demonstration of that principle's constraining hold on the novel's imaginary, and by extension our own. The novel's utopian impulse comes out most obviously when Lilith freely takes pleasure in sex with the Oankali, though even though this pleasure is described as "perverse." One definition of the utopian impulse that Muñoz offers is "a mode of exhilaration in which one views a restructured sociality" (6-7). I think this scene aptly fits such a definition, with its depiction of an intensely close human/Oankali sociality.

⁴⁰ Butler, Dawn, 246.

⁴¹ Bersani, *Homos*, 7.

unthinkable for her. However, she keeps her hope for the future alive at the novel's conclusion. Her child is "Another chance to say, '*Learn and run!*'". ⁴² This moment is at once a vision of a queer utopian future of half-Oankali, half-human beings and yet another heteronormative instance of reproductive futurism.

Butler herself says the following about utopia: "Personally, I find utopias ridiculous. We're not going to have a perfect human society until we get a few perfect humans, and that seems unlikely".43 There are no "perfect humans" in Dawn. And Butler seems resigned to a notion of the future as reproductive futurism, in the critical sense of it being "more of the same." Yet her novel imaginatively works to challenge such a conception by presenting the possibility for radically different humans, and for queerer ways of being. Though it struggles to do this against a refractory antiutopianism. as much present in *Dawn* as in our world, as certain queer theorists would no doubt argue. The subtitle for another science fiction novel, Ursula K. Le Guin's The Dispossessed, is "an ambiguous utopia." Perhaps that is the best way to understand the complex relationship of Butler's novel to the queer utopian imagination.

42 Butler, *Dawn*, 247.

⁴³ Belk, Nolan. "The Certainty of the Flesh: Octavia Butler's Use of the Erotic in the Xenogenesis Trilogy." *Utopian Studies* 19.3, Octavia Butler Special Issue (2008), 1.

References

- Belk, Nolan. "The Certainty of the Flesh: Octavia Butler's Use of the Erotic in the Xenogenesis Trilogy." *Utopian Studies* 19.3, Octavia Butler Special Issue (2008): 369-89.
- Berlant, Lauren, and Michael Warner. "Sex in Public." Critical Inquiry 24.2 (1998): 547-66. JSTOR.
- Bersani, Leo. *Homos*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Butler, Octavia E. *Dawn*. New York: Aspect/Warner Books, 1997.
- Caserio, Robert L., Lee Edelman, Judith Halberstam, José Esteban Muñoz, and Tim Dean. "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory." *PMLA* 121.3 (2006): 819-28. *ISTOR*.
- Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Fitting, Peter. "The Concept of Utopia in the Work of Fredric Jameson." *Utopian Studies* 9.2 (1998): 8-17. *JSTOR*.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Progress versus Utopia; Or, Can We Imagine the Future?" *Science Fiction Studies* 9.2, Utopia and Anti-Utopia (1982): 147-58. *ISTOR*.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Ruti, Mari. "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory." Angelaki 13.1 (2008): 113-26.
- Thibodeau, Amanda. "Alien Bodies and a Queer Future:
 Sexual Revision in Octavia Butler's "Bloodchild"
 and James Tiptree, Jr.'s "With Delicate Mad
 Hands"." Science Fiction Studies 39.2 (2012):
 262-8

Do Car Reviews Matter?: An Econometric Analysis on the Influence of Car Reviews on Car Sales in the U.S. Auto Market Adam Campos (CLA 2016)

Introduction

The United States auto market is home to a wide range of car manufacturers who each sell many different models of vehicles. Indeed, some car manufacturers sell up to thirty-nine different car models1, which can make the process of buying a new car a daunting task to consumers not familiar with this market. Fortunately, there are organizations which conduct tests on these cars, and publish their results for consumers to read in reviews. This industry has grown from magazines, TV, and radio shows to the Internet with websites that publish new review articles and videos daily (see for example caranddriver.com). There is a lot of information available on the Internet regarding cars, and is being steadily consumed by society. This begs the question: do these car reviews actually influence decision making when purchasing cars, or are consumers making these decisions based on other factors?

This paper aims to answer this question through an econometric analysis of how car reviews influence cars sales and using regressions performed on the top auto review sources against manufacturer reported car sales data. This methodology is important because it is one of the most direct ways to see how these reviews affect sales. Accordingly, this analysis will provide empirical

¹ "Find New Chevrolet Cars," CarBuzz, http://www.carbuzz.com/.

evidence for auto manufacturers and review organizations to in fact see how strongly these reviews affect the automotive market.

Car Reviews and Rational Actors: Maximizing Utility

There are many potential reasons why consumers would not follow these reviews. Brand loyalty is a strong phenomenon in the U.S.² which is why certain brands outsell others despite reviews. Secondly, many consumers may not be willing to pay for reviews and would perhaps rather act o of arguably less reliable free sources or buy cars based on raw specifications (horsepower, MPG, etc.). Thirdly, there could be consumers who do not do any research at all when buying a car, as they just need something that "gets the job done". All of these factors could cause car reviews to not affect sales.

Analyzing Auto Reviews

This research aims to answer whether auto reviews affect the U.S. auto market by examining U.S. auto sales and reviews from the year 2014. In the U.S., there are many different sources of car reviews, both free and subscription sources, and sources in print and online. Therefore, sources used in this regression should capture the reviews that U.S. consumers are most likely to read and trust before buying a car. These sources should also cover many different aspects of cars that are important to

⁻

² Michelle Culver, "Automotive Loyalty Reaches Highest Levels in a Decade, IHS Says," BusinessWire, last modified June 29, 2015, accessed February 19, 2016, http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20150629006051/e n/Automotive-Loyalty-Reaches-Highest-Levels-Decade-IHS.

different consumers such as performance, safety, appearance, and reliability.

Specifically, one review source used in this paper is Consumer Reports magazine; it is an American magazine that is both online and in print that requires a paid subscription. It publishes reviews on many consumer products, including cars, based on results from its testing laboratory and survey research center³. The magazine does not allow advertising, buys every product it tests. and is a non-profit organization. It is estimated to have 7 million subscribers for both online and print editions. For cars, it has its own testing track in which it conducts a variety of tests, such as performance, safety, and comfort tests. It also collects survey data on car reliability and consumer satisfaction. It provides objective and measured tests which are reflected in written reviews and review scores.4 This source represents reviews that consumers would ostensibly pay for and trust because of a perceived lack of bias due to being ad-free and not accepting test cars.

The other review source used is *U.S. News and World Report*, an American media company that publishes reviews, rankings, and analyses on different products and services. ⁵ For its car reviews it is an aggregation of the top

³ "Consumer Reports," in Encyclopedia Britannica, [Page #], last modified 2015, accessed December 6, 2015, http://academic.eb.com.ezproxy.drew.edu/EBchecked/topic/15 41008/Consumer-Reports.

⁴ "Our Mission," Consumer Reports, last modified 2015, accessed December 6, 2015,

http://www.consumerreports.org/cro/about-us/index.htm. ⁵ "About U.S. News & World Report," U.S. News & World Report, last modified 2015, accessed December 6, 2015, http://www.usnews.com/info/features/about-usnews.

automotive review sources in the U.S., such as AutoTrader, Automobile Magazine, Car and Driver, Consumer Guide, Edmunds, Kelly Blue Book, MotorTrend, and Popular Mechanics. The editors of U.S. News and World Report assign a score to each car review from each review source, and then average these scores for every car. 6 For each car, they report critics' rating, performance, interior, cost to own, safety, ID Power reliability, and an overall score. U.S. News and World Report's reviews are available for free online, as are the reviews from the sources it uses. This means that its reviews and sources are widely available for U.S. consumers to use, and it accounts for those that prefer not to pay for reviews. The downside to these reviews is that manufacturers provide free test cars to many of these sources, which leads to a perceived bias among consumers since the manufacturer is thought to be offering kickbacks for a positive review or the test car could be modified to perform exceptionally well during a test drive.7 Also, these sources, including U.S. News and World Report, allow advertisements from auto manufactures8, potentially creating a further sense of bias since auto manufacturers pay these sources to display the advertisements.

Consumer Reports and U.S. News and World Report were chosen because they comprise the majority of car reviews published in the U.S., both on the Internet and in print. Consumer Reports is one of the most trusted sources due

⁶ Ibid.

http://www.thetruthaboutcars.com/2009/03/the-truth-about-press-cars/.

Elton, "Editorial: The Truth about," The Truth About Cars.

⁷ Bob Elton, "Editorial: The Truth about Press Cars," The Truth About Cars, last modified March 24, 2009, accessed February 19, 2016,

to its perceived lack of bias from consumers because it does not accept "freebies", though it is the only source which is not available freely. This represents customers who are willing to pay for reviews. *U.S. News and World report* represents almost all of the other review sources which are available freely on the Internet. Having both types of sources will allow more questions to be answered, such as which source has a stronger effect on the U.S. auto market. Because of the significance of both of these review sources, data collected from these sources should be reliable and allow for meaningful analyses about the U.S. auto market.

Automotive Data

The car sales data is provided by each auto manufacturer in their annual investor reports. 2014 sales data was collected from *GoodCarBadCar.com*, for 280 different car models, with 223 *Consumer Reports* reviews, and 272 reviews from *U.S. News and World Report*. All of this data, other than *Consumer Reports*, is freely available to the public online. *Consumer Reports'* historical test scores can usually be collected from public library archives. Additionally, data for car pricing, horsepower, and miles per gallon were collected from *Edmunds.com*.

Literature Review

There has been considerable research done on how consumers make choices based on reviews, how they are affected by life influence s, how they think of perceived biases, and how they do research. This paper will use such research to explain the results from regressions that will be performed, by using the conclusions drawn in other

⁹ Ibid.

research to help explain the results. This, in turn, will allow this paper to offer a unique regression based analysis, while drawing upon and further contributing to the existing automotive research.

Studies on Car Reviews

The most relevant work to this thesis is by Dewenter and Heimeshoff¹⁰, which investigates how the German auto market reacts to expert reviews. It included an econometric analysis that examined how a leading German car review magazine, AutoMotor&Sport Magazine, influenced car sales by studying vehicle registration data over six years. They created a model that was calculated by a static OLS model and dynamic OLS model that would analyze how AutoMotor&Sport Magazine's reviews affected German car sales. In this paper, with 21,230 observations, reviews were found to have a significant effect on car registrations; a one percent increase in test scores roughly translated into a 0.04 to 0.06 percent increase in new car registrations per month. This number is considered small when compared to the number of new cars registered from certain large manufacturers, but nevertheless the result is statistically significant because the test variables' p values are statistically significant on the 10, 5, and 1% level. However, since the effect is small, it could mean the results are insubstantial. However, this is important because it means that the German auto market is affected by car reviews, which suggests the U.S. market could be

¹⁰ Ralf Dewenter and Ulrich Heimeshoff, "Do Expert Reviews Really Drive Demand? Evidence from a German Car Magazine," Düsseldorf Institue for Competition Economics, no. 151 (2014).

too. One shortcoming is that the research is based on only one review source, which is not available in the U.S.

Akdeniz, Calatone, and Voorhees11 directly looked into how car reviews affected the U.S. auto market. Part of their research investigated how car brand reviews affect how consumers perceived the quality of the brand's cars. Using Consumer Reports, which provides overall reviews for each brand, they found an increase in ratings from review sources lead to an increase in the perception of vehicle quality. 12 This means that U.S. consumers do in fact pay attention to review sources when making decisions, as it does affect their view on the product's quality. But even so, does this increase in perceived quality mean that consumers will actually buy these cars?

While the focus of this paper is new cars in the U.S., there has been useful research done on how the U.S. used car market is affected by reviews. Specifically, Hollenbacher and Yerger¹³ studied the relationship between Consumer Reports' reliability ratings and used car pricing. This study is important because in assessing whether if the U.S. used car market is influenced by data released from

¹¹ Billur M. Akdeniz, Roger J. Calatone, and Clay M. Voorhees, "Signaling Quality: An Examination of the Effects of Marketing- and Nonmarketing-Controlled Signals on Perceptions of Automotive Brand Quality," Journal of Product Innovation Management 31, no. 4 (2014).

¹² This quality perception data was collected from Harris Interactive Equitrend, which consists of online survey data with 20,000 to 45,000 consumers aged 15 years or older to determine their perceptions of over 1000 brands across 35 product categories.

¹³ Amanda Hollenbacher and David B. Yerger, "Third Party Evaluations and Resale Prices in the US Used Vehicle Market."

Applied Economics Letters 8, no. 6 (2001).

a leading automotive review source, they found that reliability does affect the depreciation rate of used cars. For example, a car Consumer Reports marked as "avoid" due to poor reliability, would have a high yearly depreciation rate compared to cars with average or excellent reliability. This effect was most noticeable in the subcompact and compact vehicle segments, which may possibly be explained by the types of buyers these segments attract (For example, a "selection effect"). Subcompact/compact car buyers are considered more "rational" consumers because they are focused on purchasing a reliable vehicle, as opposed to luxury car buyers who are more concerned with luxury features and performance. Regardless, this is an interesting perspective on how to research car sales, because different car classes may attract different types of buyers with unique purchasing habits.

While there is evidence that reliability matters in the used car market, it is questioned whether the market is paying attention to *Consumer Reports'* reliability data, or whether the market automatically adjusts the price regardless of *Consumer Reports*. Yerger¹⁴ aimed to find this out. To test this, he studied vehicle pricing data and compared it to the release of *Consumer Reports'* reliability data. Yerger's conclusion is that the market adjusts vehicle prices before *Consumer Reports* releases their own results. In other words, the results from *Consumer Reports* did not affect vehicle pricing, as prices had already adjusted before the results were released. Yerger states these results could have been attributed to a small sample size; nevertheless, the results of the market

_

¹⁴ David B. Yerger, "Used Car Markets: Reliability Does Matter, but Do Consumer Reports?," Applied Economics Letters 3, no. 2 (1996).

adjusting prices before *Consumer Reports* releases its data undermine the importance of car reviews and allude that consumers get information from other sources; through word of mouth, or maybe another source that reports reliability data.

The Effect of Reviews on Consumers

While there has been a lot of research done on how car reviews effect different car markets, it is also important to consider how many people look at these reviews sources and whether they trust them enough to make a decision based on the provided information. In Derosier's thesis¹⁵, customers at dealerships were interviewed after they purchased a vehicle. They were asked about what research they did before buying the car, and if they used a journalistic source how creditable they thought it was. Sixteen people were interviewed, and only four of them consulted a journalistic resource to help them with their purchase. The twelve who did not use a journalistic source primarily made their decisions on the basis of:

- Money concerns (Financing)
- Enticements (advertisements and deals)
- Prior relationships with the brand or dealer
- Life circumstances (practicality and how the car fits into the customer's life)
- Vehicle characteristics (comfort, safety, interior dimensions, reliability, performance, and appearance)

Those who used journalistic sources also used the same reasoning as listed above, but they had strong opinions on the different journalistic sources they used. Review

¹⁵ Chris DeRosier, "Reader Perception Of The Usefulness And Credibility Of Journalistic Automotive Reviews" (master's thesis, Graduate School University of Missouri, 2013)

sources that relied heavily on instrumented tests (i.e., performance numbers) were claimed to be the least helpful when buying a car, as many of the customers said that these tests simply did not apply to what they would be using the car for. He also found that sources with poorly designed websites were considered not valuable to consumers.

As for credibility, it was found that sources such as Kelly Blue Book were rated the most creditable by consumers, while YouTube reviews were considered the least creditable. What makes consumers think a source is creditable is the age and the credentials of the author who wrote the review. Sources considered the least creditable are sources that received cars directly from manufactures as press cars, which lead to suspicions of collusion. Accordingly, this thesis provides an excellent analysis on what a consumer is thinking when researching a car, and why one source may have a more significant effect on sales than another.

Unfortunately, the sample size of the research is small and the interviewer was only allowed to interview customers specifically selected by the dealerships for this study, not a random sample. While this undermines the credibility of the results, the overall thesis does provide useful insight into what consumers think about when buying a new car and what they think about different review sources.

Studies on Product Reviews

Aside from the credibility of sources, another area to examine is how online reviews affect sales. Zhu and Zhang¹⁶ studied how online reviews affect the sales of video games; they ran a regression on how GameSpot.com reviews for video games affected game sales for games released between 2003 and 2005.17 They found that popular video games were not influenced by ratings, as those games achieved high sales despite any rating. Rather, less popular video games, specifically more niche video games, were strongly affected by online ratings. This was explained by less information being available for these less popular games, and therefore prospective buyers relied more on reviews. This could possibly be applied to U.S. auto market, because there are very popular cars that have high sales and there are less popular cars that have significantly lower sales because they are designed for a more niche market. Similar to Zhu and Zhang's findings, less popular car models could end up being affected more strongly by reviews, specifically online reviews, since there is less information available about the smaller brands.

Another study that looked at how reviews affect sales is by Friberg and Grnqvist. 18 They researched how wine reviews, collected from tabloids, newspapers, and

¹⁷ The game sales data was provided by National Purchase Diary, a market research firm.

¹⁶ Feng Zhu and Xiaoquan (Michael) Zhang, "Impact of Online Consumer Reviews on Sales: The Moderating Role of Product and Consumer Characteristics," Journal of Marketing 74, no. 2 (2010)

¹⁸ Richard Friberg and Erik Gröngvist, "Do Expert Reviews Affect the Demand for Wine?," American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 4, no. 1 (2012).

magazines, affected the sales of wine in Sweden between 2002 and 2007. The sources used were those with the top Swedish market share, meaning that the reviews had the largest exposure to the Swedish public, and the wine sales data collected represented 95% of wines sold. Using a regression, they found that a positive review increased the sales for that type of wine by 5.2% one week after publication, which continued for up to 20 weeks after the review went public. They also found a neutral review raised wine sales by 1.2% after being published, which continued for up to four weeks afterwards. Negative reviews had a very small negative affect in sales, which was found to be counter balanced by the positive effect of even being reviewed. In all, the effect of a positive or neutral review increased wine sales, while negative reviews do not affect wine sales at all. The effect of a positive review is stronger for medium to highly priced wines, which could be explained by people only being more cautious when buying more expensive wines. It was also found that the review sources mattered; reviews from tabloids had a weaker effect than the other sources. This can be explained by the prestige factor that it is considered less prestigious to rely on tabloid reviews for wine than other sources. This study is important because it shows how positive and neutral reviews do have an effect in the Swedish wine market, which could relate to other markets such as the U.S. auto market. Positive reviews might make a huge difference on cars, but negative reviews may not. Another key point to consider is how more expensive wines are more strongly affected by positive reviews, which could point to differences in the U.S. auto market among different car classes. It is also important to consider that while wine reviews did affect wine sales, the effect of 05% is relatively small in magnitude.

Variation Among Consumers

What type of people that read these reviews is another important consideration that could help explain the results of the regression that will be done. Sabatini¹⁹ conducted a survey to see the differences in car buying habits for people who considered themselves car enthusiasts versus those who did not.³ The survey returned 4977 respondents, 71% of which considered themselves a car enthusiast and 29% considered themselves not a car enthusiast. Notable statistics of how respondents gathered information when purchasing a car include:

- 63% of enthusiasts used car shopping websites while 54% of non-enthusiasts did
- 56% of enthusiasts used car news websites while
 42% of non-enthusiasts did
- 68% of enthusiasts used car magazines while 32% of non-enthusiasts did
- 48% of enthusiasts used *Consumer Reports* while 56% of non-enthusiasts did
- 57% of enthusiasts used car maker websites while 54% of non-enthusiasts did
- 42% of enthusiasts used dealerships while 56% of non-enthusiasts did

These results²⁰ show what type of people prefer what sources. One observation is that most car enthusiasts used car magazines as an information source, which is what *U.S. News and World Report* mainly consists of, while most non-enthusiasts used *Consumer Reports*. This comparison shows a stark contrast between what types of people use these sources, and can be used to explain why

²⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹⁹ Jeff Sabatini, "Survey Says!," Car and Driver, January/February 2016.

one source may be more significant than the other. More notable statistics²¹ include purchase priorities among the respondents:

- Price was a priority to 88% of enthusiasts versus 94% of non-enthusiasts
- Quality Reputation was a priority to 84% of enthusiasts versus 83% of non-enthusiasts
- Exact Make and Model was a priority to 88% of enthusiasts versus 71% of non-enthusiasts
- Styling was a priority to 82% of enthusiasts versus 70% of non-enthusiasts
- Comfort was a priority to 86% of enthusiasts versus 88% of non-enthusiasts
- Safety was a priority to 76% of enthusiasts versus 87% of non-enthusiasts

The top priority among both types of respondents is price. This agreement between both types of consumers means that price should have a significant effect on sales in the regression. The other categories should follow suit, as both types of respondents felt they were equally important.

One possible trend that may also merit consideration is brand loyalty. Brand loyalty is a trait exhibited by consumers who will repeatedly buy cars from the same brand, because they have had positive experiences with the brand in the past, despite what reviews may say. Lambert-Pandruad, Luarent, and Lapersonne²² studied to see if this theme is more common with the elderly. To

-

²¹ Sabatini, "Survey Says!," 24.

²² Raphaëlle Lambert-Pandraud, Gilles Laurent, and Eric Lapersonne, "Repeat Purchasing of New Automobiles by Older Consumers: Empirical Evidence and Interpretations," Journal of Marketing 69, no. 2 (2005), doi:10.1509/jmkg.69.2.97.60757.

study this, they collected survey data that asked about the car most recently bought, the previous car owned, owned brands and models considered, dealers visited, satisfaction, and customer demographics. Based on these variables, the constructed a regression that examined whether age influenced repeated brand purchasing and found age has a strong impact on repeated brand purchasing:

- 42% of buyers 39 and younger bought the same brand and 61% considered their previously owned brand
- 54% of buyers between 40 and 59 bought the same brand and 73% considered their previously owned brand
 - 66% of buyers between 60 and 74 bought the same brand and 80% considered their previously owned brand
 - 72% of buyers between 75 and older bought the same brand and 83% considered their previously owned brand

These results²³ show that older customers are more likely to purchase from a car brand that they recently owned and exhibit stronger brand loyalty relative to younger customers. As of 2013, the U.S. population was comprised of 14.1% of people of the age 65+.²⁴ This is a significant portion of the U.S. population who may be looking to buy a new car. Because this group exhibits strong brand loyalty, traces of brand loyalty may appear in the

²³ Lambert-Pandraud, Laurent, and Lapersonne, "Repeat Purchasing of New Automobiles," 102.

²⁴ "Administration on Aging," US Department of Health and Human Services: Administration for Community Living, last modified December 31, 2015, accessed February 19, 2016, http://www.aoa.acl.gov/aging_statistics/index.aspx.

regression and could be more significant than car reviews.

An alternate source that customers may go to when deciding what type of car to buy is past experiences with brands. Research by May²⁵ analyzed if a customer repurchasing a car from the same brand or changing brands was affected by the customer's past with brands. To test this, May interviewed 387 household heads in the St. Louis, Missouri area about the three last cars they owned. It was found that:

- 73% of people who owned or family owned the same brand of car three times in a row bought the brand again
- 64% of people who owned or family owned the same brand of car two times in a row bought the brand again
- 57% of people who owned or family owned the same brand of car, bought a different brand, then came back to that brand bought the brand again
- 43% of people who owned or family owned two different brands, and then the brand of their current vehicle bought the brand again

This analysis²⁶ shows that those who owned the same brand multiple times in the row were most likely to repurchase that brand. This inference means two things:

1) People are very likely to rely on their history with a brand when making the decision of what brand car to buy next.

2) That brand loyalty is strong among car owners. The downside of this study is its relatively small number of observations and that it is limited to an area that could have specific buying patterns that are different from the

²⁶ May, "Adaptive Behavior in Automobile," 63.

²⁵ Frederick E. May, "Adaptive Behavior in Automobile Brand Choices," Journal of Marketing Research, 1969.

rest of the country. Nevertheless, this study shows how important previous experiences and brand loyalty is when customers purchase a new car.

Role of the Internet

One of the biggest changes to gathering information in recent history has been the Internet. It can provide large amounts of information in an instant, which changes how people conduct research. One area this has impacted is how people do research when buying a new car. Ratchford, Lee, and Talukdar²⁷ used survey data to see how car research changed from 1990 to 2000 by asking various questions to people who used the Internet to assist in buying a car: demographic questions, what car was purchased, how they researched it, and how long they spend researching. They found, for those who used the Internet, an average of a 3.5 hour drop in the time spent searching for information in 2003 versus 1990 using the Internet as a tool. This result was explained by the ease of finding vehicle specifications and finding information from the dealer, rather than driving to the dealer to get the information. The use of the Internet allowed consumers to more efficiently gain information, while allowing dealerships to more efficiency communicate to the consumer. It is important to note that this study was done at a relatively early time of the Internet, as the Internet has grown substantially between 2003 and 2016. If this analysis was repeated again in 2016, the gains from the Internet may be greater than seen in the original analysis. This ease of gaining

²⁷ Brian T. Ratchford, Myung-Soo Lee, and Debabrata Talukdar, "The Impact of the Internet on Information Search for Automobiles," Journal of Marketing Research 40, no. 2 (2003).

information may allow consumers to obtain more information when making a car purchase decision, and may lead to a stronger reliance on car reviews, specifically free online reviews.

As already demonstrated, there is a wide range of different literature that pertains to the topic of how car reviews affect the U.S. auto market. While there currently is no study that attempts to understand how car reviews affect car sales in the U.S. auto market, the methodologies, results, and conclusions from these various studies can be used to interpret the results from the regressions that will be performed. Including interpretations from these studies will allow the regression to better connect to the existing literature, and allow for better explanations of its results.

Data

In order to see if reviews do in fact affect car sales in the U.S., data was to be collected on car sales in the U.S. from Goodcarbadcar.com, combined miles per gallon data collected from the Environmental Protection Agency, pricing data and specifications data collected from Edmunds.com, and ratings collected from Consumer Reports and U.S. News and World Report. The data needed to be prepared in such a way that a regression could be created and analyzed. Accordingly, collecting data from Edmunds.com, Goodcarbadcar.com, the EPA, Consumer Reports, and U.S. News and World Report was all done through a program that copied the data from each individual website and into a le that could be inserted into a statistical analysis program for analysis. Consumer Reports data had to be copied manually from Consumer Reports magazines into a spreadsheet, that way it could be statistically analyzed on a computer. This processes

was the limiting factor in the analysis, as the process of manually copying data takes a long time; as a result, only 2014 data was collected for this regression with all 211 observations from *Consumer Reports*.

Variables collected include:

- <u>sales</u>: The number of sales for a car model in 2014, collected from Goodcarbadcar.com.
- <u>lnsales</u>: The natural logarithm of sales. The log is used to convert the variable into a percent, making it easier to interpret.
- <u>economy</u>: Equals 1 if a car is in the economy car class, 0 otherwise.
- <u>sedan</u>: Equals 1 if a car is in the sedan car class, 0 otherwise.
- <u>hatch wagon</u>: Equals 1 if a car is in the hatchback or wagon car class, 0 otherwise.
- <u>suv</u>: Equals 1 if a car is in the suv car class, 0 otherwise.
- <u>pickuptruck</u>: Equals 1 if a car is in the pickuptruck car class, 0 otherwise.
- <u>usnewscriticsrating</u>: The critics' rating for a car, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report*. The score is out of 10, 1 being poorly rated and 10 being well rated.
- <u>usnewsperformance</u>: The performance rating for a car, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report*.
 The score is out of 10, 1 being poorly rated and 10 being well rated.
- usnewscosttoown: The cost to own rating for a car, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report*.
 The score is out of 10, 1 being poorly rated and 10 being well rated.
- <u>usnewsjdpowerreliability</u>: The JD Power reliability Rating for a car, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report*. The score is out of 5, 1 being poorly rated and 5 being well rated.

- <u>usnewsoverall</u>: The overall rating for a car, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report*. This is an average of all the scores from *U.S. News and World Report*. The score is out of 10, 1 being poorly rated and 10 being well rated.
- <u>crroadtest</u>: The *Consumer Reports* road test score for a car. Cars are rated on a scale of 100, with a 100 being a perfect car.
- <u>crownersatisfaction</u>: The *Consumer Reports* satisfaction score for a car, as collected from its surveys. Cars are rated on a scale of 5, with a 5 being completely
- satisfying to owners.
- <u>crpredictedreliability</u>: The *Consumer Reports*predicted reliability score for a car, as estimated
 from its surveys from current owners. Cars are
 rated on a scale of 5, with a 5 having excellent
 reliability.
- <u>crtopforyear</u>: A dummy variable that indicated if the car was selected as a top car for 2014 by Consumer Reports.
- <u>mpg</u>: Represents the combined mpg from the EPA's website for a car.
- <u>baseprice</u>: Represents the base price of a car, as reported by *Edmunds.com*.
- <u>adjbaseprice</u>: Represents baseprice/1000. This was done so the variable represents increments of \$1000, rather than a single dollar
 - <u>horsepower</u>: Represents the horsepower of a car with the standard engine option, as reported by *Edmunds.com*.
 - <u>adjhorsepower</u>: Represents horsepower/100.
 This was done so the variable represents increments of 100 horsepower, rather than a single horsepower

- <u>japanese</u>: Equals 1 if a car is manufactured by a corporation based in Japan, 0 otherwise.
- <u>korean</u>: Equals 1 if a car is manufactured by a corporation based in Korea, 0 otherwise.
- <u>domestic</u>: Equals 1 if a car is manufactured by a corporation based in the United States, 0 otherwise.
- <u>european</u>: Equals 1 if a car is manufactured by a corporation based in Europe, 0 otherwise.

These variables are all included in the dataset and are used in the upcoming regressions to determine if car reviews affect car sales. The variables that do not include review data or sales data serve as control variables in the regression.

Results

There will be a specific focus on the regressions' F statistic (overall correlation), and each variable's p value (variable significance) versus its economic importance. If a variable is considered important, but has high P value²⁸, it will stay in the regression because it is considered important to the regression.

U.S. News and World Report Regression

$$\begin{split} & lnsales_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * sedans_i + \beta_2 * hatch \ wagon_i + \beta_3 * SUV_i \\ & + \beta_4 * pickuptruck_i + \beta_5 * usnewscritics rating_i + \beta_6 * \\ & usnewsjdpowerreliability_i + \beta_7 * mpg_i + \beta_8 * adjbaseprice_i \\ & + \beta_9 * adjhorsepower_i + \beta_{10} * japanese_i + \beta_{11} * korean_i + \beta_{12} * european_i + \epsilon_i \end{split}$$

²⁸ A high P value suggests that the variable is insignificant.

After running this regression, it was found to be valid because it has a low P value for the F statistic, near 0²⁹, and almost all variables are within significance level of around 5% (P value must be below this if it is significant). MPG, adjhorsepower, and Korean, the only variables that do not fall in a 5% significance level, are kept because MPG is an important specification to consider when buying a car, adjhorsepower is a big factor when buying a car, and Korean is important to keep with the other brand country variables. Overall, the variables in the regression explain some of the factors of sales in the U.S. auto market.

For car class, it was found larger cars would sell better than smaller cars. On average, sedans sell 134.7% better, hatchbacks/wagons sell 90.9% better, SUVs sell 170.4% better, and pickup trucks sell 182.4% better than economy cars in the U.S.

For specifications, there was a negative trend for each variable. For each increase in MPG, a car sold 1.2% worse. This could be explained with the drop of gas prices in 2014. The baseprice variable had a negative coefficient. For every \$1000 extra a car cost, it received 4.6% less sales. For the horsepower variable, a car sold 30.5% less for every 100 extra horsepower. This could be explained by an emphasis on fuel economy, as cars that are more fuel efficient normally have less horsepower.

For brand countries, it was found foreign brands would sell less than domestic brands. A car with a brand that is Japanese will sell 47% less, Korean will sell 27.1% less,

²⁹ A low P value for the F statistic suggests that the overall regression is significant.

and European will sell 86.6% less than a domestic brand.

Finally, and most importantly, the variables usnewscriticsrating and usnewsjdpowerreliability both were positive, which means positive reviews increase sales in the US auto market. For every extra point a car gets in the usnewscriticsrating, it sells on average 74.93% better. For every extra point a car gets in the usnewsjdpowerreliability, it sells on average 25.9% better. These results could be interpreted as sales are influenced by car reviews in *U.S. News and World Report*.

Consumer Reports Regression

$$\begin{split} & lnsales_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * sedans_i + \beta_2 * hatch \ wagon_i + \beta_3 * SUV_i \\ & + \ \beta_4 * pickuptruck_i + \beta_5 * crroadtest_i + \beta_6 * \\ & crownersatisfaction_i + \beta_7 * crtopforyear_i + \beta_8 * mpg_i + \beta_9 \\ & * adjbaseprice_i + \beta_{10} * adjhorsepower_i + \beta_{11} * japanese_i \\ & + \beta_{12} * korean_i + \beta_{13} * european_i + \epsilon_i \end{split}$$

After running this regression, it was found to be valid because it has a low P value for the F statistic of close to 0, and almost all variables are within significance level of 5%. MPG, adjhorsepower, and Korean, three of the variables that do not fall in a 5% significance level, are kept because they are considered economically important, as explained in the *U.S. News and World Report* regression section. Hatch wagon is kept because the analysis of car size would be incomplete without all of the car size variables. Crtopforyear is kept because it is marginally significant. Overall, the variables in the regression explain some of the factors of sales in the U.S. auto market in a slightly different way than in the *U.S. News and World Report* regression.

For car class, it was found larger cars would sell better than smaller cars. On average, sedans sell 98.1% better, hatchbacks/wagons sell 54% better, SUVs sell 140.5% better, and pickup trucks sell 160.1% better than economy cars in the U.S.

For specifications, there was a negative trend for each variable. For each increase in MPG, a car sold 1.9% worse. For baseprice, every \$1000 extra a car cost, it received 4.6% less sales. For the horsepower variable, a car sold 41.2% less, for every 100 extra horsepower.

For brand countries, it was found foreign brands would sell less than domestic brands. This is evident by the negative coefficient for each variable. A car with a brand that is Japanese will sell 69.2% less, Korean will sell 61.5% less, European will sell 118% less than a domestic brand.

Finally, and most importantly, crroadtest, crownersatisfaction, and crtopforyear all have positive coefficients, which means positive reviews increase sales in the US auto market. For every extra point a car received in the crroadtest variable, it sells on average 2.69% better. For every extra point a car received in the crownersatisfaction variable, it sells on average 28.14% better. Each car that is a crtopforyear car received on average 66.97% better sales than a car that is not. These results could be interpreted as sales are affected by car reviews from *Consumer Reports*.

U.S. News and World Report versus Consumer Reports

Two extra regressions were run to directly compare *U.S.*News and World Report's effect on sales to Consumer

Reports' effect on sales. It is done by comparing

usnewsoverallscore to crroadtest because these variables

are the most representative of each source. It was found that for every extra point a car gets in the usnewsoverallscore, sales were increased by 103.8%. For every extra point a car gets in the crroadtest, sales were increased by 3.7%. It is important to note that these variables use different scales; usnewsoverallscore is on a scale of 10, while crroadtest is on a scale of 100. With the results adjusted to have crroadtest on a scale of 10, for every extra point a car gets in the crroadtest, sales were increased by 37% as compared to 103.8% from usnewsoverallscore. This suggests that *U.S. News and World Report's* reviews have a larger effect on sales than *Consumer Reports'* reviews.

Conclusion

As stated in the results, car reviews from *U.S. News and World Report* and *Consumer Reports* do appear to have affected 2014 car sales in the U.S. auto market. Many aspects of these results can be explained by making comparisons to previous literature on the auto market. These comparisons will allow the regression to be further analyzed and to see how it contributes to the literature relating to this topic.

This regression is complemented by Dewenter and Heimeshoff's study³⁰, as it creates a stronger case for car reviews affecting the auto market. As stated earlier, they found that the German magazine *AutoMotor&Sport* positively influenced car sales, with a one point score increase rising sales by 0.04 to 0.06% in the German car market. This effect is weaker than the results from both *U.S. News and World Report* overall score and *Consumer Reports* road test score in the regression. The magazine

³⁰ Dewenter and Heimeshoff, "Do Expert Reviews Really."

AutoMotor&Sport is not free and requires a subscription. similarly to Consumer Reports. These results can lead to a couple of hypotheses: that U.S. consumers pay attention to reviews more than German consumers, AutoMotor&Sport may not be the most popular review sources that consumers use in Germany, or there are cheaper and free review sources in the U.S. than there are in Germany that consumers can use.

This regression also supports the work done by Akdeniz. Calatone, and Voorhees³¹ that found that an increase in brand rating by Consumer Reports lead to a perceived increase in quality by consumers in the U.S. auto market. Here, the findings follow suit, with cars that received higher ratings attracted more sales in the U.S. auto market. Both of these studies are in agreement that U.S. consumers pay attention to Consumer Reports and are influenced by its reviews.

Findings from Hollenbacher and Yerger³², however, are not supported by this paper's findings that car reviews do appear to affect the U.S. auto market. In their study, it was found that reliability data from Consumer Reports affected the depreciation of cars on the U.S. used car market. In the regression performed in this paper, however, it was found that Consumer Reports reliability very weakly (if at all) affected new car sales in the U.S. auto market³³, rather it was significantly affected by the

³¹ Akdeniz, Calatone, and Voorhees, "Signaling Quality: An Examination."

³² Hollenbacher and Yerger, "Third Party Evaluations and

³³ Consumer Reports reliability score does not appear in the regression because the effect was negative and very statistically insignificant.

JD Power reliability score. New car sales and used car depreciation could be considered very different areas of the auto market, so maybe *Consumer Reports* reliability should affect both markets in very different ways. So while both studies disagree on how *Consumer Reports'* reliability scores affects the U.S. auto market as a whole, they both do agree that *Consumer Reports* affects it.

The findings from the regressions also do not agree with Yerger's study³⁴, where it was found that the used car market adjusted prices before *Consumer Reports* released reliability data, making it seem like *Consumer Reports* reliability data affected sales. The regressions performed in this paper suggest that while car reviews were not the only determinant of sales, reviews like *Consumer Reports* did play a sizable part in affecting new car sales.

The findings presented here also conflict with the work done by Derosier³⁵. In his thesis, customers interviewed stated that the least helpful reviews were those that relied heavily on instrumented tests and the least credible were the sources that received press cars from manufactures. But the data shown here suggests that U.S. News and World Report affected car sales more than Consumer Reports. U.S. News and World Report is an aggregation of many free online reviews, which either rely heavily on instrumented tests, like Car and Driver and Road and Track, or receive press cars directly from the manufacturer, like Autoweek, Car and Driver, and Road and Track. Consequently, if people say they trust those types of sources the least, why did they use them the most when deciding what car to buy, especially when there are sources like Consumer Reports?

34 Yerger, "Used Car Markets: Reliability."

³⁵ DeRosier, "Reader Perception Of The Usefulness."

The regression agrees with conclusions from the survey conducted by Sabatini³⁶. It was found that *Consumer Reports* was only used by about half of the survey respondents, while larger majority used car shopping websites and car news websites. This result was reflected in how *U.S. News and World Report* affected sales more than *Consumer Reports*. It was also found that pricing was a large priority when searching for a new car, as every extra thousand dollars a car cost lead up to a 4.9% drop in sales. The results from the survey help explain the coefficients and effect of the variables from both regressions.

Brand loyalty was tested in the regression by grouping each brand by its corporate location (Domestic, Japanese, Korean, and European), and testing if any country received more sales than the others. It was found in both regressions that being a domestic brand generated a significant increase in sales when compared to Japanese, Korean, and European brands. This result can be explained by the results in the study May³⁷, when it was found that people are more likely to stick with brands that they or their family have owned in the past. Because this study takes place in the U.S., domestic brands are likely to be more prevalent, increasing people's exposure to these cars and therefore suggesting people will be more likely to stick with the domestic market. This exposure could explain why domestic brands on average outsell foreign brands. Because the regression was not

³⁶ Sabatini, "Survey Says!."

³⁷ May, "Adaptive Behavior in Automobile."

designed to test all possible brands³⁸, individual brand loyalty could not be tested.

The effect of the Internet could also explain why free online sources, such as *U.S. News and World Report*, have a stronger influence than non-free sources, such as *Consumer Reports*. In research done by Ratchford, Lee, and Talukdar³⁹, they found that the Internet reduces the amount of time needed to search for information, such as when researching a new car. Because of this ease of information, consumers could probably quickly and free sources that answer their questions, rather than purchase *Consumer Reports* to answer all of their questions. This speed of handing information reduces the need for consumers to purchase *Consumer Reports*, and could explain why reviews from *U.S. News and World Report* have a stronger influence on auto sales.

While it has been demonstrated that reviews affect car sales in the U.S. auto market, it is surprising in that *Consumer Reports* does not have as much as an effect as *U.S. News and World Report*, specifically when comparing crroadtest to usnewsoverall. While some of the preexisting literature offers reasons for this unexpected result, such as costs and the Internet, there is also preexisting literature as to why this should not be the case, such as credibility. Maybe this result could be because *U.S. News and World Report* is an aggregation of many other sources, but it was expected that *Consumer Reports* road test scores would have more influence because of its perceived credibility and history of

³⁸ There are around 40 different brands in the U.S. auto market, which means in order to test brand loyalty, a separate regression would have to be analyzed.
³⁹ Ratchford, Lee, and Talukdar, "The Impact of the Internet."

reviewing everything since 1936. Regardless of the unexpected results, these results provide information that media corporations and auto manufactures can use when making business decisions.

Media corporations that produce car reviews can gain insight from this paper to help make business decisions. It was indicated in the data that free review sources gain more exposure than subscription review sources. This was exemplified when *U.S. News and World Report's* overall score had a larger effect on sales than *Consumer Reports'* road test score. This means that if a media corporation wants to have wide exposure of its car reviews and generate large advertising revenue, free is the way to go. Despite consumers claiming that they prefer sources that do not have advertising and do not accept press cars, the results indicate that they based their decisions on review sources that displayed advertisements and accepted press cars.

Should Consumer Reports stop charging subscription fees for its online car reviews and rely on advertisement revenue and press cars? There are four reasons why this should not happen. First, if Consumer Reports did this, it would alienate its core customers, which could potentially drop its exposure and therefore revenue. Second, Consumer Reports' mission is to avoid bias through being advertisement free and not accepting freebies for all of its reviews, breaking this commitment for one product may lead to negative press for all of its different product reviews. Third, reliance on advertisements would expose Consumer Reports to outside pressure from auto manufacturers. Fourth, as a non-profit organization, Consumer Reports has no incentive to increase its revenue if it covers its costs with its current subscription fees. However, while Consumer Reports should not comprise its mission, a new entrant to the car review market may find it advantageous to not charge subscription fees for online car reviews, rely on advertisement revenue, and use press cars for tests.

For auto manufacturers, these results mean four things. First is that car reviews do matter, as the results indicated that positive reviews lead to higher sales. This means that auto manufacturers need to be selling cars that will gain positive reviews if they want to boost sales. Second, since U.S. News and World Report had a stronger effect on sales than Consumer Reports, auto manufacturers should be concerned with making sure that they gain positive reviews from sources that comprise U.S. News and World Report. This suggests that auto manufacturers may want to concentrate on making sure the press cars that they send to review sources perform outstandingly, as the sources that comprise U.S. News and World Report rely on press cars. Third, because the data indicated that larger cars sell better than smaller cars, auto manufacturers may want to concentrate on introducing more large car models in the U.S. auto market to boost sales. Even though the regressions suggested U.S. consumers preferred more fuel efficient cars, it was also suggested that they have a stronger preference for larger cars. Fourth, auto manufacturers may want to concentrate on making their cars more reliable and more enjoyable to consumers, because the data indicates that cars with higher reliability ratings and higher consumer satisfaction ratings sell better. With this information, a car manufacturer can better understand where to allocate its resources in order to boost sales.

Do car reviews affect car sales in the U.S. auto market? The analysis finds that car reviews do influence car sales, despite factors like brand loyalty, non-free reviews,

consumers buying cars based o of specifications, and those who make uninformed purchases. It was also found that free sources, of which *U.S. News and World Report* is comprised of, seem to have a stronger influence than non-free sources, like *Consumer Reports*. While this may at first be surprising, considering *Consumer Reports* is supposed to be considered the bias free source, it could be explained by the Internet allowing information to be found faster. For example, consumers can use multiple free sources to answer their car research questions, rather than buy a *Consumer Reports* magazine.

Another interesting finding is that not all aspects of the reviews were significant enough to be included in the regression. This suggests that consumers only relied upon part of the reviews to make their decisions. In *U.S. News and World Report*, performance ratings, cost to own ratings, and safety ratings were not significant. Perhaps consumers do not care much about performance in their cars, since it may not reflect on their everyday use of the car. Also, consumers may use ratings information from other sources; for example, safety information from the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety rather than *U.S. News and World Report* and reliability from JD Power rather than *Consumer Reports*.

One of the most important things about this paper is its contribution. It calls a void in the literature on the topic of car reviews, which can be used as a basis for further research. It also informs media corporations what consumers look for in car reviews, and how they can increase their exposure to car consumers. For auto manufacturers, it helps them understand ways to increase sales in the U.S. auto market through the press and market opportunities. This research, and research like it, contributes to improving the U.S. auto market by

providing information to the producers, rather than the consumers.

Overall, there were very interesting results from the regression performed that answered a lot of questions: What specifications matter when buying a new car, how much does price affect sales, does the brand country matter, will people buy based on horsepower, is the U.S. auto market concerned with fuel economy, do Americans still prefer large cars, and finally do car reviews affect car sales? The answers to these questions build o a lot of preexisting literature on this topic, and leave room for others to build o of this research and take it further. With this information, car review sources and auto manufacturers can make better informed decisions.

References

- "About U.S. News & World Report." U.S. News & World Report. Last modified 2015. Accessed December 6, 2015.
 http://www.usnews.com/info/features/about-usnews.
- "Administration on Aging." US Department of Health and Human Services: Administration for Community Living. Last modified December 31, 2015. Accessed February 19, 2016. http://www.aoa.acl.gov/aging_statistics/index.as px.
- Akdeniz, Billur M., Roger J. Calatone, and Clay M.
 Voorhees. "Signaling Quality: An Examination
 of the Effects of Marketing- and NonmarketingControlled Signals on Perceptions of
 Automotive Brand Quality." Journal of Product
 Innovation Management 31, no. 4 (2014): 728-43.

- "Choose Your Digital Subscription to ConsumerReports.org." ConsumerReports.org. https://ec.consumerreports.org/ec/cro/order.htm?INTKEY=I57HLTO.
- "Consumer Reports." In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Last modified 2015. Accessed December 6, 2015. http://academic.eb.com.ezproxy.drew.edu/EBch ecked/topic/1541008/Consumer-Reports.
- Culver, Michelle. "Automotive Loyalty Reaches Highest Levels in a Decade, IHS Says." BusinessWire.

 Last modified June 29, 2015. Accessed February 19, 2016.

 http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/2015 0629006051/en/Automotive-Loyalty-Reaches-Highest-Levels-Decade-IHS.
- DeRosier, Chris. "READER PERCEPTION of THE USEFULNESS AND CREDIBILITY of JOURNALISTIC AUTOMOTIVE REVIEWS."

 Master's thesis, Graduate School University of Missouri, 2013.
- Dewenter, Ralf, and Ulrich Heimeshoff. "Do Expert Reviews Really Drive Demand? Evidence from a German Car Magazine." *Düsseldorf Institue for Competition Economics*, no. 151 (2014).
- Elton, Bob. "Editorial: The Truth about Press Cars." The Truth About Cars. Last modified March 24, 2009. Accessed February 19, 2016. http://www.thetruthaboutcars.com/2009/03/the-truth-about-press-cars/.
- "Find New Chevrolet Cars." CarBuzz. http://www.carbuzz.com/.
- Friberg, Richard, and Erik Grönqvist. "Do Expert Reviews Affect the Demand for Wine?" *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 4, no. 1 (2012): 193-211.

- Hollenbacher, Amanda, and David B. Yerger. "Third Party Evaluations and Resale Prices in the US Used Vehicle Market." *Applied Economics Letters* 8, no. 6 (2001): 415-18.
- Lambert-Pandraud, Raphaëlle, Gilles Laurent, and Eric Lapersonne. "Repeat Purchasing of New Automobiles by Older Consumers: Empirical Evidence and Interpretations." *Journal of Marketing* 69, no. 2 (2005): 97-113. doi:10.1509/jmkg.69.2.97.60757.
- May, Frederick E. "Adaptive Behavior in Automobile Brand Choices." *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1969, 62-65.
- "Our Mission." Consumer Reports. Last modified 2015.
 Accessed December 6, 2015.
 http://www.consumerreports.org/cro/about-us/index.htm.
- Ratchford, Brian T., Myung-Soo Lee, and Debabrata
 Talukdar. "The Impact of the Internet on
 Information Search for Automobiles." *Journal of Marketing Research* 40, no. 2 (2003): 193-209.
- Sabatini, Jeff. "Survey Says!" *Car and Driver*, January/February 2016, 22-24.
- "Subscribe to Consumer Reports Magazine."

 ConsumerReports.org. Accessed February 19,
 2016.

 https://oc.consumerreports.org/oc/or/order.htm.
 - https://ec.consumerreports.org/ec/cr/order.htm?INTKEY=IW57CDR4.
- "U.S. News & World Report." In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Last modified 2015. Accessed December 6, 2015. http://academic.eb.com.ezproxy.drew.edu/EBch ecked/topic/620229/US-News-World-Report.
- Yerger, David B. "Used Car Markets: Reliability Does Matter, but Do Consumer Reports?" *Applied Economics Letters* 3, no. 2 (1996): 67-70.

Zhu, Feng, and Xiaoquan (Michael) Zhang. "Impact of Online Consumer Reviews on Sales: The Moderating Role of Product and Consumer Characteristics." *Journal of Marketing* 74, no. 2 (2010): 133-4.

Who Has More Racial Bias? An Examination of Racial Bias between Police Officers and the General Population Jessica Fortier (CLA 2017)

Abstract

This research paper examines the intersection between general racial bias and police bias against African Americans in the United States. By examining field experiments deploying a "Shoot/ Don't Shoot" implicit bias association test. I examine the evidence of racial bias for both the general population and the police. Evidence shows that the general population has as much bias or more bias against African Americans than police officers. These results prove that police officers are not alone in their bias because of the effects of their surrounding communities. Being aware of this knowledge is important because police officers have been viewed having the greatest bias and have come under public scrutiny for their mistakes related to this issue. Racial bias displayed by police officers can result in negative consequences such as (1) increased suspicion of black people in routine traffic stops, (2) increased probability of arrest for black individuals, especially after the 1980s, during the time of the "War on Drugs" and (3) higher fatalities of black unarmed suspects. Finally, I discuss several positive reform policies that could be offered at police stations to possibly counteract these negative trends.

Within the past couple of decades, police officers have increasingly been painted with a negative reputation in the media. Although police brutality had been an issue before, these high profile cases started getting serious attention in the media beginning in 1991 with the death of Rodney King. Since this infamous case, there have been new examples of this violence displayed in the media every year covering the death of African American suspects after the unfortunate encounter with a police officer. There were also cases in later decades such as the shooting of Amadou Diallo (1999), the assault of Abner Louima (1999), and the fatal shooting of Timothy Thomas (2001).1 In recent years, this issue has been the topic of discussion in society due to the cases such as Trayvon Martin or Sandra Bland, which highlighted high rates of shooting and unfair treatment of African Americans. During the trials of these high profile cases, the police officers that were under prosecution claimed that their decisions to shoot were not motivated by racial bias. The police officers stated that they were innocent and the reason for their violence was self-defense because they feared for their lives. This paradox creates a puzzle that needed to be solved. If the deaths of these people were not motivated by racial bias, then there is a possibility that implicit bias was the cause of the decisions to shoot. Implicit racial bias, as defined by the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, "refers to the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner.² Since the realization of this possibility, there

¹ Jerome, Richard. "Police Reform: A Job Half Done." *American Constitution Society. Retrieved on April* 28 (2006): 2006.

² Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.

[&]quot;Understanding Implicit Bias." OSU.edu.

has been a multitude of studies conducted to see if implicit bias affects individual's actions in highly intense situations with short reaction times.

I: Implicit Bias Studies

Since these police brutality cases against African Americans have entered the public eye, there have been studies conducted by various psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists deploying a "Shoot/Don't Shoot" implicit bias association test. These studies were conducted to try to figure out if the general population and police officers generally had implicit bias against African Americans in the United States. These implicit bias studies started with one of the most influential professionals in the field, psychologist Joshua Correll, who first published his findings in 2002. The initiation of completing this study was in response to the death of one of the victims mentioned previously, Amadou Diallo. Correll continued to publish material on this subject matter for years after these initial results. These results, which are mentioned below, were published in 2009 and are the most recent materials that were released by Correll on the subject of implicit bias association tests.

Starting in 2000, the University of Chicago's Psychology Department has worked to develop a video game simulation that displays images of young black and white men who are either armed or unarmed in realistic situations. The objective of the game is to shoot all of the armed targets within a restricted amount of time in an attempt to evaluate whether decisions of these college students and community residents to shoot are influenced by the race of the suspect. The results of this

study showed the community members were faster to make the mistake of shooting an unarmed black suspect than an unarmed white suspect.³ Upon learning these results, the Denver Police Department in Colorado reached out to the University of Chicago in order to replicate the video game for both police officers and community members in the area. ⁴

This comparison of Denver community members and police officers was of particular interest to the police department because these groups live in the same neighborhoods and have similar interactions with the surrounding population. In order to collect the data, there were two studies that were conducted. In the first study, the results showed that community members were more likely to shoot an unarmed black target, while police officers were less likely to show a bias between unarmed black or white targets. 5 In the second follow-up study, the reaction time was decreased by half a second in order to see if the first study showed positive results for police officers because the test was simply too easy for them. Regardless of this minor change, the data yielded similar results. The results from both studies showed that police officers had a higher accuracy for shooting armed targets in a faster amount of time and were conservative in the decision to shoot.6

Other studies that followed the work of Joshua Correll modified the process by focusing on the different subjects

³ Correll, Joshua, and Tracie Keesee. "Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot?." *The Police Chief* 76, no. 5 (2009): 54-57.

⁴ Correll, Joshua, and Tracie Keesee. "Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot?." *The Police Chief* 76, no. 5 (2009): 54-57.

⁵ Ibid, 54-57

⁶ Ibid, 54-57

or factors that could be controlled and revealed similar results. Two studies completed in recent years analyzed implicit bias of undergraduate students and police recruits in relation to the level of fatigue of the individual. When people are fatigued, they can experience cognitive depletion, the diminished capacity to control one's behavior.⁷ In the first study, 77 undergraduate students who mostly identified as white (44 students) and a small percentage that identified as African Americans (5 students) participated in a simulation. The students were assigned to conditions that were either depleted or controlled.

Both groups completed the response task, called the Stroop task, which allowed participants to choose the color of the word on the screen. These are easy tasks when the text and color are congruent (i.e. when the word RED is the color red), but difficult when the text and word are incongruent (i.e. when the word BLUE is printed in red).⁸ After the students completed that task, they participated in Correll's "Shoot/Don't Shoot" implicit bias association test. In this study, results showed that both control and cognitively depleted groups showed racial bias in their decisions to shoot, but the conditions

Ma, Debbie S., Joshua Correll, Bernd Wittenbrink, Yoav Bar-Anan, N. Sriram, and Brian A. Nosek. 2013. "When Fatigue Turns Deadly: The Association Between Fatigue and Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot." *Basic & Applied Social Psychology* 35, no. 6: 515-524. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.* Ma, Debbie S., Joshua Correll, Bernd Wittenbrink, Yoav Bar-

Anan, N. Sriram, and Brian A. Nosek. 2013. "When Fatigue Turns Deadly: The Association Between Fatigue and Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot." *Basic & Applied Social Psychology* 35, no. 6: 515-524. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*

of cognitive depletion increased the presence of racial bias.9

In the second study, 224 female and male police recruits at a metropolitan police department, the majority being white (89 recruits) and a small amount being African American (27 recruits), participated in the study to see how fatigue affected their decision to shoot. This study was extremely important because they wanted to compare the police training occurring in the academy to the amount of racial bias displayed in the police recruit's actions. Two types of fatigue were examined: the amount of sleep before the day of the test and the amount of sleep on average. In the morning, the recruits would complete the implicit bias test with a shorter amount of reaction time. Immediately after, the police recruits were asked questions based on the two factors of fatigue. The same control of the second of the two factors of fatigue.

Results of this second study showed that police recruits exhibited racial bias in terms of reaction time, errors, and sensitivity. Also, the racial bias existed within a narrow range of sleep, which was about 6.65 hours on the night before testing and about 7.55 hours on average. It is important to recognize that among the different hours of sleep that were had by the police recruits, the results showed that these recruits, regardless of their race, displayed no increase in the racial bias in the decision to

0

⁹ Ibid, 515-524

¹⁰ Ibid, 515-524

¹¹ Ibid, 515-524

¹² Ma, Debbie S., Joshua Correll, Bernd Wittenbrink, Yoav Bar-Anan, N. Sriram, and Brian A. Nosek. 2013. "When Fatigue Turns Deadly: The Association Between Fatigue and Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot." *Basic & Applied Social Psychology* 35, no. 6: 515-524. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*

shoot. This proves that the bias exists regardless of the fatigue factor and that exhaustion from the job does not have a negative effect in the decision to shoot.

These studies are important in revealing the implicit bias that exists in the members of the various communities previously mentioned, including police officers of these particular areas. In this particular study conducted by Peruche and Plant (2006), the factor that affected the decision to shoot in the implicit bias association test was the police officer's personal beliefs on the topic of race. For example, if a police officer has more experience drawing their weapon on a suspect of a particular race that action may strengthen the negative stereotypes associated with this race. Another example could be that police officers with more experience have more racial bias because police officers with less experience have not had the opportunity to strengthen their negative stereotypes. On the other hand, it could be that more experienced police officers have less bias due to the longer hours of intense training that they would have had to complete. These are all examples of experiences that could influence the officer's decision to shoot. 13

The participants included fifty certified law enforcement personnel that were made of mostly white (84%) and mostly male (83%) individuals. These police officers participated in a computer simulation and immediately afterward completed a questionnaire packet. This questionnaire contained questions that assessed particular attitudes toward blacks. The questions had

¹³ Peruche, B. Michelle, and E. Ashby Plant. "The Correlates of Law Enforcement Officers' Automatic and Controlled Race-Based Responses to Criminal Suspects." *Basic & Applied Social Psychology* 28, no. 2 (2006): 193-199.

subgroups that included questions about criminal and violent activity. He results showed that police officers that had positive experiences with African Americans were more likely to have positive beliefs about that race's level of criminal activity. The results also supported the contrary argument that if police officers had negative experiences with black people, they were more likely to relate the actions of blacks with high levels of criminal activity.

The strong personal beliefs of police officers had a direct correlation to their immediate performance during the shooting simulation. Police officers with a racial bias toward blacks tended to shoot black individuals more, even when they were unarmed, and tended to avoid shooting members of the white community whether they were armed or unarmed. These results show that law enforcement agencies should invest time in trying to change the attitudes of their employees. It is important to change these negative attitudes and perceptions; if police officers continue to hold these beliefs, innocent people could lose their lives from inappropriate responses made by law enforcement.

Similarly related to the "Shoot/Don't Shoot" implicit bias association test conducted by Peruche and Plant, police officers were paid to participate in an investigation that examined if the characteristics of the community and personal beliefs of the officers were connected to the

¹⁴ Peruche, B. Michelle, and E. Ashby Plant. "The Correlates of Law Enforcement Officers' Automatic and Controlled Race-Based Responses to Criminal Suspects." *Basic & Applied Social Psychology* 28, no. 2 (2006): 193-199.

¹⁵ Ibid, 193-199 ¹⁶ Ibid, 193-199

implicit bias that is involved in the decision to shoot.¹⁷ Amongst the police officers represented, the majority of the participants were male (86%) and patrol officers (61%). In terms of race, the majority of the sample was white (53%) and Latino (31%). Unfortunately, blacks were largely underrepresented (3%), along with other races such as Asian and Native American. There were scales used to measure attitudes and stereotypes by using the discrimination scales and the stereotype rating scale.¹⁸ For information on the community that surrounded these participants, the officers were asked about their history in law enforcement and the characteristics of the community they worked in.

After obtaining the data, the officers participated in the implicit bias association tests. ¹⁹ One of the goals in this study was to see if racial bias in reaction time and accuracy was related to police officers' personal beliefs and community characteristics. The results revealed that personal beliefs were strongly linked to racial bias. The personal beliefs most related to racial bias varied with each minority group, but these beliefs were particularly prevalent when discussing African Americans. The factors that contributed to some of these negative beliefs were discriminatory attitudes, and cultural stereotypes of aggression and danger were related to the bias against African Americans. In addition, there was reported racial

¹⁷ Sadler, Melody S., Joshua Correll, Bernadette Park, and Charles M. Judd. 2012. "The World Is Not Black and White: Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot in a Multiethnic Context." *Journal Of Social Issues* 68, no. 2: 286-313. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*

¹⁸ Ibid, 286-313

¹⁹ Ibid, 286-313

bias in accordance with personal beliefs when discussing white individuals.²⁰

When analyzing the "Shoot/Don't Shoot" experiments, such as the one mentioned above, it can be seen that a police officer's community, which integrates the law enforcement with the general population, can contribute to an implicit bias that can possibly be displayed during their shifts. In 2001, Payne conducted a study to examine how the general public would visually process Blackcrime association. The test would first display either a black or white face and would be followed by either a weapon or a tool. Results revealed that there was a presence of an unintentional Black-crime association because the subjects of this test were more likely to identity a tool as a gun when the person on the previous screen was black. Since most of these "Shoot/Don't Shoot" studies are usually conducted on members of the general population, Peruche and Plant conducted a similar stimulus using 48 police officers with instructions to either "Shoot" or "Don't Shoot" depending on whether the target had a gun or a neutral object. The results showed that police officers matched the results of the general population, but were more likely to shoot an unarmed suspect when he was black instead of white. When this study was repeated, the results showed that police officers had reduced their bias throughout the second half of the study. This finding is important because these results show that police officers can be trained to fix some of the problems occurring with the racial bias. In order to try to reduce or eliminate their implicit bias, law enforcement agencies are working

²⁰ Ibid, 286-313

toward hiring diverse workforces and providing extensive training for officers. ²¹

II. Negative Consequences

In the United States, in relation to the subculture of violence and danger perception, people in particular areas have created theories that minority racial groups are more likely than white individuals to commit crimes based on the history of each minority group in the country.²² These theorized behaviors of certain minority groups in the United States could be a cause for unfair treatment for these people from the general population and authority figures, such as police officers. This knowledge of racial discrepancy can impact perceptions and influence the encounters between police officers and these minority groups. In some of these encounters with minorities, police officers need to occasionally make life or death decisions within a limited amount of time and can result in unfortunate situations if our law enforcement is operating under circumstances where implicit racial bias is involved.23

²¹ Fridell, Lorie A. "Racially Biased Policing: The Law Enforcement Response to the Implicit Black-Crime Association." *Racial Divide: Racial and Ethnic Bias in the Criminal Justice System* (2008): 39-59.

²² Sadler, Melody S., Joshua Correll, Bernadette Park, and Charles M. Judd. 2012. "The World Is Not Black and White: Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot in a Multiethnic Context." *Journal Of Social Issues* 68, no. 2: 286-313. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*²³ Ibid. 286-313

Police officers have been accused of racial bias in all aspects of their job. Some members of the general population believe that a negative consequence of the implicit bias against African Americans is the increased suspicion of blacks in routine traffic stops made by police officers. In 1999, a Police-Public Contact Survey collected data about the tactics that are used by police officers after individuals are participating in traffic stops. ²⁴ Results showed that blacks were more likely than whites to receive citations, searches, arrests, and the use of force. Involving the parameters of age, race, and gender, there is a greater probability that a young, black, male driver will be stopped. Regardless of the race of these police officers, the bias still clearly exits.

The person with significantly higher frequencies of routine traffic stops includes drivers who are young, male, black, unemployed, and have incomes lower than \$20,000. Although this is an inappropriate profiling strategy, police officers try to justify the increase of traffic stops for blacks by stating that these individuals are perceived as more likely to be transporting contraband. Another reason for racial disparity in the search success rates is that police officers have a lower threshold for black drivers, which increases the amount of black drivers being stopped by law enforcement.²⁵

Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer M. Calnon. "Examining the Influence of Drivers' Characteristics During Traffic Stops With Police: Results From a National Survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2004): 49-90.

²⁵ Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer M. Calnon. "Examining the Influence of Drivers' Characteristics During Traffic Stops With Police: Results From a National Survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2004): 49-90.

This greater suspicion that minorities experience by the police is caused by the racial bias that officers can display and has been translated into the increased arrest and incarceration rates for black individuals. Data was collected on the influence that race has on police decisions when it comes to arrest. There are two factors that are considered when discussing this racial bias: 1. whether black individuals are more likely to be arrested than whites and 2, whether police are more responsive to white victims of crime than black victims of crime (Smith Et. Al, 1984, 235). The results showed, based on 281 police encounters, that police officers arrested 21% of black juveniles compared to the 8% of white juveniles. These numbers show that police officers were influenced by race.26

In the past, research did not show the relationship between high racial bias and increased arrest rates for African Americans. A newer method is "punitive differential enforcement," which is when only one form of racial disadvantage is considered. If the research is examined more closely, the results show that race has a greater effect on police bias with arrests when gender is involved. Black and white males are equally likely to be arrested, but black females have a higher probability of being arrested.²⁷ In regards to the second factor, research shows that police officers are more responsive when

Smith, Douglas A., Christy A. Visher, and Laura A. Davidson. "Equity and Discretionary Justice: The Influence of Race on ²⁷ Smith, Douglas A., Christy A. Visher, and Laura A. Davidson. "Equity and Discretionary Justice: The Influence of Race on Police Arrest Decisions." The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-) 75, no. 1 (1984): 234-249.

dealing with white victims of crime than black victims of crime.²⁸

When analyzing incarceration rates, it is clear that there is an imbalance within these prisons. After the 1980s, as a result of the "War on Drugs," young minority males were often targeted. The media had a huge role in promoting these stereotypes of the young minority males, usually black, in relation to the huge amounts of street crime and the increased violence that the United States was experiencing. The war on drugs, in terms of policing, created an aggressive approach to targeting drug offenders on the streets and drug traffickers. These intensified police strategies led to increased incarceration rates for black individuals due to the fact that this particular minority group were "disproportionally subject to police surveillance and imprisonment for drug offenses."29 During the year of 1988, the height of the war on drugs, police officers arrested blacks five times more than whites when it came to drug arrests. In terms of incarceration rates, the percentage of black drug traffickers in prison was about 57% compared to the 42% of white drug traffickers. The percentages are similar when discussing the 53% of black drug offenders in prison compared to the 46% of white individuals. The outstanding difference can truly be seen in the growth of the black prison population by 27%

25

²⁸ Ibid, 234-249

²⁹ Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer M. Calnon. "Examining the Influence of Drivers' Characteristics During Traffic Stops With Police: Results From a National Survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2004): 49-90.

compared to the growth of the white prison population by only 14%.³⁰

There was another study that analyzed the criminal justice system in the United States in regards to incarceration rates. The results showed an imbalance between the incarceration rates of blacks and whites, the ratio being seven to one.31 The most common reasons that blacks were thrown in jail were due to homicides and robberies. Research shows that as the crime severity decreases, a greater number of black individuals are represented in the incarceration rates. This implies that blacks become more disadvantaged when they are involved in lesser crimes and discrimination becomes more involved. The crimes that offered the increased opportunity for discrimination were drug offenses, larceny, and burglary. As more of these cases appear in court, evidence is apparent that the socioeconomic status of the suspect is greatly involved as well. The disturbing truth is that even if the way that we dealt with these racial differences were completely eliminated, racial proportions in prison populations would still be imbalanced. Although discrimination exists in prison systems, it is not the complete cause of the disproportion, therefore eliminating the discrimination would not solve the overall problem.³² Data drawn from the Department of Justice provides the evidence of these

³⁰ Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer M. Calnon. "Examining the Influence of Drivers' Characteristics During Traffic Stops With Police: Results From a National Survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2004): 49-90.

³¹ Blumstein, Alfred. "On the Racial Disproportionality of United States' Prison Populations." *J. Crim. l. & Criminology* 73 (1982): 1259.

³² Ibid, 1259

disproportions between blacks and whites in prison, especially when it comes to black individuals. In relation to the general population, African Americans are overrepresented in prison, while whites are underrepresented as inmates. However, there has been no evidence that African Americans support violence in relation to other races.³³

Although the increased suspicion during traffic and drug stops among blacks are some negative consequences that can occur, the worst possible outcome for the black community is being shot or killed during an encounter with a police officer. A close examination of the data provided by the Department of Justice shows the unsettling fact that minorities, especially African Americans, are overrepresented in the number of suspects that are shot and killed by police officers. In 2001, it was revealed by the Department of Justice that between the years of 1976 and 1998 the killings of black suspects by police officers were about five times greater than white suspects.³⁴ In the article "Blind Justice: Police Shootings in Memphis," the disproportionate rate of shootings against blacks by police officers in the city of Memphis, Tennessee is revealed by comparing the shooting rate against blacks in New York City. The author used Goldkamp's survey to try to compare the use of police deadly force with researchers' theories about minority groups. This made it is easy to examine the disproportion among who is shot by police officers.

-

³⁴ Ibid, 286-313

³³ Sadler, Melody S., Joshua Correll, Bernadette Park, and Charles M. Judd. 2012. "The World Is Not Black and White: Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot in a Multiethnic Context." *Journal Of Social Issues* 68, no. 2: 286-313. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*

When studying deadly force, there are two types of "Belief Perspectives" that a person can have. Belief Perspective I is to believe that the reason for higher amounts of minorities being shot is directly related to internal police practices. As a result of this belief, the encouragement that the officers receive from their colleagues or administrators to display racism on the job can contribute to the disproportionate amount of blacks versus whites that are victims of shootings. Belief Perspective II is to believe that the disproportion of black shootings is related to variables external to police organizations. This means that these shootings are consequences of police responses that have been shaped by the common stereotype that blacks are greatly involved in crimes.35

Since these Belief Perspectives surfaced, there has been research completed to discover the relationship between race and police shootings. As mentioned above. New York City and Memphis officers were compared in terms of the disproportionality of black victim shootings. Results showed that the Memphis police were six times as likely to have shot at a black crime suspect as they were for whites and that they are three times more likely to kill blacks instead of whites at crime scenes. It is important to keep in mind that these studies were conducted during a time when New York City had stricter shooting guidelines in police stations compared to Memphis police stations 36

Fyfe, James J. "Blind Justice: Police Shootings in Memphis." The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973) 73, no. 2 (1982): 707-722. 36 Ibid, 707-722

III. Police Reform And Solutions

Since police officers have come under public scrutiny within the past couple of decades, many individuals involved in criminal justice have offered some solutions to help with these issues of implicit bias in the field of law enforcement. Richard Jerome provided solutions that could possibly help to create an environment that could prevent or produce low levels of bias with police officers. Since that first media displayed incident in 1991, there have been many attempts for police reform in a fifteen-year period, including the 1994 Crime Act that try to help eliminate police misconduct.³⁷ In the provided solutions, Jerome discusses three components for police reform.

The first component of police reform is police accountability and integrity. There must be an effort to decrease misconduct and increase police professionalism. In order to accomplish this goal, there would need to be progressive policies within law enforcement agencies, such as new requirements for the use of force, keeping track of incidents that include force, and improvements in the training, hiring, and supervision of police officers. The second component of police reform engages the involvement of both police departments and the community in order to address the issue of racial profiling, especially in regards to African Americans in high crime neighborhoods. Police departments must take the time to understand how police strategies in minority neighborhoods affect lawabiding residents. If police continue to treat minorities differently than their white counterparts, these groups may be unwilling to partner with police due to the

³⁷ Jerome, Richard. "Police Reform: A Job Half Done." *American Constitution Society. Retrieved on April* 28 (2006): 2006.

negative views of law enforcement that have encountered. The third and final component of police reform is the management of police officers and development of strategies in the police force in regards to crime prevention, use of police resources, and police training.

These suggested strategies of policing can help society in multiple ways. The first is that it can be effective in reducing crime and the community's fear of crime. The second is that it reduces the community's negative perception of police unfairness and bias. If misconduct by police officers continues, community members will not trust the people trying to protect them. If these situations of reform work in the future, the law enforcement's system will be better overall.³⁸

On the issue of police brutality, it is difficult to find one positive program that currently exists in police academies that can help reduce the implicit bias that is exhibited by police officers. Payne's "Shoot/Don't Shoot" studies showed the reduction in implicit bias as police officers repeated the simulation. This result could be an important link in police reform. There should be monthly assignments that police officers could continuously be required to complete by law enforcement agencies. By repeating this simulation every month, it will help police officers feel comfortable in making the right decisions to shoot. This particular program would be a good place to start, even though these simulations do not completely translate to the quick decisions that need to be made by police officers in real world experiences.

³⁸ Jerome, Richard. "Police Reform: A Job Half Done." *American Constitution Society. Retrieved on April* 28 (2006): 2006.

After gathering numerous results from the multiple "Shoot/Don't Shoot" implicit bias association tests, it is clear that an "implicit" racial bias does exist in both the general population and police officers. Throughout these tests, the subjects and conditions changed but it can still be seen that the general population is equally or more likely to have an implicit bias compared to police officers. This shows that police officers are a sample of their surrounding neighborhoods and can attribute particular stereotypes or attitudes to certain minority groups based off of their previous knowledge. Although police officers or members of the community might claim that they hold no bias against African Americans, it was revealed in racial bias association tests that this implicit bias existed without the knowledge of the individual when pressed for time.

Whenever police officers make mistakes related to racial bias, the negative consequences are publicized, causing police officers to come under public scrutiny for their behavior within the recent decades. The Department of Justice revealed that black suspect's deaths by police officers were five times more likely to occur than with white suspects. In regards to arrest rates, there is an overrepresentation of black individuals in jail than white individuals. With regards to routine traffic stops, it is more likely for young, black males to get pulled over during those evaluations. These higher suspicions for traffic stops and drug crimes, higher arrest rates, and higher fatality rates are just some examples of the hardships that African Americans need to deal with during encounters with police officers. When it comes to solutions to fix the problem, there are some components of police reforms, such as increased professionalism and progressive practices with new hires, which have been brought to law enforcement's attention in an attempt to reduce or eliminate police racial bias. With enough time, there is hope that the mistakes made by police officers are reduced through police reform. In the future, it is hopeful to dream that police officers will come into the public eye once again, but this time within a positive setting.

References

- Blumstein, Alfred. "On the Racial Disproportionality of United States' Prison Populations." *J. Crim. l. & Criminology* 73 (1982): 1259.
- Correll, Joshua, and Tracie Keesee. "Racial bias in the decision to shoot?." *The Police Chief* 76, no. 5 (2009): 54-57.
- Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer M. Calnon.

 "Examining the Influence of Drivers'

 Characteristics During Traffic Stops With

 Police: Results From a National Survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2004): 49-90.
- Fridell, Lorie A. "Racially Biased Policing: The Law Enforcement Response to the Implicit Black-Crime Association." *Racial Divide: Racial and Ethnic Bias in the Criminal Justice System* (2008): 39-59.
- Fyfe, James J. "Blind Justice: Police Shootings in Memphis." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-)* 73, no. 2 (1982): 707-722.
- Jerome, Richard. "Police Reform: A Job Half Done." American Constitution Society. Retrieved on April 28 (2006): 2006.
- Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.

 "Understanding Implicit Bias." OSU.edu.

 http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/research/underst
 anding-implicit-bias/ (accessed April 18, 2016).

- Ma, Debbie S., Joshua Correll, Bernd Wittenbrink, Yoav Bar-Anan, N. Sriram, and Brian A. Nosek. 2013.

 "When Fatigue Turns Deadly: The Association Between Fatigue and Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot." Basic & Applied Social Psychology 35, no. 6: 515-524. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.
- Peruche, B. Michelle, and E. Ashby Plant. "The
 Correlates of Law Enforcement Officers'
 Automatic and Controlled Race-Based
 Responses to Criminal Suspects." *Basic &*Applied Social Psychology 28, no. 2 (2006): 193199.
- Sadler, Melody S., Joshua Correll, Bernadette Park, and Charles M. Judd. 2012. "The World Is Not Black and White: Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot in a Multiethnic Context." *Journal Of Social Issues* 68, no. 2: 286-313. *Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost.*
- Smith, Douglas A., Christy A. Visher, and Laura A.
 Davidson. "Equity and Discretionary Justice: The
 Influence of Race on Police Arrest
 Decisions." *The Journal of Criminal Law and*Criminology (1973-) 75, no. 1 (1984): 234-249.

The Construction of Masculinity in Post-9/11 Literary Narratives: *The 9/11 Report* Michael Collina (CLA 2016)

Despite occurring over a decade ago, certain problematic discourses concerning masculinity and xenophobia that dominated the media after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks remain. Simply turning on the news or watching the preliminary presidential nominee race is enough to show that representations of white male heroes and Muslim terrorists or, 'others,' are figures that we have come to recognize and see regularly. This phenomenon does not simply occur in the mainstream media, however, but also appears in art and literature. Literature has a complex relationship with mainstream discourses and ideologies, so literary texts often become a space in which these ideas and theories can be tested. questioned, and explored. As a result, literary narratives are often the location of reflections of discourses and ideologies that represent major societal shifts and feelings, in which the author and the reader can reflect and become more thoughtful about the discourses that shape their sense of the meaning of the world.

Furthermore, the representation of men and the constructions of masculinity that texts exhibit say a lot about mainstream conceptions and dominant discourses that pervade the media. For 9/11, this presence in the media is even more pronounced due to how prominent media coverage of the attacks were; video footage of the attacks and the burning towers were broadcast on live television almost immediately after the impact of the first plane.

Using major theoretical definitions and theories from masculinity studies and feminist theory, I look at the construction of masculinity through a feminist lens, and how that construction of masculinity interacts with and in some cases, furthers discourses of xenophobia and American patriotism through the gendered rhetoric used in post-9/11 media and literary narratives. As 'post-9/11 literary narratives' could arguably apply to all narrative fiction written after September 11th, 2001, I will only be considering narratives that directly integrate the 9/11 attacks or its aftermath into the narrative.

The 9/11 Report as a War Narrative

War narratives were a prominent feature of post-9/11 media. Because The War on Terror differed from previous wars in the sense that there was a complex web of enemies with random attacks and mass civilian casualties rather than a quantified enemy, however, 9/11 war narratives have a tendency to focus on the sense of paranoia that reflect the amorphous nature of the anxieties and concerns associated with this new type of warfare. The following excerpts, taken from an address made to a joint session of Congress and the nation by President George W. Bush on September 20th, 2001 express such anxieties. The rhetoric used by Bush is left ambiguous, describing the 'enemy groups' as mysterious and dangerous, coming for the entirety of 'our nation,' and attacking the core values that every citizen of the US is meant to hold dear:

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country [...] The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al-Qaeda [...] There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries [...] Our war on terror begins with al-Oaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end

until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.¹

This type of rhetoric dominated the post-9/11 War on Terror period, with speakers emphasizing the unfamiliar nature of 'the enemy.' Emphasizing the fact that this enemy is not from one particular place, but from a multitude of places and backgrounds within the Middle East, initiates a justification that the 9/11 attacks warrant a war to be declared on *all* of 'them,' (meaning Middle-Easterners) which is an extremely totalizing frame of thought that may have had a direct influence on the emergence of the extreme American patriotism and nationalism in the following years.

Published on the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation is precisely what it sounds like: a graphic adaptation of The 9/11 Commission Report. The authors of the text, Sid Jacobson and Ernie Colón, felt that the content of The 9/11 Commission Report was important information that the general US population should have access to. In its original form, however, Jacobson and Colón felt that too few Americans had read and absorbed the details of the Commission's investigation and suggestions. As a result, they sought to produce what they thought was the most accessible version of The 9/11 Commission Report: "That summer, the 9/11 Commission Report had been published and become a best-seller. Colón bought a copy and, as he read it, told himself that only a fraction of the book's buyers would do the same. Unless, that is, it could be rendered

¹ George W. Bush. "President Bush Addresses the Nation." *The Washington Post Online*. September 20, 2001. Accessed November 20, 2015.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpsrv/nation/specials/attacke d/transcripts/bushaddress 092001.html.

more user-friendly" and could ultimately be used to "help readers remember." In Jacobson's and Colón's adaptation, the text frequently follows the original report word-for-word, and attempts to covers the report's entire scope, even including the Commission's final report card on the actions the government had taken after the publication of *The Commission Report*.

Presenting the findings of *The 9/11 Commission Report* in graphic novel form makes the information much more accessible and easily understood than the full, official Commission Report. As Tim Gauthier suggests in his article, "9/11, Image Control, And The Graphic Narrative," graphic novels work well with representations of 9/11 because the media's initial narratives and representations were presented through images that 'translated' both the personal and emotional traumas felt by individuals. Although The 9/11 Report may attempt to re-personalize and re-appropriate the events of 9/11 as a graphic novel, it does not escape the rhetoric and influence of images presented in the mainstream media. Rather, it is influenced by those discourses, and exhibits much of the gendered, xenophobic, and sexist representations that predominated media representations of the event and the subsequent War on Terror.

² Mark Singer. "Terror Comix." *The New Yorker*. May 5, 2008. Accessed October 26, 2015.

http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/05/05/terrorcomix.

Shifts in the Construction of Masculinity

Prior to 9/11, a construction of masculinity known as 'business masculinity' was most dominant within New York City metropolitan society. In this construction, men were expected to work hard, long days, amass a large amount of wealth to support an extravagant lifestyle. This construction of masculinity was unlike the middleclass 'family businessman' of the 1950s, who was expected to work during the day to provide a comfortable life for a wife and family at home. Rather, the pre-9/11 construction of business masculinity that dominated New York City and other global financial centers demanded that men work absurdly long hours and adopt ruthless business practices to achieve success. The expectation for ruthless manipulation became more common throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and can be seen in an exaggerated sense in Mary Hannon's film. American Psycho.

In *American Psycho*, Bateman describes the material fashions of his lifestyle: his daily morning exercise and beautification routine, his extensive music collection, his taste for expensive designer clothes, and the lavish couture of his apartment. These are all used as symbols of wealth and success, which are often flaunted in front of others. This brash materialism is the second side of this construction of a pre-9/11 business masculinity, which focuses solely on personal gain fueled by corruption, vanity, and superficial appearances. This obsession with capital success and wealth may be connected to what is called a neoliberal ethic, in which

³ R.W. Connell and Julian Wood. "Globalization and Business Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 7.4, Apr. 2005: 347-64. Print.

more emphasis is placed on globalization. Psychologist Paul Verhaeghe argues that "thirty years of neoliberalism, free-market forces and privatisation have taken their toll, as relentless pressure to achieve has become normative," even going as far as claiming that our current economic system "rewards psychopathic personality traits [and] has changed our ethics and our personalities." Verhaeghe's argument supports the rise of this particular construction of business masculinity (particularly the Patrick Bateman type character), thus creating an iconic construction of masculinity despite the limiting conditions that surround the construction.

After the attack on the World Trade Center (WTC), the men exhibiting this specific construction of business masculinity were ones most visibly harmed by the attacks, especially in the media. As the individuals working in the towers, and those who experienced the trauma and gore firsthand, they were presented as being left the most vulnerable. Furthermore, these men were rescued and helped by the replacement type of masculinity: the 'ordinary man.' The media represented this 'ordinary man' figure as the first responders who responded to the attacks: the firefighters, police officers, EMTs, and later the civilians who volunteered their time and energy to help the cleanup and rescue efforts after

_

⁴ Paul Verhaeghe. "Neoliberalism has brought out the worst in us." *The Guardian*. September 29, 2014. Accessed March 11, 2016.

http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/29/neoli beralism-economic-system-ethics-personality-psychopathicsthic.

⁵ Laura Shepard. "Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks of Afghanistan Post-9/11." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8, no. 1 (2006): 21-22.

the 11th. In a sense, the men and women who represented the old business masculinity were being trapped by the attacks and the actions of the terrorists, with the ordinary men rising to the hegemonic position as their rescuers. The trope of 'captivity and rescue' perpetuates the idea that masculinity is immutable, as individuals become feminized almost immediately after being captured.⁶ Although the captivity in this trope is less apparent when applied to 9/11 and the attacks on the WTC, the men and women within the Towers were still feminized and 'needed to be saved,' as they were shown being trapped, killed, falling and even jumping out of buildings.

In a panel on page 91, when the attacks on the WTC are described in more detail, men and women in suits are shown being knocked over and injured by flying shrapnel and debris. In a panel on the previous page, two men. looking disheveled in their suits are shown supporting one another, limping out into the stairwell of the South Tower. Simultaneously, two firefighters are shown bursting through the doors, presumably to their rescue. Just underneath this image, there is a block of text that states "they knew at once that this would be a rescue operation, not a firefighter one,"7 reinforcing the shift in the hegemonic masculinity from the construction of the capitalist businessman to the ordinary man, represented by the firefighters coming to the aid of the trapped businessmen while being gendering through the rescue trope. While the men and women within the WTC may

⁶ Brenda Boyle. "Rescuing Masculinity: Captivity, Rescue and Gender in American War Narratives." *The Journal of American Culture* 13, no. 2 (2011): 149.

⁷ Sid Jacobson and Ernie Colón. *The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 90.

not have been held captive, the firefighters are still characterized as rescuers, engendering them as masculine heroes.

The construction of the masculine 'ordinary man' also applies to the representation of ordinary passengers on two of the hijacked planes, American Flight 77 and United Flight 93 as passengers are shown trying to fight to regain control of the plane from the hijackers. Interestingly, a similar shift occurs in the representation of terrorists. who occupy a marginalized position. While the terrorists who successfully hijacked the planes are shown as being very menacing, masculine and dominating, the hijackers of Flight 93 are feminized, as the passengers of the plane are shown fighting back. Such depictions occur with Flight 93 in particular because the passengers were actually able to overtake the hijackers, bringing the plane down in a field in Pennsylvania. Although this feminization initially only occurs with the hijackers of Flight 93, who were eventually taken down by the passengers of the flight, this feminization of terrorists is a repeated theme throughout much of post-9/11 and War on Terror representations.8 Such visual representations in The 9/11 Report show that the construction of masculinity occupying the hegemonic position is shifting, exposing the mutability of the construction of masculinity. The mutability of perceptions of masculinity is also reflected in the inability of government officials to act as quickly and effectively as the emergency personnel responding at the WTC had. These failures are most clearly expressed through multiple representations of high-ranking government officials hearing about the attacks from media and news sources.

⁸ Shepard, "Veiled References," 28.

Although men holding positions of power had once been viewed as more hegemonic and powerful than the 'ordinary man,' this shifts significantly post-9/11. Both President Bush and New York mayor, Rudy Giuliani, are shown as adopting characteristics of the 'ordinary man.' that many other government officials could not. This adaptation demonstrates the mutability of masculinity, as it shows how certain men are positioned in a manner that allows them to change the way they present themselves, consequently changing how they are perceived. In his campaign to get re-elected in 2004, George Bush relied on the fact he was an 'ordinary man' with a platform that focused on cowboy imagery and Bush's interaction with (and attempt to embody/become) the ordinary man: looking casual, wearing blue jeans, and a collared shirt with the top buttons undone. This also occurred in many of his speeches after the 9/11 attacks. and in images in which he stands with his arm around a firefighter in plain-clothes at Ground Zero, three days after the attack with a retired firefighter, Bob Beckwith and New York Governor George Pataki. The masculinity of those involved in the government was arguably less destabilized and marginalized by the attacks than that of any other men, due to the fact that in the period of nationalism and patriotism which followed the attacks. the leaders of the government were able to reconstruct their presentations of themselves as masculine 'figures of authority' that represented the nation's masculinity9 and stability not only within the US, but to the rest of the world.

The emphasis on the government's failures reflects Carol Cohn's claim in "Wars, Wimps, and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War," that gendered discourse in

⁹ Ibid., 23.

government proceedings, especially in regards to national security often abstracts, erases, or distorts the severity of actions within war. Although I wouldn't say that the 'figure of authority' was necessarily absent or lacking in The 9/11 Report, they were always portraved as trying to find a solution, but being unable to: such an inability to decide leads to an inability to give orders and act. When looked at in conjunction with Carol Cohn's discussion of constructions of masculinity in the government and how it obfuscates many of the actual issues such as civilian and soldier injuries and deaths. destruction of cultures, and ramification of bombing civilians and heavily populated residential and commercial areas for one individual target. Even the description of a person as a 'target' is dehumanizing and allows those actors in the military to overlook the humanity of the people being affected by their attacks. When taking this into consideration while looking at the portrayal of the inability of the government to act, Cohn's claim that the construction of masculinity leaves a lot of gaps in our military and security can even be applied to planning due to the visualization of a heroic manly triumphant act, and the need to appear masculine, aggressive, and strong instead of focusing on the real logistics of making and sustaining a war.

This complex, and often contradictory, representation means we need to consider the images that *The 9/11 Report* presents of government officials and their actions in regards to dominant attitudes towards warfare and attacks. Although these attacks eventually fuel and evolve into the larger War on Terror, the immediate response of the government, and President Bush in particular, was to identify the attacks as an act of war, thereby inscribing a specific narrative (the war narrative) to a global issue that cannot be reduced to just one

storyline. This is not specific to just the US, however, as seen in the recent terrorist bombings in Paris. Just as President Bush referred to the 9/11 attacks as an act of war in 2001, François Hollande, current president of France also referred to the November 2015 Paris attacks as a 'war' rather than simply a 'crime' or attack. Although this may have a lot to do with desires to bring the construction of 'the nation' together and promote nationalism and patriotism, it may also be affected by intersections of xenophobic discourses. Though the intersection of xenophobia and patriotism may be more specific to the US than it is to France, this relationship remains important to note because it shows how far reaching the effects of gendered discourse are on a global scale.

Interaction with Xenophobia

In many media representations of Middle Eastern countries and people post-9/11, there was emphasis put on the US's perception that countries in the Middle East were underdeveloped in comparison to the US. Furthermore, Afghanistan's inclusion in the list of Middle Eastern countries ignores the country's location and historic association with South and Central Asia over Middle Eastern countries. Such depictions not only strip these countries of their own agency to identify and locate themselves, but confuses geographic fact and location through political rhetoric in an attempt to create the illusion of having a more concise enemy and reason for war.

Even in *The 9/11 Report*, a text based on an official US document, Middle Eastern countries are 'othered' and shown as less than: "In the past, to be dangerous an enemy had to muster large armies ... Now, an

organization like al Oaeda, headquartered in a country with little electricity or telephones ... can scheme to wield weapons of unprecedented destructive power." 10 By bringing attention to al Qaeda's 'lack of resources,' their status is being marginalized. As Martin Mills argues in "Cultural Reductionism and the Media," such interpretations are problematic in their homogenizing and denigration of minority cultures. 11 This problematic interpretation fosters the idea that the US is not only going to war to defend our nation, but to 'save' the struggling or oppressed individuals of these so-called 'Middle Eastern' countries. Although The 9/11 Report presents this denigration through images of poverty and poor living conditions, most post-9/11 discourse achieves this through the perpetuation of the idea that veiled women are oppressed. Post-9/11, the appropriation of 'the veiled Afghan woman' and the burga became a symbol of female oppression and American heroism that plagued the media.12 The idea that certain figures, in this case, primarily women, needed to be saved stems from the idea that groups that have been 'othered' are inferior to 'us.'

Although the image of the veiled woman is not explicitly evoked in The 9/11 Report, with a veiled woman only appearing once, 13 the existence of this figure is heavily implied when discussing the (also problematic construction) of the poor and oppressive living

¹⁰ Jacobson, The 9/11 Report, 114.

¹¹ Martin Mills and Amanda Keddie. "Cultural Reductionism and the Media: Polarizing Discourses Around Schools, Violence and Masculinity in an Age of Terror." Oxford Review of Education 36, no. 4 (2010): 428-9, 440.

¹² Shepard, "Veiled References," 26-7.

¹³ Jacobson, The 9/11 Report, 75.

conditions in the Middle East. This single representation is significant and features the fragmented image of a woman's eyes, peaking out of her burga. In the background, there are two men discussing something. and a caption that reads "In June 2001, Binalshibh [Ramzi bin al-Shibh] met KSM [Khalid Sheikh Mohammed] in Pakistan, where KSM told him to ask Atta [Mohammed Atta] to select a date for the attacks."14 In addition to showing these attacks as having been performed by a network of men, it also suggests that women are not involved in the plotting or in the attacks. Rather, Middle Eastern women are shown as innocent bystanders or victims, unable to act or perform acts of terror. The significance of this portrayal is two-fold, because according to the Western construction of the image of the veiled woman, it implies that veiled women are oppressed by both the terrorist men in their lives, and by their veils. Although unrelated in topic, this portraval operates in a similar manner to the fact that women and feminized images and actions are excluded15 from US military proceedings. 16 As an American representation, it makes sense that this portrayal would follow previous portrayals and absences of women.

In addition to 'othering' the terrorists and individuals of Afghanistan (and much of the Middle East), the evocation of the 'veiled woman' established Afghanistan as less developed than the US. Globalization is also referenced

¹⁴ Ibid., 75.

¹⁵ Lori Poloni-Staudinger and Candice Ortbals. "Gendering Abbottabad: Agency and Hegemonic Masculinity in an Age of Global Terrorism." Gender Issues 31 (2014): 35.

¹⁶ Carol Cohn. "Wars, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War." Gendering War Talk (Princeton, 1993). 239.

when it is said: "To Americans, Afghanistan seemed very far away. To al Oaeda, America seemed very close ... In a sense, they were more globalized than we were." ¹⁷ In "Globalization and its Mal(e)contents," Michel Kimmel emphasizes the effect that globalization has on reshaping masculinity. Globalization disrupts and reconfigures traditional cultural and economic arrangements in local and regional settings. Gender and gendered discourse are two of the main organizational values of local masculinities and resistance to the reconstructions following globalization. Kimmel observes that masculinities and globalization are central for the emergence of extremist groups; this argument focuses on comparisons between right-wing European movements, white supremacists in the US, and al Oaeda in the Islamic world. In all three of these groups, masculinity is viewed as 'symbolic capital' and an 'ideological resource' to explain their plight, identify, and problematize the group they blame for their plight, and as a way to recruit other men to their cause.

Similarly, the Commission states "It [the 9/11 attacks] was carried out by a tiny group of people with trivial resources operating from one of the poorest, least industrial of all nations." This description extends to other "Middle Eastern" countries, such as Pakistan: "Pakistan's endemic poverty, widespread corruption, and often ineffective government creates opportunities for Islamist recruitment ... Millions of families, especially the poor, send their children to religious schools [...] Many of these schools have been used as incubators for violent extremism." This comment not only targets the

¹⁷ Jacobson, The 9/11 Report, 108.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 116.

country of Pakistan, but also creates an image for the country and its inhabitants as 'others' due to socioeconomic status and religion. The discussion of the schools, although perhaps based in truth, can be seen reflected in US media about US schools, and the anxieties of exposing Muslim students to extremist ideas in an attempt to prevent any further acts of terrorism and to avoid the creation of 'home-grown terrorists.' While the description of their poverty helps in the process of 'othering,' it is not the primary focus. The main goal in using this rhetoric is to establish the individuals of, in this case, the countries of the Middle East as different from 'us' (in this case, the US) in as many ways as possible: through religion, and socio-economic status.

The 9/11 Report as a Counternarrative?

The 9/11 Report is one of the few texts that I have found that exposes the vulnerabilities and failures of 'the ordinary' man during the attacks, rather than focusing only on their success and their rescues in the aftermath. Just as the complex nature of the successes and failures of the 'figure of authority,' and the government are depicted, the 9/11 Report appears to nuance the complexity of the 'ordinary man' figure and his rise to a hegemonic position. According to Thomas Bjerre in "Post-9/11 Literary Masculinities," many literary representations of masculinity in 9/11 novels go against the triumphalist narrative of heroic masculinity the mainstream media presented, focusing on ideas of satirical, neutered, and marginalized migrant masculinities. These 'counternarratives' focus on the horror and tragedy of the event, while exploring the emasculating wounds felt by the entire nation. Through

²⁰ Mills, "Cultural Reductionism and the Media."

male protagonists' failures to live up to the construction of masculinity, Bjerre claims that these characters create a new variation of 'mythic American manhood,' and create a counternarrative that deconstructs and reimages notions of masculinity post-9/11.

As counternarratives, these novels destabilize the ideal of the ordinary male hero through a representation of male protagonists who continually fail in their lives post-9/11. These male characters fail to live up to the idealized heroic construction of masculinity, fail to move past their trauma and emotional baggage from experiencing the event, and retreat into the impossible standards of a nostalgic past to escape their realities. As previously mentioned. The 9/11 Report manages to depict a few brief depictions of the failures and vulnerabilities of the 'ordinary man,' although these depictions do not put the 'ordinary figures' at fault as much as they do the nature of the architecture of the WTC and the failures and malfunctions of the technology and equipment that they use: The Commission blames the architecture of the WTC itself and the impact of the planes are to blame for much of the damage. Although this sounds like a small, insignificant comment, it connects back to the integration of anti-terrorist and xenophobic discourses. Such a comment takes much of the power and agency of the attacks away from the terrorists themselves, emphasizing their marginalized masculinity.

Because the masculinity of the terrorists is shown mutable due to their marginalized position, the emphasis placed on the failure of the architecture of the building is an interesting move on behalf of *The Commission* and *The 9/11 Report*. With the marginalized masculinity of the attackers in mind, moving the emphasis of the cause of damage away from the terrorist derides their actions and

attacks. Rather than giving the hijackers and al Qaeda full blame for the devastation of the attacks, which would be expected in war narrative. Furthermore, their ability and skill as militants is overlooked and minimized, connecting back to Carol Cohn's argument about the dangers of the gendered discourse and tendency to obfuscate actions in war, and how these discourses are contradictory with one another while still influencing and intersecting with one another.

Similar to the portraval of Muslim women being passive victims unable to act, American women within the WTC are shown as equally helpless. In Chapter 9 of The 9/11 Report, "Heroism and Honor," women are a largely absent or depicted as being passive. The title alone suggests that this chapter details the most heroic and helpful actions that the report documents during the attacks. This particular chapter focuses on the actions within the WTC and emphasizes the swift movement and the success of the first responders rather than mentioning any actions made on a governmental level. In addition to not featuring women, however, the representation of the government is extremely sparse in this chapter, perhaps placing government officials in a similar position to women: far under the hegemonic position of the 'ordinary man.'

Interestingly enough, even representations of the government appear to fall prey to the captivity and rescue trope discussed by Boyle. Near the beginning of the chapter, Mayor Giuliani is depicted with a few other men in suits, presumably politicians. Accompanying text explains Giuliani's creation of the Office of Emergency Management in 1996, and its role in improving "the city's response to major incidents, and [... its] crucial role in

managing the city's overall response to an incident."²¹ The location of this panel suggests that Mayor Giuliani is most often categorized as an 'ordinary man' figure, rather than a 'figure of authority,' as he is the only political figure depicted within this chapter. Mayor Giuliani's presence in this chapter is noteworthy, because like President Bush, after 9/11 Mayor Giuliani made an effort to represent himself as an ordinary man and an ordinary New Yorker. Although this may be due to the fact that, as mayor of New York, Giuliani was very visible in the media after the attacks. Due to this association made by the media, it would make sense that as an organizer and leader of the 'ordinary man' figure, that he would be grouped into their archetype and engendered as a masculine hero.

The only other representation of government in this chapter is near the end, when the emergency response to the pentagon is depicted. This representation shows the other side of the emergency and rescue trope that I mentioned earlier. Whereas Mayor Giuliani is shown as a hero, associated with 'ordinary man' hero figures, the government officials shown fleeing the Pentagon after American Flight 77 strikes the building are not. Rather, these figures are shown as the victims that need to be assisted and saved by the first responders. Just like the men and women who exhibit the business masculinity are trying to escape the WTC before and after the depiction of the events at the Pentagon, these government officials are shown as being victims who need saving, as we see them being helped into ambulances. These examples provide a different representation of the 'figure of authority,' and may represent the shift in their attitudes and efforts post-9/11, just as President Bush and Mayor

²¹ Jacobson, The 9/11 Report, 88.

Giuliani had in their efforts to embody and appeal to the 'ordinary man' figure.

Additionally, throughout chapter 9, women are never shown as actors in their own right, but are depicted as being supported or carried by men. Even in an image portraying the impact of United Airlines Flight 175 into the South Tower, a group of men are shown shielding a woman from glass shattering around them from the impact. Although this shielding does not look intentional, it's still significant to note that the one woman shown is surrounded by men and appears to be 'protected' by them. This depiction implies that the survival, or the attempts of surviving the attacks were all due to the actions of men. Furthermore, in all of these portrayals, the women and men appear to have very different reactions to the attacks, as seen through the expressions on their faces. While the women are shown as being distressed, worried and even sad, the men are shown to be angry or scowling at the attacks and the destruction. Other times, although this is less frequent. women are shown comforting distressed or injured men. through a hand placed on a shoulder or arm, and a concerned look on her face. 22 Even this depiction shows women as less active than the men surrounding them. who in the same panel, are shown being more dynamic: one man holds the hand of an injured woman, as another helps her drink a glass of water.

The women at the WTC are rendered inactive and unable to perform by a gendered discourse, which attributes a need to be saved or rescued by the men around them. These depictions of women continually perpetuate the valorization of the 'ordinary man hero. Additionally, at a

²² Ibid., 93.

time of war action, masculinity is re-energized, and equated with being heroic and honorable, something that is not afforded to women in The 9/11 Report, as seen through their absence in Chapter 9. As if the gendered depiction weren't enough to emphasize that the men were the heroic figures during the attacks, the women in this chapter are also denied one other aspect of agency and action: a voice. Although this chapter has fewer speech bubbles than previous chapters, it's interesting that all the dialogue is assigned to men. The only woman who spoke in the entirety of the chapter is a dispatcher receiving a 9-1-1 call on page 89. Her distance from the action of the event is also important, because I think it implies that women only have agency outside of catastrophic situations, and although they can still help, they cannot have as active as a role as the men do.

The inability of women to have as active a role as the men is also portrayed through the lack of diversity of the emergency personnel shown responding. Although most of the 'ordinary man' figures rescuing those trapped in the tower and those who had been injured are shown as being male, a few EMTs are depicted as female, although I do not believe there are any firefighters or police officers depicted as women. Additionally, all of the female first responders that are portrayed are shown in the background of the image, sometimes even lacking the detail and coloring of the male responders in the foreground.²³ This lack of coloring and placement in the background allow these characters to remain unnoticed unless actively sought after, while the male responders shown in the foreground are meant to be the primary focus of the reader.

²³ Ibid., 91.

Throughout the descriptions of the responses of the firefighters, police officers, and first responders, there were multiple remarks about the orderliness and calmness of those being evacuated. At no point in their descent are the men and women shown panicking: "In their ascent, they passed a steady and heavy stream of descending civilians and were impressed by their lack of panic."24 Rather, the only panic shown is in those who are most directly affected by the attacks, on and above the levels of impact. When thought about it conjunction with the high number of civilians responding to the attacks, the strength and unity of the 'ordinary man' figure was not only being emphasized, but being used to bring the nation together. This simultaneously depicts the type of figure (and construction of power and masculinity) that rose to power post-9/11 and how it unified the nation to show that everyone was a part of this War on Terror. This is reiterated multiple times when both representations of US government officials, and representations of al Qaeda members, specifically Bin Laden, state that "we do not have to differentiate between military and civilian. As far as we are concerned, they are all targets."25 This is eerily similar to what Bush says after the attacks when he says "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."26 This simultaneously targets 'the ordinary man figure,' who ultimately rises up and defends itself in a manner that those who exhibit business masculinity cannot. Similarly, as Cohn argues, it erases, or distorts the severity of actions within war, and those that are targeted.

²⁴ Ibid., 92.

²⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁶ Ibid., 99.

The comparison of these two images and speeches show that although Bush and bin Laden are clearly on two opposing sides, that both are using similar rhetorical and political tactics. Both men are calling the people of their groups to come together and create a "protest masculinity" that aims to restore traditional patriarchal norms and gendered divisions. For these groups, masculinity is viewed as a 'symbolic capital' and an 'ideological resource' to explain their plight, identify and problematize the group they blame for that plight, and as a way to recruit other men to their cause. 27 Additionally, both groups and leaders view the 'other' as an enemy. While describing that there was no need to differentiate between military and civilian, bin Laden also 'others' Americans and labels them as terrorists: "We believe that the worst thieves in the world today and the worst terrorists are the Americans."28 This similarity may suggest that these shifts in masculinity and the preoccupation with an 'ordinary man' figure as both a war tactic to target and to foster solidarity and patriotism within a nation or group.

Conclusion

Considering the massive shift in the construction of masculinity over time, it is hard to map certain shifts and how they interact with other discourses and narratives. As a mutable category, there have been numerous constructions of masculinity over the years. As an area of study that has been extensively discussed, but simultaneously pushed aside in lieu of other feminist

²⁸ Jacobson, The 9/11 Report, 30.

²⁷ Michael S. Kimmel. "Globalization and its Mal(e)contents: The Gendered Moral and Political Economy of Terrorism." *International Sociology* 18, no. 3 (2003): 603-20.

analyses, there are many unanswered questions present in discussions of masculinity. Because of this, it would be impossible to provide a complete framing, as a lot is still unknown and many questions remain unanswered. There is a very clear interaction between constructions of masculinity, xenophobia, notions of patriotism and nationalism, and expectations for government and the military on a global scale. Although my focus lies in the US government, military and media, this is a global narrative, so my perspective and analysis is only one aspect of a much larger picture.

These discourses and constructions all interact with one another in literary narratives and the mainstream media. As seen in The 9/11 Report, a misogynist gendered rhetoric underlies much of the actions of the literature of this period. Due to the nature of war narratives and the rescue trope, which pervades the literature of this period. certain characters are valorized and shown as superior. receiving more attention and representation throughout the texts. This hierarchizing generally erases women from active positions, forcing them to rely on men and accept a position in the background, or makes them absent entirely. This erasure also intersects with notions of xenophobia, which in post-9/11 America is almost inseparable from notions of American patriotism and nationalism. Such constructions of American patriotism manifest as being extraordinarily white, masculine, heteronormative, and xenophobic. This problematic construction simultaneously renders anyone who does not fit this description as an 'other,' and prohibits them from occupying a hegemonic position, forcing them into a marginalized one, subject to the domination of the hegemonic male.

Such constructions of gender force individuals into generalized categories that define them as symbols and 'ideological resources,' especially in a time a crisis and war to create a sense of solidarity among a particular group of nation. Although this can be seen among various groups, not just the US, it is a political tactic aimed at preventing the dehumanization of individuals and the distortion of the severity of the actions within war and problematic discourses that predominate the media.

References

- Bjerre, Thomas Ærvold. "Post-9/11 Literary Masculinities in Kalfus, Delillo, and Hamid." *Orbis Litterarum: International Review of Literary Studies* 67, no. 3 (2012): 241-66.
- Boyle, Brenda M. "Rescuing Masculinity: Captivity, Rescue and Gender in American War Narratives." *The Journal of American Culture* 13, no. 2 (2011): 149-160.
- Cohn, Carol. "Wars, Wimps, and Women: Taking Gender and Thinking War." *Gendering War Talk*, 227-46. Princeton: Princeton University, 1993.
- Connell, R. W., and Julian Wood. "Globalization and Business Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 7, no. 4. (2005): 347-64.
- Gauthier, Tim. "9/11, Image Control, And The Graphic Narrative: Spiegelman, Rehr, Torres." *Journal Of Postcolonial Writing* 46, no. 3-4 (2010): 369-380.
- Jacobson, Sid and Ernie Colón. *The 9/11 Report: A Graphic Adaptation*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006.
- Kimmel, Michael S. "Globalization and its Mal(e)contents: The Gendered Moral and Political

- Economy of Terrorism." *International Sociology* 18, no. 3 (2003): 603-620.
- Mills, Martin and Amanda Keddie. "Cultural Reductionism and the Media: Polarising Discourses Around Schools, Violence and Masculinity in an Age of Terror." Oxford Review of Education 36, no. 4 (2010): 427-444.
- Poloni-Staudinger, Lori and Candice Ortbals. "Gendering Abbottabad: Agency and Hegemonic Masculinity in an Age of Global Terrorism." *Gender Issues* 31 (2014): 34-57.
- Shepherd, Laura. "Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post-9/11."

 International Feminist Journal of Politics 8, no. 1 (2006): 19-41
- Singer, Mark. "Terror Comix." *The New Yorker*. May 5, 2008. Accessed October 26, 2015. http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/05/05/terror-comix.
- Verhaeghe, Paul. "Neoliberalism has brought out the worst in us." *The Guardian*. September 29, 2014. Accessed March 11, 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/29/neoliberalism-economic-system-ethics-personality-psychopathicsthic.

Acknowledgments

The Editors of The Drew Review would like to thank especially the Board of Trustees, President MaryAnn Baenninger, and Christopher Taylor, Dean of the College, for their ongoing and generous support of the Review. While only one quarter of all nominated papers are published, the Review reflects the efforts of the entire Drew University community. Without the participation of the nearly twenty students who submitted their essays and the thirty 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.

