Audeamus

MMX V
Letter from the Editors

Audeamus means “Let us Dare.” Our journal continues to boldly challenge the norm by showcasing both creative work and academic scholarship in a single, multi-disciplinary space.

Our population of authors and readers is growing. Though Audeamus began as a journal that encompassed only works by Honors students, we have expanded to include a much larger group. All UC undergraduates who maintain a certain academic record are welcome to submit. As a result, we received a larger base of eclectic work: our 135 submissions came from UCR (43%), UCB (30%), UCLA (7%), UCD (7%), UCSD (4%), UCSB (3%), UCM (3%), and UCI (3%). We chose to publish 17 of those in our print journal and 3 received “Honorable Mentions” to be published in our online platform.

This year, the Audeamus editorial board sought to gather the written and visual remnants of some of the most fascinating journeys of our fellow UC students.

We have defined our “journey” theme quite loosely--yet we believe that each one of the pieces in Audeamus IX offers a fascinating glimpse into the experience of its authors, characters, or larger cultural groups.

At our own moments, each of us journeys from childhood into maturity. The pieces have been ordered in a way that suggests this progression. We have sprinkled remnants of our own sojourns throughout: each “filler page” between the pieces contains the creative reflections of one of our editors.

What do these life stages mean? Are they somehow innate, or are they culturally constructed? Our first piece, “The Culture of Childhood and the Permanence of Alice in Wonderland” by Crystal Villalpando (Research Award Winner), suggests that nostalgic adults often define childhood by projecting romanticized images of youth onto their own pasts.

Jose Rodriguez Portillo gives a poignant reminder that not all journeys are allowed to progress past childhood--his “You, you missed me” provides a heart-wrenching glimpse of the grief that surrounds the families that are left behind.

Next, Scott Williams’ “Feelings” provides a visual image of the self-awakenings that often usher us into young adulthood. In “The Effects of Emotion Regulation Strategies on Global Information Processing,” Nabila Jamal Orozco (et al.) suggest that there may even be psychological differences in the ways in which children and adults experience and display their burgeoning sensations.

Paul King’s ethnography, “Sweet Gauges” reveals the profound symbolism that body modifications and alterations can play in this journey through young adulthood. This period is often marked by a desultory uncertainty about where our own journeys might go.

“Forgotten in the Haze” projects these fears and transformations onto a visual image, while “Detours and Dead Ends” weaves them into a poem.

“Snow,” a short fiction piece, shares feelings of immobility that result when surrounding forces hinder our ability to take flight.

Encountering the complexities of human diversity is one of the most beautiful elements of our journey. “Starving,” by Eunice Gonzales Sierra provides a glimpse into cultural struggles, while Elizabeth Klingens’s “Honey” (Art Award Winner) suggests a means of understanding the needs of others.

“No Harm in Looking,” (Janani Hariharan), and “Sexism, Entitlement, and Stalking-Related Behavior” (Zachary Gillett) each give insight into the romantic awakenings that accompany the journey to adulthood.

Jac Manfield’s “kiss” looks critically at the culture of capitalism using “sweet,” playful metaphors.

Our final segment explores larger cultural journeys and the memory of the dead. “Rejuvenating the Mauri” by Toni Marie Pasion follows the efforts of contemporary individuals to preserve the remnants of an ancient past. Michael Shaw’s “Anatomy of the World,” (Creative Piece Award Winner) examines the journey of a log-departed soul and its memory among the living here on earth.

Alisa Boyko’s “Ghost House” presents our final visual image. Lonely, desolate, lifeless, the house stands as a reminder of the countless stories that may have echoed through its halls. Finally, “Castle in the Storm” suggests means of continuing, transforming, or extending our conscious journey through spirituality or dream states.

We believe that the journal serves as a platform to exhibit the talent and innovation of UC students. We at UCR are both honored and humbled to serve as the hub of this exciting academic endeavor. We thank our staff advisor Jane Kim, our faculty advisors, Dr. Richard Cardullo (Biology) and Dr. Connie Nugent (Neuroscience), and additional reviewers Dr. Susan Zieger (English) and Dr. Howard Friedman (Psychology).

Happy Travels!
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The Culture of Childhood and the Permanence of *Alice in Wonderland*  
Crystal Villalpando

Abstract
What defines a child? What is childhood? The culture of childhood establishes the social construction of the “child.” It defines the “child” as a concept and outlines appropriate childhood behavior. The “child” concept discloses its mutable definition through its contingency on socio-historical context. Through its various depictions of children, children's literature utilizes the concept of the “child” to construct childhood. In fact, early nineteenth century children’s literature instructed children on behavior as opposed to entertaining their imaginations. It was not until Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* where a novel representation of childhood emerged as fun, illogical, and non-didactic. Carroll’s story of *Alice in Wonderland* has persisted through a century’s worth of change. His innovative representation of childhood as fun and non-didactic explains the story’s popularity in modern popular culture, but it is the allure of childhood that grants *Alice in Wonderland* the ability to transcend the seemingly imminent death of time and attain a sacred spot within the depths of readers’ nostalgia. This occurs as readers adopt the story of *Alice in Wonderland* and create their own childhood adventure within Wonderland. Through this personalized adaptation of the story, *Alice in Wonderland* gains significance as readers project their memories of childhood unto the storyline. In so doing, an intimate relationship is established between the reader and the story that transcends the limitations of time and change.

The Literary Child in Early Nineteenth Century

Nineteenth century children’s literature uses a methodology of didacticism within its storytelling to instruct children on morals and behavior and also to provide children the necessary skills to distinguish truth from fantasy. Parents’ fears resided in the literature that allowed the child’s mind to revel in the imaginary, and so much of nineteenth century children’s literature centered on realism. Gillian Avery in “Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children’s Stories 1780-1900” identifies this fear when she states that nineteenth century moralists and educationalists pondered over whether children who read fairy tales would ever learn to distinguish between truth and fiction and whether their reading of fairy tales was a waste of time (41).

The fear was not without reason. Early nineteenth century children’s literature existed to educate the Victorian child, not to entertain. In that sense, fantasy remained taboo; realism dominated the curriculum of early nineteenth century children’s literature. Much emphasis rested on the development of a moral and diligent Victorian child through literary examples of virtuous children. Consequently, the image of the virtuous child permeated nineteenth century children’s literature, but the image endured by compromising the amusement and the holistic depiction of the Victorian child.

In an effort to depict the ideal Victorian child, early nineteenth century writers disregarded the nonconforming child and molded a well-behaved one within their storylines. Therefore, social assumptions and preferences formulated childhood with the literary construction of the well-behaved child. Avery mentions, “The history of the earlier children’s book is, rather, a pattern of adult taste in childhood; and with the exception of the hero of the boy’s book, there was no attempt to create the sort of child that suits children’s taste, as is standard modern practice, until the last decades of the nineteenth century (170).” Avery makes a solid point in that there lacked a literary character to allude to children’s imaginations in early nineteenth century children’s literature. The books functioned to create the ideal child adults would find pleasing to be around, and in Victorian times, the idealized child meant the well-behaved and virtuous child.

The early Victorian literary child existed to educate children on mannerisms; it reflected adults’ tastes in childhood behavior. The
literary child delineated what childhood should resemble through the
eyes of adults. Consequently, childhood becomes a subjective, fluid
concept contingent on adults’ ideals and tastes evident to the socio-
historical construction of the “child.” Through literary examples, adults
formulate childhood and create the pleasant child to be around. It
could be stated that early nineteenth century children’s books were
not written for children. In fact, children’s books reveal much about
the values and morals of the adult writers. Avery writes, “For those
interested in the ways of the nineteenth century much can be said for
the didactic and improving books of the era before Alice. The writers
were expressing their views and prejudices that they genuinely held,
and from them it is possible to get a clear picture of the manners and
ideals of, at any rate, upper-class society (227).” Nineteenth century
children’s literature reveals adults’ expectations of children. However,
it also reveals to whom the expectations are directed: upper class and
middle class Victorian children. Therefore, the literature reveals the
ideologies of the times, as well as the social institutions intertwined
in the construction of the concept of the “child.”

As Avery states, children’s books changed from representing
childhood for adults’ tastes to the current representation of childhood
for children’s imaginations. The Victorian child within literature was the
ideal child the adult wished could be realized. This child was virtuous
and well mannered, not crude and rowdy. This literary depiction most
likely embodied the idealized Victorian upper-class child. The depiction
of the ideal Victorian child remained constant until the later part of the
century when fantasy presented itself in children’s literature for the child’s
own amusement. Avery classifies this time as “the great revolution” and
praises Lewis Carroll’s Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland as the turning
point of children’s literature that tends to the child’s imagination (227).
This change eventually brings literature to its contemporary times, in
which the child of literature is no longer projections of adults’ wishes of
the well-behaved child. Within literature’s transition for amusement, the
literary depiction of the “child” changes from mundane to imaginative.
Fairy tales and fantasy begin to dominate children’s literature, as
imagination inhabits the child’s literary world. Through such innovative
literary depictions of childhood, the notion of childhood as fun and
Illogical becomes realized: adults begin to accept the varying facets of childhood.

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Alice becomes a promise of what childhood was and could become.

**Lewis Carroll’s Novel Child**

Lewis Carroll’s novel depiction of childhood as fun and adventurous resurrects adults’ yearnings of childhood. *Alice* becomes a promise of what childhood was and could become. The story of *Alice in Wonderland* alludes to the reader’s fantasies. Its allusion to the fantasy in childhood commercializes *Alice in Wonderland* to both adults’ and adolescents’ curiosities; it functions as the currency of the nostalgic. James Kincaid, a USC professor and *Alice in Wonderland* fan, makes the same correlation of *Alice*’s allusion to childhood as nostalgic currency for “all things Alice.” He states in a 2010 Los Angeles Times article celebrating the 50th anniversary of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*’s publication, “In addition to the usual merchandising phenomena, ‘Alice’ is tied into a kind of nostalgia. Even in Carroll’s time there were little shops set up in Oxford that would sell ‘Alice’ teacups and things like that” (Tschorn 2).

He continues on to say, “A lot of people associate ‘Alice in Wonderland’ with childhood, so I wouldn’t be surprised if owning a bit of it operates psychologically the way old photographs do. This [merchandise] is a strong connection to the past” (Tschorn 2). The “all things Alice” culture is what Kincaid refers to as the “merchandising phenomena” of *Alice in Wonderland*. The “all things Alice” culture replicates and fetishizes the story of *Alice in Wonderland* into a palpable super-system of commodities, a process similar to that of the “merchandising phenomena.” Kincaid ties the *Alice* phenomenon to the nostalgia for childhood. In that manner, nostalgia functions as the commodity necessary for the permanence of the *Alice in Wonderland* story. *Alice in Wonderland* is an advertisement of childhood that alludes to adults’ nostalgia for childhood. It is this type of nostalgia that fuels the “all things Alice” culture of which Celeste Olalquiaga so beautifully outlines as kitsch.

Olalquiaga, in her book *The Artificial Kingdom*, introduces readers to her poetic and marvelous description of kitsch. Readers get a sense of the power and significance of kitsch through examples of nineteenth century artifacts, souvenirs, and her pet Rodney the crab that suffers from perpetual commoditized death. She describes kitsch as a fantasy, an invitation to “…the world as we would like it to be, not as it is; the capturing in a concrete thing of the most ineffable feelings and tenderest emotions” (98). She writes this in a chapter appropriately named “The Voyage of Life: Childhood” in which she also references kitsch with *Alice in Wonderland*. Olalquiaga outlines experience, transcendence, and continuity inextricably with kitsch that only she could literally manifest. So it seems, *Alice in Wonderland* operates as kitsch capturing readers’ innermost desires and emotions of childhood. The “all things Alice culture” is the manifestation of these desires nostalgic for the golden times of youth.

However, childhood is not just a static, nostalgic memory. As Olalquiaga appropriately names the title of the chapter, it is a voyage, an adventure like that of *Alice in Wonderland*. Childhood is an experience, a magical ride with kitsch’s hands on the wheel: “Rescuer of discarded fantasies, kitsch is the magic carpet on which we glide towards those mythical regions that, like submerged coral reefs coming into view with a low tide constantly float around consciousness, awaiting the occasion of our interest to dispel their shrouds and appear in their full glory” (100). Those submerged, mythical regions exist within the depths of adults’ nostalgia. Adults catch a glimpse of their forlorn childhood as they take a magic carpet ride with kitsch through the Wonderland that defines childhood. Kitsch becomes the door through which adults pass into the world of Wonderland in search of their lost childhood. Unable to awaken from the nostalgic spell of Wonderland’s intrusion into their childhood, adults subdue to the charms of *Alice in Wonderland* subsequently producing and embracing “all things Alice”. In that manner, adults’ experience with *Alice in Wonderland* represents an interaction, one characterized by nostalgia.

Fanatics of “all things Alice” engage with the story of *Alice in Wonderland* on a deeply intimate level. Through this intimate interaction, an individual adopts the story of *Alice in Wonderland* and projects their thoughts, experiences, and desires unto the storyline. This personalized adaptation of the story is necessary for *Alice in Wonderland* to gain significance as well as a life of its own. Once endowed with existential
Is Alice a child? If so, which child is she: the ideal Victorian child or the progressive child of late nineteenth century literature?

significance, all the possibilities of life are conceivable for the story. In the case of Alice in Wonderland, the story is able to conceive a culture of its own, to be exact, an “all things Alice” culture. As Olalquiaga writes, “once invested with such a degree of subjectivity, things gain a cultural life of their own—they can no longer be distinguished as separate entities, but rather constitute in themselves an extension of the human experience, becoming fully personalized” (288). Alice in Wonderland is an extension of the human experience. Through the personalization of the story, Alice in Wonderland gains a life of its own and exists within the human experience as a cultural extension. Similarly, the fact that the story is adopted and refashioned to fit the ideal conditions of an individual enables Alice in Wonderland a wide fan base of adults and children. Thus, each individual formulates their own significance of Alice in Wonderland with the inception of their experiences and memories of childhood. The ability to project personal experiences into the plot drives the “merchandising phenomena” mentioned by Kincaid. It is this personalized adaptation of Alice in Wonderland that gives rise to a cultural phenomenon of “all things Alice.”

Lewis Carroll’s Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland contains the elixir of youth adults search for. The story takes them on an adventure through the nostalgic abyss of childhood as they travel down the rabbit hole in search of the ever-evading white rabbit. In retrospect, it seems Alice does not learn anything during her time in Wonderland. Instead, she begins to question what she already knows up to the point of her own existence. She is asked the existential question, “Who are YOU?” by the smoking caterpillar. In a defining moment, Alice begins to question her identity as she replies, “I—I hardly know, sir, just at present—at least I know who I WAS when I got up this morning, but I think I must have been changed several times since then” (Carroll). An enlightening moment for Alice in her adventures in Wonderland, Alice begins to think introspectively about her identity and purpose in Wonderland. Alice does not know who she is or who she has become and readers also start to question her identity as a character. Is Alice a child? If so, which child is she: the ideal Victorian child or the progressive child of late nineteenth century literature? Alice is not the ideal Victorian child; she is the child of the imagination with all her curiosities and adventures. She is Lewis Carroll’s progressive child of the late nineteenth century.

Childhood as an Institution

Lewis Carroll utilizes Alice’s character to offer a novel representation of childhood in Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland unfamiliar to early nineteenth century children’s literature. An innovator of his time, Carroll depicts childhood as fun and illogical irreverent of any didacticism. As such, the notion of childhood and the “child” undergoes a paradigm shift. The paradigm shift exemplifies the culture of childhood. As Chandra Mukerji in “Monsters and Muppets: The History of Childhood and Techniques of Cultural Analysis” explains, “Childhood is not so much what children live through (a stage of life) as a site in the culture where certain ideas have been located, maintained, revised, and elaborated over the centuries” (177). In so, childhood is not so much an experience as a cultural institution, simultaneously changing, progressing, and preserving. She notes that childhood is a concept in which ideas are transcribed and, as with any ideology, it changes with time and context. Thus, Mukerji alludes to the socio-historical construction of childhood, the child as concept not person, and childhood as an institution not a stage in life. She acknowledges the subjectivity of the “child” and appropriates it as an idea, a concept of culture. Therefore, childhood becomes an enduring cultural institution.

Mukerji adds, “We keep recycling and revisiting many parts of a multi-century heritage of childhood. Through sentimental attachments to the past or perhaps just a lack of imagination about the present, we make childhood an enduring institution—even while we treat it as a natural category” (Mukerji 157). Childhood is an enduring institution of culture, an idea socialized to the point of normalization. Adults hold the hegemonic power of narrating childhood and they attribute their sentiments and preferences unto the construction of childhood. As an institution, childhood controls the behaviors and realizations of children. This control manifests through avenues intended for children. In Victorian times, the control was located within children’s literature and manifested through literary depictions of well-behaved children. In that manner, adults establish who is the child and what childhood should resemble. Similarly, Carroll participated in the hegemonic

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narration of childhood. He paved the way for the current notion of childhood and acceptance of the “child” as childish.

Consequently, analyzing childhood solely as a stage in life disregards the socio-historical dynamics of childhood's construction. This manner of interpreting childhood restricts childhood's fluid, malleable character as static and mundane. As a stage in life, childhood remains pigeonholed to a temporal site in the voyage of life. The “child” is an ever-evolving concept, always constructing and deconstructing itself within the currents of time. They are understood only when analyzed within their historical context. The “child” is a historical subject and childhood a historical site. Childhood as atemporal becomes a natural category, part of the taken for granted causing social analysts of culture to fixate on the ethereal essence of childhood. This notion of essence is the dilemma within sociological research that Orlando Patterson characterizes as the puzzle of persistence in “The Mechanisms of Cultural Reproduction: Explaining the Puzzle of Persistence.” He notes:

One of the most challenging problems in sociology of culture has been steadfastly neglected by the discipline—the puzzle of persistence. This may be in part by the discipline’s preoccupation with change, its understandable disdain for cultural determinism, the well-based suspicion of essentialism, and the laudable need to acknowledge the role of meaning-making and agency in cultural analysis (1).

Analyzing childhood as a cultural institution acknowledges the continuity the concept undergoes as well as the change. Recognizing childhood as a cultural institution helps explain the permanence a story, such as Alice's Adventures in Wonderland undergoes, despite the changing values and the various interpretations of the “child” within history. However through this change, as a children's story, Alice in Wonderland has garnered a cult of followers amongst adults and children and created a cultural phenomenon characterized by the abundance of “all things Alice” merchandise.

Similarly, the interaction adults experience with the story gives Alice in Wonderland the permeability necessary to transcend time and gain a life of its own. Readers' personal adaptation is what enables Alice in Wonderland's significance within current popular culture. In spite of childhood's changing conceptualizations, the continuity of Alice in Wonderland is explained when childhood is recognized as a cultural institution. Indeed, childhood is a cultural institution and the values and ideas tied to it have been significantly reproduced as well as normalized. Alice in Wonderland is tied to childhood, and so, the significance of the story rests in its allusion to childhood. It is the nostalgia for childhood that lures adults to the edges of the rabbit hole and into the depths of the wonderland that is childhood. Much like how Alice is lured into Wonderland by her curiosity of the rabbit, adults are lured into the culture of “all things Alice” by their nostalgia of childhood.

Nostalgia serves as the currency for the success of Alice in Wonderland. Adults are submerged into an adventure, into a memory of their own adventures of childhood, as they travel down the rabbit hole into the nonsensical world of Wonderland with Alice. Within Wonderland, following the rabbit is the adventure. In the culture surrounding “all things Alice”, remembering childhood is the adventure. The novel representation of childhood in Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland attracts readers to its pages, but it is the adventure that keeps them returning to its fantasies. Alice in Wonderland is no longer just a story, but an experience, an adventure into the golden moment of childhood—a childhood that children imagine and adults remember.

References
After Midnight
Jesslyn Widjaja

“On the stroke of twelve, the spell will be broken, and everything will be as it was before.”
—Disney’s Cinderella (1950)

I.
He is a photographer
who labels the world in threes
and maybe that’s why she fell—heart first.

A boy winding scarf
gently around sister:
cold hands, warm hearts, wrapped
in love.
A girl dancing, fireworks
on display behind her:
starburst, summer’s dream, grace
in flight.

His words are simple,
captivating at best,
but his pictures spin
wonders and whisper
promises of color.

* 

II.
She asks him later,
whether he ever saw her that way:
a photo, some phrases, three reasons
to stay.

He smiles but says
nothing, handing her
the picture
she saw the first day.

A girl dancing, fireworks
on display:
starburst, summer’s dream, grace
in flight.

She peers closer, then it dawns:
she’s the dancer in his picture.
“Like a fairytale,” he answers.

* 

III.
In the end, she is just that:
starburst, summer’s dream, grace
in flight.

Nothing but
once upon a time,
when all she
wanted to be was
his dream come true.
You, you missed me!

Jose Rodriguez Portillo

Tears are words that need to be written
It is the melody of eternal justice; the cry that keeps me angry and gives me peace
Time... cyclical, always turning its wheels, a summon for us to live and die
It is our bones growing powerful, but decaying as the earth swallows us
The wind, always pronouncing your name
The hollow containers in my room blooming with each photograph in my mind
My fingers still caressing your face, a dream suddenly halted
Brother, a whimper, a heart screeching in pain
The fog outside blurring my view, my naked body screaming
Uttering to the stars, wondering, could that be you?
And then again, that song begins to play
Your song
A melody that hurts, but relieves
A song that encapsulates times, making you a spectator
A river that never dies, a battle that hurts inside
Remember our rock fights?
We would begin in the fun, but if I hit you too hard or with too big of a rock, you would get mad
Remember being chased around the house, being hit on the back with my elongated fingers, stuttering to me: “You, you, missed me!”
Now I find myself remembering, trying to recreate the smell of rain, where we thought we were two giants, our warm faces under the fire, complaining why we could not continue playing...
Our brown faces fighting a war of two siblings... Crawling to each other, as if we'd never come apart
But then, the smell of your forehead was already gone, leaving in me the shape of your face, bent in my palm
A fist that could not stop crying, hurting like razor blades cutting through my skin
Death, such an ugly word, repugnant to say, but generating the birth of one more
Could it be a celebration perhaps?
Could it mean uniting time when it seems so scattered?

Yes, death... The inevitable death
But then again, death is life,
Without the other, there is no existence
I love you Brother...

-Jose Rodriguez Portillo
December 3, 2014
Feelings
Scott Williams

Acrylic and Oil on Canvas - 78.5" x 56" - 2014

In silence, I practice. By emptying the mind and opening the heart, imagination fills the mind with an endless supply of artistic projects. Each one, if realized, brings what is necessary in that moment and time to generate harmony, for the audience and creator. This in no way implies that my work should be held above or below anyone else’s. Simply that, my practice is to be a vessel for good or bad work that brings forth balance. Meditation is the tool I use to induce this state of consciousness. My medium varies from project to project, but I used painting for this particular project.

Feelings is a piece that brings the deepest of feelings to the surface. The choice of color and the variety of tones are specifically related to the emotions boiling inside of it. The texture comes almost an inch off the canvas to create even more fields of entry. The size is another important aspect. The painting is over six feet tall and over four feet wide. When standing in front of it, the emotions are hard not to feel because of its ability to submerge your entire field of vision. Thus, Feelings is an attempt to provide the audience with an experience to share in the creation of the work by feeling whatever emotions it triggers.
The Effects of Emotion Regulation Strategies on Global Information Processing

Nabila Jamal-Orozco, Parisa Parsaifar, and Elizabeth L. Davis

Abstract

Emotions can influence the way people think about information (Baumann & Kuhl, 2005). For example, positive emotions lead people to focus on the bigger picture rather than on specific details (Clore & Palmer, 2008). Cognitive emotion regulation strategies (e.g., reappraisal or distraction) may have the potential to impact both feelings and information processing by shifting one’s attentional focus (towards the “bigger picture” versus specific details; Schnall et al., 2008). Although children are developing the necessary skills to manage their emotions using cognitive strategies (Davis & Levine, 2013; Levine et al., 2013), whether or not their use of suggested strategies for regulating sadness or fear impacts their information processing remains unknown.

132 3.5-11 year olds completed two trials of a visual categorization task that assessed global (“big picture”) versus local (detailed) information processing. Between trials, children watched either a sad or scary video and were randomly assigned to emotion regulation instruction conditions (distraction, reappraisal, or no instructions/control). We hypothesized that older children, and children given emotion regulation instructions (versus children receiving no instructions) would demonstrate an increase in global information processing. Results for regulation of sadness were consistent with hypotheses: older children processed more globally than younger children. A main effect of emotion regulation instructions revealed that instructed reappraisal promoted more global processing than receiving no instructions. In contrast, there were no significant effects for children regulating fear. Results suggest developmental differences in children’s regulation of discrete emotions, and that reappraisal may be a more effective strategy for regulating sadness than fear.

Introduction

Emotions can have a powerful impact on the way a person thinks, feels, and responds to information (Clore & Palmer, 2008). Given that an individual experiences many emotionally evocative situations throughout his or her lifetime, strategies to help regulate emotions may be crucial in terms of helping to downplay or enhance the impact that emotions have on daily functioning. Emotion regulation encompasses the set of cognitive processes individuals use that impact the way they experience and react to emotions (Cole, Martin, & Dennis, 2004; Davis, Levine, Lench, & Quas, 2010; Gross, 1998; Gross & Thompson, 2007; Thompson, 1994). The development of the ability to regulate emotions has gathered growing interest in the developmental literature (Davis & Levine, 2013; Eisenberg & Morris, 2002; Levine, Kaplan, & Davis, 2013; Rice, Levine, & Pizarro, 2007). More and more studies demonstrate the impact of early regulatory ability on later outcomes. For instance, better emotional regulatory ability in early childhood has been linked to greater academic achievement, better social skills, and decreased vulnerability to psychopathology in later life (Blandon, Calkins, & O’Brien, 2008; Buckley & Saarni, 2009; Chaplin & Cole, 2005; Graziano, Reavis, Keane, & Calkins, 2007), emphasizing the importance of furthering our understanding of this emotion-related regulatory construct.

Emotion Regulation Strategies That May Impact Processing

Despite growing interest on this topic, little is known regarding the types of specific cognitive emotion regulation strategies that assist children with managing their emotions. Researchers have also neglected to consider which emotion regulation strategies may be most beneficial across different stages of development (toddlerhood, early childhood, middle childhood, etc.). Reappraisal and distraction are both cognitive emotion regulation strategies used to change one’s emotional reaction in evocative situations (John & Gross, 2007; Kamphuis & Telch, 2000; McRae, Hughes, Chopra, Gabrieli, Gross, & Ochsner, 2010; Ochsner & Gross, 2005). Specifically, reappraisal
is a strategy that involves cognitively reframing a situation, such as thinking of a negative situation in a positive light or reconsidering the importance of the emotionally evocative event (Davis & Levine, 2013; Gross, 2002; John & Gross, 2004). Distraction, on the other hand, involves withdrawing or shifting one’s attention from the emotionally evocative situation at hand (e.g., disregarding a negative situation) and focusing attention on another topic (John & Gross, 2007; Kalisch, Wiech, Hermann, & Dolan, 2006). For example, someone might think about the ice cream she will be having later for dessert to make herself feel better while watching a sad scene in a movie. Both strategies are believed to help children handle the emotionally evocative situation at hand to decrease the experience of negative affect (Levine et al., 2013; Sheppes, Scheibe, Suri, & Gross, 2011). However, since few studies have instructed children to use cognitive emotion regulation strategies to examine their impact on information processing, affect and mood (Davis et al., 2010; Davis & Levine, 2013; Rice, Levine, & Pizarro, 2007), the specific effect of each strategy remains unknown.

The Influence of Emotion Regulation on Information Processing

Past research has demonstrated that employing cognitive emotion regulation strategies (such as distraction or reappraisal) can influence a person’s perceptions and feelings about the information in their environment (John & Gross, 2007; McRae et al., 2010; Sheppes et al., 2011). Individuals use these strategies as a set of cognitive tools for understanding and shaping their mood and environment.

One line of research posits a relationship between information processing and emotion. It suggests that as individuals experience more positive emotion, they engage in the “Global Superiority Effect”, or the ability to focus on the big picture rather than specific details (Clore & Palmer, 2009). Frederickson’s (2001) broaden-and-build hypothesis supports the notion that the experience of emotion plays a role in the ways in which individuals process information (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005). Specifically, the broaden-and-build hypothesis suggests that the experience of positive emotions expands an individual’s scope of attention and in turn influences their thoughts and actions (Fredrickson, 1998; Frederickson, 2001). Gasper and Clore’s (2002) study examined these constructs and aided in expanding the view by analyzing the effects of negative emotion on cognitive processing. For example, the researchers showed adults a visual categorization task that examined this type of information processing (also referred to as global or local perspective taking). Individuals received a positive or negative emotion evocation (e.g., happy or sad) and researchers then assessed whether participants responded more globally or locally to a target image. Findings demonstrate that those who experienced positive emotion thought more globally (top-down processing), and individuals who experienced sadness thought more locally (bottom-up processing).

This extensive literature on the “global superiority effect” among adults has also stirred developmental researchers’ interest in examining the role emotions play in the way young children process information. Schnall and colleagues’ (2008) study examined this type of information processing with children who received positive or negative mood inductions (e.g., happy or sad). The children were then asked to complete a visual categorization assessment. Among their results, they found children exhibited global and local perspective taking just as adults did when emotions were evoked. When children experienced positive emotions, their information processing was more global, and when they experienced negative emotions, their processing was more local. This research on emotion (positive and negative affect) and information processing raises the question of how effective use of cognitive emotion regulation strategies may help children deal with emotionally evocative situations, impacting the way they feel and influencing how they process information.

The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to examine whether children’s use of cognitive strategies (distraction and reappraisal) for regulating discrete emotions (e.g., sadness or fear) influenced their information processing by way of impacting their attentional focus (global or local perspective). To examine this, 132 children between the ages of 3.5-11 years were

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drawn from a larger study of emotion regulation and physiology. Children completed two trials of a visual categorization task that was designed to assess the difference between broadened (global) and detailed (local) attention to stimuli before and after exposure to a sad or scary film. Children were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: they were given instructions either to use reappraisal, to use distraction, or they were given no emotion regulation instructions (control).

Our goals for this study were to assess the potential developmental differences for children regulating sadness or fear. Babb, Levine, and Arseneault (2010) demonstrated that children's ability to use cognitive emotion regulation strategies increases rapidly as children get older. Based on this information, we hypothesized that older children (8-11 years) would be able to better regulate their emotions and thus provide more global responses than younger children (3.5-7 years), regardless of which emotion regulation instructions they received. As Davis and Levine (2013) found, reappraisal served as an effective strategy for dealing with sadness compared to a different emotion regulation strategy called rumination. Thus, an additional exploratory hypothesis was that reappraisal might be a more effective strategy for children regulating sadness (versus fear) than distracting one's self or reacting spontaneously.

**Method**

**Participants**

Children (N=132), aged 3.5-11 years old ($M_{age}=7.05$, $SD=2.29$) participated in this study. These children were identified from a larger developmental psychology study of physiology and emotion regulation at the University of California, Riverside. Participants were recruited from public spaces (e.g., family social events, community events) in Riverside, California, or contacted by phone from a large database of children and parents who have previously participated or expressed interest in research participation at the University campus. Families were given a $65.00 honorarium for participating in the study.

**Materials and Procedure**

Children completed ten trials of a visual categorization task before and after they viewed an emotionally evocative film (either scary or sad). The task assessed global information processing (broadened scary or sad) versus local information processing (detailed thinking). For example, the target image might be of a large circle made up of smaller squares, and the two subsequent choices would be a square (local match) and a circle (global match). Participants were asked to respond by pointing to the image they perceived was “most like” the original target image. The task was made up of two trials where a total of 20 target images were shown; 10 target images per trial. In between the two trials of the visual categorization task, participants watched an emotionally evocative video to elicit negative emotions (randomly assigned to watch either a sad or a scary video). In addition, children were randomly assigned to one of three emotion regulation conditions: the reappraisal condition, the distraction condition, or the no instruction condition (control).

Specifically, participants in the reappraisal condition were instructed to reframe the significance or importance of the film, (i.e., “if you feel sad while you are watching, I want you to think about how all the stuff in the movie isn’t real, and isn’t really happening. Think about how it’s not a big deal because it’s just a movie”). Participants in the distraction condition were told to think about something else (i.e., “if you feel sad while you are watching, I want you to think about something else instead of thinking about the movie. Think about something fun you like to do, or think about something you might do later”). The experimenter then asked children to repeat the instructions to ensure comprehension. Participants in the control group were not given any type of instructions to guide their emotion regulation while watching the film.

**Results**

The discrete emotions examined here, specifically sadness and fear, were analyzed separately and results will be described in turn. For children who saw the sad film, a 2 (age group: older, younger) x 3 (instructions: reappraisal, distraction, and control) ANOVA showed a main effect of age on global processing at Time 2 (see Figure 1). Older
children (ages 8-11) responded more globally ($M = 7.61$, $SE = .60$) after watching the sad film than younger children did (ages 3.5-7) ($M = 3.01$, $SE = .52$), $F(1, 61) = 33.65, p < .0001, \eta^2 = .38$.

This ANOVA also showed a significant main effect of emotion regulation strategy on global responses for children who saw the sad film, $F(2, 61) = 4.20, p = .020, \eta^2 = .13$. We probed this effect by conducting pair-wise comparisons and found that children who were instructed to use reappraisal as an emotion regulation strategy were more global in their responses ($M = 6.70$, $SE = .69$) relative to children in the control condition ($M = 3.92$, $SE = .66$) after viewing the sad film (see Figure 2). No interaction was detected. No significant main or interactive effects emerged from a similar ANOVA examining children who viewed the scary film.

**Discussion**

The aim of this study was to examine the effects that instructed cognitive emotion regulation strategies have on children's experience of emotion and cognitive processing. Little is known about the types of cognitive emotion regulation strategies that impact the way a child thinks and feels about the information around them. One goal of this study was to examine the possible differences in information processing (global vs. local) between emotion regulation strategies (reappraisal, distraction, or no strategy instructions) when children experience sadness or fear. Another goal was to analyze the possible developmental differences that may exist in childhood, in terms of increased global thinking (or attention to the big picture rather than specific details). Age was a significant predictor of enhanced global processing for participants who viewed the sad video. We also found that the strategy children were instructed to use affected the globality of their thinking (for children who watched the sad film). Somewhat surprisingly, we did not find any effects of age or emotion regulation strategy versus those in the control condition (who were not prompted to use any specific strategy) raises an interesting question about emotion regulation strategies and cognitive processing. We know from existing literature that the experience of positive and negative emotions can impact the way an individual cognitively processes information (Frederickson 2001; Frederickson & Branigan, 2005; Gasper & Clore, 2002). Results from several studies have demonstrated that individuals who experience more positive emotion (e.g., happiness) engage in broader (global) thinking than individuals who experience negative emotions (e.g., sadness or fear) and engage in narrowed (local) thinking (Frederickson, 2001; Gasper & Clore, 2002; Schnall & colleagues, 2008). Aligned with existing developmental literature, it is possible that children who utilize reappraisal as a cognitive emotion regulation strategy may have successfully regulated their sadness because they cognitively rephrased the events of the video. Our finding that children who used reappraisal had higher global responses than children in the control condition supports this argument. In other words, reappraisal may have changed how children processed the emotional information, making them more global in their responses. It is possible that reappraisal promoted global information processing because it alleviated sadness and allowed children to feel positive emotions instead. This may serve

Based on the existing knowledge and our findings, it seems that older children who have greater cognitive resources are better able to regulate emotion (at least for the sadness that we elicited in the lab), thus impacting the way they experience emotion and process subsequent information.

Developmental psychology research has shown that methods of emotion regulation change across childhood. Our findings relating to age differences are consistent with the literature; as children get older, their ability to regulate their emotions gets better (Davis & Levine, 2013; Levine et al., 2013). This has been attributed in part to the advances in cognitive functioning that happen as children develop (e.g., brain development, enhanced perspective taking). This cognitive sophistication in turn affects a composite of different emotion regulation abilities that relate to children’s executive functioning (Levine et al., 2013). Based on the existing knowledge and our findings, it seems that older children who have greater cognitive resources are better able to regulate emotion (at least for the sadness that we elicited in the lab), thus impacting the way they experience emotion and process subsequent information. This may explain older children’s enhanced global information processing regardless of strategy instructions: older children may be better equipped to regulate negative emotion compared to younger children.

The statistically significant difference in globality between children who felt sad and were prompted to use reappraisal as a regulatory strategy versus those in the control condition (who were not prompted to use any specific strategy) raises an interesting question about emotion regulation strategies and cognitive processing. We know from existing literature that the experience of positive and negative emotions can impact the way an individual cognitively processes information (Frederickson 2001; Frederickson & Branigan, 2005; Gasper & Clore, 2002). Results from several studies have demonstrated that individuals who experience more positive emotion (e.g., happiness) engage in broader (global) thinking than individuals who experience negative emotions (e.g., sadness or fear) and engage in narrowed (local) thinking (Frederickson, 2001; Gasper & Clore, 2002; Schnall & colleagues, 2008). Aligned with existing developmental literature, it is possible that children who utilize reappraisal as a cognitive emotion regulation strategy may have successfully regulated their sadness because they cognitively rephrased the events of the video. Our finding that children who used reappraisal had higher global responses than children in the control condition supports this argument. In other words, reappraisal may have changed how children processed the emotional information, making them more global in their responses. It is possible that reappraisal promoted global information processing because it alleviated sadness and allowed children to feel positive emotions instead. This may serve
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to explain why children who use reappraisal are thinking more broadly; however, this hypothesis should be further tested in future studies.

An unexpected finding was that children who were prompted to use distraction did not significantly differ in their globality from children in the control condition. Distraction, a strategy that involves thinking about something else, may not significantly influence the child’s emotional experience in the same way as reappraisal does. That is, children who used distraction as a strategy may not process information as globally as children who used reappraisal. This suggests that perhaps reappraisal serves as a more effective emotion regulation strategy that induces positive emotion and thus more global thinking.

Given our findings that age and strategy condition relate to global processing for participants primed to feel sadness (and no findings for age or strategy use for children who felt fear), we can speculate that there may be differences in one’s experiences of sadness and fear. The effect of discrete negative emotions on cognitive processing is still an underexplored topic at this point in the lifespan. Future research can examine these two emotions and the differences between them to understand the distinct impact they have on children’s experience, information processing, and regulation of negative affect. Developmental researchers may be interested in examining the influence these different types of emotions have on emotion regulation strategies. Older and younger children might benefit from employing different strategies when experiencing sadness or fear. The different pattern of findings for the sad and scary contexts suggests that children might experience, express, and regulate these emotions differently.

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Limitations
There are two central limitations that are important to acknowledge. The first concerns our method of creating two distinct age groups. The division of participants into two age groups may obscure important developmental information about children who fall in the middle of this age spectrum, or about how children may develop gradually across childhood. A different approach to age may reveal a different pattern. However, aligned with research that suggests important cognitive advances happen as children grow older, our approach represents a starting point for examining these developmental differences. A second limitation to our study centers on how we elicited the discrete emotions (e.g., sadness versus fear). Given the absence of significant effects for children made to feel fear, it is possible that the video we used to elicit fear may not have been as effective at inducing the target emotion as the video we used to elicit sadness (maybe the scary video was not as scary as the sad video was sad). This question will be addressed in future research using other facets of this larger study (e.g., physiological data), which may help clarify the issue of discrete emotion differences here.

Conclusion
This study set out to examine important aspects of the development of emotion regulation that are currently unknown. The results from this study both add to the knowledge we have regarding emotion regulation and present new ideas about the impact emotion regulation strategies have on children’s experience of emotion and cognitive information processing. This study also has implications for a more scientific understanding of emotion regulation as a construct and the effectiveness of strategies on information processing. On a practical level, this scientific understanding may eventually serve to inform education-based programs for teaching school-aged children how to better regulate their emotions.
References


Figure 1. Total globality score values at time 2 for older and younger children representing differences in globality upon the second administration of the visual categorization task. Significant differences in globality for the two age groups are depicted. The bars represent standard error.

Figure 2. Total globality score values at time 2 for participants in each emotion regulation strategy condition; control, distraction, and reappraisal. Significant differences in globality for participants in the reappraisal condition are depicted. The bars represent standard error.
Blue Desert

J. Megan Krum

This piece is a 16 by 20 inch oil painting completed in about four layers over the course of two weeks. The later layers incorporate a traditional ratio of linseed oil, turpentine, and damar varnish to provide a slight shine to the canvas. The landscape portrayed is more than just a fantastical desert; it is a sort of mental landscape which displayed my psychological state at the time of the painting. The vast alien landscape with blue overtones recalls how I felt during a stressful time during my summer. At times I found myself overwhelmed and almost alone in navigating certain life choices so naturally the painting began to convey the same emotional tones. Fortunately that period of my life is over and I can use the painting as a physical memento to reflect on my experiences without having to traverse that same mental landscape.
Sweet Gauges! An Ethnography of the Stretched Earlobe Piercing as Site

Paul King

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Abstract

“Sweet Gauges!” is an ethnography of the stretched earlobe piercing as a site of investigation. Often, social scientists attempt to assign “fixed identities.” These are inscribed onto individuals within designated social groups in a way that seeks to support the scientists’ theoretical claims. Research of body modification practices often inductively simplifies an entire range of corporeal processes into an over-generalized in-group signifier. I wish to elucidate a more comprehensive perspective of the individual from a more focused site of the body. What are the ideas that stretched earlobes communicate about one’s identity? How successful are these transmissions within and outside one’s social groups? Most importantly, how do intended communications and their corresponding interpretations change over time? This paper explores the subtleties and complexities of the changing significations of the stretched earlobe piercing for individuals, especially when positioned with self-identified social groups, authority figures, and random strangers. It finds that over time individuals with stretched ears transition through various and sometimes overlapping social roles and social groups.

I interviewed 16 people for this paper. In total, I collected approximately 60 pages of transcript, which spanned 30 hours of conversation. I talked to friends, colleagues, and strangers. This sample includes diverse ethnicities from a spectrum of young and old, males, females, and one self-identified sexually indeterminate individual.

From a more focused site of the body, I wish to elucidate a more comprehensive perspective of the individual by asking several questions: What are the ideas that stretched earlobes communicate about one’s identity? How successful are these transmissions within and outside one’s social groups? Most importantly, how do intended communications and their corresponding interpretations change over time? This paper explores the subtleties and complexities of the changing significations of the stretched earlobe piercing for individuals when positioned with self-identified social groups, authority figures, and random strangers.

Keywords: body piercing, stretched earlobes, enlarged earlobes, gauged earlobes, gauges, body modification, modern primitives, earlobe piercing, ear piercing, body art.

An Ethnography of the Stretched Earlobe Piercing as Site

Since the early 1990s, the phrase ‘body piercing’ has become widely known in Western popular culture. This term encompasses all forms of the mechanical process of perforating the skin’s surface to install jewelry. However, among people living in the United States, the earlobe is a unique piercing site. An examination of the history of pierced earlobes in the U.S. reveals it as a corporeal site embodied with changing ideas about naturalness, privilege, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and class.

Since the 1990s, there has been a significant increase in the stretching of earlobe piercings. The physiology of an enlarged earlobe piercing resists seasonal fashion trends and behavioral normative shifts. Unlike the immediacy of piercing, sustained stretching cannot be impulsive. Stretching requires an enduring commitment of time, care, and often finances. Usually this process takes years to reach the exceptionally large sizes, those that allow for gazing through the earlobe. With the larger stretched earlobes, to change one’s mind and reverse the process requires expensive surgery.

Often, social scientists attempt to assign “fixed identities.” These are inscribed onto individuals within designated social groups in a way that seeks to support the scientists’ theoretical claims. With few exceptions, social science research inductively simplifies an entire range of corporeal processes into an over-generalized, in-group signifier. However, from a diachronic perspective, individuals with stretched ears transition through various and sometimes overlapping social roles and social groups.

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1 See Chart 1 for a categorization of stretched earlobe sizes.
This paper explores the subtleties and complexities of the changing significations of the stretched earlobe piercing for individuals when positioned with self-identified social groups, authority figures, and random strangers.

The American Pierced Earlobe

This research emphasizes the variable of time. Symbolic meanings shift with time. To gain an understanding of the significance of the stretched earlobe piercing as a symbol for an individual, for an intended audience, and for an unintended audience, the symbol and the individual must be considered together within the historical context of relevant social norms of ear piercing, status, gender, and sexuality.

Today, for a vast majority of Americans, females with pierced ears are acceptable. Data vary widely; however, somewhere up to 80% of adult American females have had their ears pierced (Laumann et al., 2006). Since 1974, Inverness’ piercing stud guns have pierced 400 million earlobes (“Customer Service FAQs,” 2012). Inverness is just one of several major piercing gun manufacturers. Their statistics provide a sense of the prevalence of earlobe piercing today.

However, the “normal” pierced earlobe has been subject to cycles of fluctuating acceptance. The most significant shift of social norms for pierced ears in the last 100 years began a few days prior to June 2, 1953. Queen Elizabeth II had her ears pierced to wear the heirloom regalia during her coronation. This highly publicized affair was seminal in changing public opinion (Wruck, 1980, p. 193). In 1957, Life magazine ran an article on the new fad of ear piercing that had spread to America from the United Kingdom. Prior to this, females with earlobe piercings were negatively viewed through the prevailing dominant social norms as low class, sexually promiscuous, non-white, and foreign (Wruck, p. 84-90). However, by the 1960’s, mainstream magazines such as Time, ABCs of Beauty, Ladies’ Circle, Cosmopolitan, and Glamour enthusiastically encouraged women and girls to pierce their earlobes (Wruck, p. 192).

For Becky and Morgan, pierced ears signaled to the world that they were females. Neither of these two women knows each other, although both share a strikingly similar childhood story. At the age of nine (for Becky in 1994, and for Morgan in 1983), they experienced responses of gender confusion from strangers. They had received short haircuts, preferred to wear pants, and had not yet developed the secondary sexual characteristics of puberty. Morgan’s gender-ambiguous first name added to strangers’ confusion. Both of their mothers decided having the young girls’ ears pierced would clarify for all that their children were not little boys. For Morgan, the piercing was a sweet victory. Morgan had wanted to get her ears pierced previously, but her mom had forbidden it until she was in high school. For Morgan’s family, the social pressure to have their child accurately and clearly signal gender normalcy took priority over their values and ideas of age appropriateness for this feminine, sensuous display. For Becky, the experience was somewhat traumatic: “I screamed and cried; the experience was awful… I didn’t want to do it and was pushed into it.”

For males, historical trends of acceptability and meaning have been markedly different. Dr. Samuel Steward (1990), author and professor-turned-tattooist, reports of only thugs and sailors with pierced ears, as well as the subsection of homosexual men who fetishized and emulated these hyper-masculine males. Following the 1953 release of The Wild One, starring Marlon Brando, Steward marks a noticeable increase in homosexual men requesting tattoos while wearing biker leather and a single earring (p. 92). During the 1960s, the incidence of males with pierced earlobes increased in marginalized groups such as homosexuals and bikers. However, in actual numbers, male earlobe piercing remained rare.

The initial challenges to the popular culture and the dominant social structures which defined the 1960s, strengthened and spread in the 1970s. The mainstream media started to take notice of males with pierced earlobes in the Gay liberation and Punk Rock movements. During the 1960s, East Coast Gays and West Coast Gays had opposite in-group signifiers for dominant and passive roles within sexual relations. Accessories such as bandanas, keys, and earrings worn on the left or right could mean a “top” or a “bottom” sexual role preference depending on locality. By the mid-1970s, most American Gay males agreed that a right ear piercing signified you were publicly “out.” Some in the straight world started to say: “Left is right, right is wrong.” By the early 1980s, males started to pierce both earlobes. This remained risky. A single lobe piercing on the “wrong” side, might be interpreted as “Gay,” but having both ears pierced violated widely entrenched gendered visual cues. With the growing occurrence among high profile music and sport celebrities in the late 1980s and through the 1990s, a more general acceptance gradually built for both or either male lobes being pierced. Jody tells of his experience:

It was my 15th birthday; I had my left ear pierced, in the mall at
Spenser’s gifts, with a gun. It was a gold stud in my left ear. This was the mid to late 80s [1988]. At that time, it was very important that I got my ear pierced because it was what my peers were doing, but it wasn’t peer pressure. It was a popular mythology that if you got your left ear pierced you’d not be seen as a homosexual. My dad had his left ear pierced. My desire to have it done was more a reflection of the male kids I was hanging with and male celebrities like George Michaels and Prince. I had both ears pierced by like 3 years later; it was the early 90s. The right ear was definitely after I moved out of the house, after turning 18. It was a statement for me, part of my coming out process, and certainly from that it was how I expressed my sexuality, because I knew I’d be identified as gay.

Jody’s story implies a more personal definition of peer pressure, which probably is similar to coercion. However, social norms and role models clearly influence his choices.

When the earlobe piercing is contextualized with personal experiences and historical writings, broader understandings begin to take shape. The sociologist Victoria Pitts (2003) has recognized that “instead of one truth of the body or of ontology, there are competing truths that are productions of time, place, space, geography, and culture” (p. 28).

Expanding Holes

Stretching is the most common method for the enlargement of the healed channel of scar tissue or fistula known as a “piercing.” Stretching is a gradual process. Depending on the method, the tissue’s condition, and the individual’s preference, stretching up one size in the established category can take seconds or days. ² Allowing for the ear piercing to heal and produce more skin cells generally takes several months. It can take many months, or even years, to get to a size that registers with an onlooker’s gaze as outside of the ordinary. ³ Drawing from Roy Baumeister’s and P.L. Callero’s earlier works, the sociologist Lisiunia Romanienko (2011) distinguishes piercings that are exposed and readily available to the public gaze, such as the enlarged earlobe, as a “public self-symbolizer.” The individual with a public self-symbolizing piercing asserts self-autonomy of his or her body while simultaneously opening oneself to unpredictable visual, verbal, and sometimes physical responses of approval or disapproval from others. In contrast, piercings as “private symbols” are covered by clothing, which allows the pierced individual some control in selecting who may know of and when another may gaze at the piercing (Romanienko, 2011, p. 5). My interview with Brian illustrates the dichotomy of private versus public self-symbolizers:

I pierced my lobes when I was 17 [1991], but they were not my first piercings ...I’d seen magazines of tribal/traditional peoples. I was pushing my limits and piercing my genitals and nipples just to have the intense experience. In an area like Atlanta, [with] the moral majority, the Southern Bible belt, there is going to be people rebelling against that. I didn’t do my lobes first because I lived in a town where I got shit for long hair already. I ended up getting more shit for having my hair long than pierced ears. I pierced my ears after I felt I had already undergone some rites of passage. Before I pierced my ears, I wasn’t ready to talk about it publicly. Piercing was attractive in a sensual, not necessarily sexual way, and [in] a self-reliance [way], in terms of what you need in your character to be able to step off that bridge, to stand in front of people and say this is who I am...

Even as a teenager, Brian’s experience reveals a complex series of “who I am” explorations. Both private and public self-symbolizers work as part of a continuous process for testing ideas of the self and the self’s place in society.

Brian studied magazines for alternatives to non-Western styles and significations of body adornment. Prior to the 1970s, public self-symbolizing piercings that were unconventional in size, in gender, or in quantity, were extremely rare. The “self-made freak” Rasmus Neilson, a circus sideshow performer, is one of the only known examples in American history. From the 1930s through the 1950s, Rasmus toured extensively with Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey circuses, and Ripley’s Believe It or Not. His act included swinging 10-pound hammers

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The Modern Primitive aesthetic wasn’t a contrived marketing ploy but rather a genuine pursuit of passionate ideals.

From the rings through his distended earlobes. His act was seen by tens of thousands of people and influenced some of the earliest pioneers of the modern body piercing movement. In 1977, the periodical Piercing Fans International Quarterly (PFIQ) disseminated images of stretched earlobes to a broader, receptive audience. In one of the earliest issues, Fakir Musafar coined the phrase “Modern Primitive.” Vale’s and Juno’s book RE/Search Modern Primitive (1989) coalesced a loose network of individuals exploring identity, spirituality, art, and sexuality through their bodies, into a bona fide movement. Musafar and other Modern Primitives describe their practices as reverent of other cultures and as an integrative narrative for a self-determined aesthetic beauty and spirituality through engagement with and manipulation of the body. For many, Modern Primitivism is seen as an alternative to dominant norms of sacred naturalness and/or the intrinsic sinfulness of the body. Pitt (2003) notes some academics criticize Modern Primitives as privileged white Westerners, exoticizing and even symbolically colonizing the third world. Pitt and others contend: “Rather than establishing believable ‘tribal’ identities and communities, the gestures of modern primitivism call into question the fixity of identity as such” (p. 133).

Late 1993 marks the rise of the significantly enlarged earlobe piercing among non-indigenous peoples of the United States. It transitioned from an individual’s action, as practiced by less than a dozen people, to a collective behavior, as practiced by thousands. Blake Perlingieri (2003) and Kristian White teamed together to open Nomad’s in San Francisco. Nomad’s was the first shop to specialize in enlarging earlobe piercings. They fostered relationships with local artisans to produce large earrings for a fledgling market. They displayed beautiful antique ‘tribal’ earrings and decorated the shop in traditional designs of Borneo. The idyllic ambiance was completed with exotic birds, plants, and reptiles. The Modern Primitive aesthetic wasn’t a contrived marketing ploy but rather a genuine pursuit of passionate ideals. Kristian and Blake pioneered the practice of scalpeling the earlobe.

4 In this case, significantly enlarged earlobe piercing means greater than 3/4”.

5 “Scalpelling” enlarges the earlobe piercing instantaneously up many gauge sizes by incision with a knife. Although implementation of the scalpelling method spread among body modification practitioners as a way to reduce stretching time and jewelry cost, it remains legally, medically, and socially controversial even within modified communities.

“1 started stretching in 2003-2004. It mirrors like when I got my ears pierced when I was 15; it was something I saw happening, something I thought was attractive, and something I wanted to be a part of.”

process and the jewelry selection resulted in dramatic increases in the population of enlarged earlobe piercings in San Francisco (pp. 59-76).

The high visibility of stretched earlobes attracted the media and subsequently the local phenomenon went global. Back in the early 1980s, Genesis Breyer P-Orridge, performance artist, musician, and self-described “cultural engineer,” was the first celebrity to have stretched his earlobe piercing. Most Americans have been exposed to enlarged earlobe piercings by celebrities such as Travie McCoy, Davey Havoc, Lil Wayne, Brandon Boyd, Adam Lambert, and Chester Bennington, films such as Apocalypto, and chain stores such as Hot Topic, which sells stretched earlobe jewelry and supplies to the youth masses. In March of 2013, a YouTube search yielded over 1200 instructional videos of “How to Stretch Your Ear Piercing.” As in the beginning, the professional body piercer displaying the latest developments in jewelry styles and demonstrating the anatomical possibilities of sizes is still the best advertisement for stretched ears. Jody from San Francisco shares: “I started stretching in 2003-2004. It mirrors like when I got my ears pierced when I was 15; it was something I saw happening, something I thought was attractive, and something I wanted to be a part of.”

Locating Symbol

Some ideas of self can be expressed quite clearly in non-verbal symbolism. Abigail exemplifies such a readily apparent communication, “The bicycles engraved on my earplugs represent [that] I agree with the green movement, sustainability, and it’s my main mode of transport.” In 2012, most of her San Franciscan co-habitants could probably deduce this message. In contrast, Becky’s expressions and reflections of identity are more complex to decipher:

There was a lot of soul searching on the journey of stretching my ears, “Who am I? Do I want to go past the point of no return?” I didn’t want to cut myself off from other options; but stretching my ears, the commitment helped to solidify and support my resolve. Over
the years I was stretching, I would ask myself, “Who am I, What am I? What do I want to do with my life?” Looking in the mirror, after 5/8 inch, I saw myself as a person with stretched ears and I’m continuing as a person with stretched ears… my overall journey will end at the person I really am.

Examination of Becky’s statements reveals an alignment with Wicklund and Gollwitzer’s (1982) symbolic self-completion theory. Romanienko’s (2011) asserts that in symbolic self-completion theory, “individuals strive emphatically toward their identity goals, which often requires the use of symbols to most comprehensively construct the intended self one aspires to present” (pg. 3). The importance and complexity of how Becky situates herself in society and of how she is situated by society shapes her symbolic image production. Currently, Becky’s earlobe sizes are holding at 1 1/16”.

Weston situates his stretched earlobes within his identity as an indigenous ethnic minority even though the relative size of his lobe piercings puts him outside the current practices of his group:

“I was born into Caddo, so it’s just how it is. It’s not a chosen community. I’m just tattooed and pierced; I didn’t stretch my ears to be part of a group. I’m not “Mod Prim” [Modern Primitive] or “Bod Mod” [Body Modification community]. I don’t want to be associated with that. Stretching was the impetus for my aunts to tell me the stories of the Caddo’s body art history. The Osage people had a sign language and for the Caddo they would have the bent index finger horizontally move back and forth in front of the septum, symbolizing the Caddo’s pierced septum and thus a sign for the entire tribe. At the annual powwow, the elders would say, “Hey, you look like an old timer.” I started stretching because I liked the look of the jewelry. And today it’s the same. The bigger jewelry is more decorative and detailed with better designs. The meaning of my stretched ears hasn’t evolved into anything, just like any other ear piercings, maybe that’s because I’ve had my ears pierced my whole life.

Weston adeptly reconciles his identification with the past traditions of his people while enjoying the current aesthetics of non-traditional sizes and jewelry designs. Weston goes on to share a proud memory of his father’s protection of the family’s traditional practices against an institutional authority:

“When I was in school, they tried to make me take them out. My dad went to school, wearing his turquoise studs and won! He told them it was our peoples’ way. Then we, me and my brother, were cool.”

From a very young age, a female named “Danny,” realized that earlobe piercing was an act of asserting herself and demonstrating agency:

“I remember the first pierced earlobes I saw on one of my mom’s biker friends. I was about 6 years old. I probably saw them earlier, but this was the age when I realized they did that to themselves. They WANTED it, and I like it and I want it too. I’ve been a fatty since birth, and had issues early on, “you mean you can control what you look like? You can have a say in it?”

Danny’s awareness of her weight difference at such a young age reveals the social mechanisms at work by which the individual internalizes social pressures to conform to norms of beauty and self-worth. For Danny, earlobe piercing and the subsequent stretching may demonstrate adaptive behaviors of psychological healing and self-esteem building. By 15 years old, Christian’s earlobe piercings were stretched to ½”. He discusses his exuberant process of exploring meditative traditions and the interconnectedness of the mind-body relationship:

“I developed an interest in the Tibetan culture, emotionally and religiously. I honestly think then is when everything became more sentimental and serious. I was a freakin’ hippie. I was practicing and learning about different religions; spirituality became a huge influence. At 17, it became an obsession overall to see what the human body could willingly withstand, you know, how the Tibetan monks would go out into the snow and embracing physical challenges during meditation. To make a long story short, I just stretched the hell out of them.

Engaging Others

Whether self-reported or academically studied, interpretations of what is being communicated can be highly subjective. For this paper, I am most concerned with self-reported evaluations of the individual’s
public self-symbolizing when considered with intended as well as unintended observers. According to the ideas of Pitts (2003) what is at stake for those who stretch their ears resides in Alberto Melucci’s concept of the “power of naming” (1996). In her book Mutilating the Body, the academic Kim Hewitt defends her choice of naming all forms of body piercing as “self-mutilation” in order to situate, compare, and contrast this practice with eating disorders and Non-Suicidal Self Injuries (NSSI), such as cutting and head-banging. (She does not name acts such as weightlifting, dieting, or teeth straightening as “self-mutilation.”) In contrast, the psychiatrist Armando Favazza (2011) reserves the label of “self mutilation” for “self-injury involving a major, significant body part such as enucleation of an eye or limb amputation” (p. 71). Naming matters; the opinions of the general public and of the policy makers are influenced through taxonomic associations particularly when asserted by persons in positions of authority and expertise. When we resist the urge to reduce complex behaviors and associations into discreet categories, we avoid the construction of artificially fixed identities and, in this case, pathologized behaviors.

Thaoe’s family history shares the ongoing tensions between in-group beliefs and the normative social policies set by dominant institutions:

My grandfather had approximately 00ga earlobes. Traditionally, stretched ears are a sign of age, status, and wisdom. His father [Thaoe’s paternal great grandfather] took out his own earrings when he worked for the US government, and then put them back in. My uncle took them out when he was the tribal sheriff, then put them back in afterwards. Two other uncles had stretched lobes. My great uncle went to a US government boarding school and couldn’t speak the native language and didn’t have stretched earlobes. My other great uncle, the other one’s brother, went to boarding school too, but had an illness, and went deaf. My deaf uncle got pierced after boarding school and engaged in other rituals. The family believes this was because since he was deaf he couldn’t hear the school’s teachings.

Thaoe receives positive and negative responses from unintended observers. He shares a memorable interaction that asserts his ideas of class, ethnicity, sovereignty, and authenticity:

“I was with a friend on the subway and a yuppie lady said, ‘Oh I’ve been to Africa where people actually do that.’ I told her, ‘You’re standing on my ancestors’ land and WE did this too.’”

As a single young adult living in San Francisco, Thaoe’s intersecting communities are complex. He has a Spanish last name and self-identities as a tattooist, artist, and musician. Those who don’t know his story may never consider the richness and uniqueness of his belief associations with his stretched earlobes. Thaoe recognizes that living and working in the city affords him greater access to jewelry choice. The old people still living on the reservation will react in awe, “…because they don’t have shit.”

Becky’s story discusses the complexity of family members’, intended observers’, and unintended observers’ reactions that correlate to the continuum of size:

I remember ALWAYS getting compliments until I hit 5/8”, comments like, “I really like your size, it’s not too big.” My mom was SO funny, “Oh that’s perfect! That’s the perfect size, you don’t need to go ANY bigger!” [Laughter] Now today, “Are your ears BIGGER?” or “Why are you going bigger?” Dad never was a fan, but they’re supportive of me, of course they wish I’d been a doctor. [Laughter] Up until 5/8”, I’d get compliments from the general public, from everyone, but past that, only from people in the industry, or compliments just about the jewelry or the dedication [to stretching], but not as often and not about how beautiful my ears were.

After stretching too fast, Christian offers a cautionary tale of physical and emotional harm:

I had some complications… People were doing lobe repairs, but it just wasn’t an option. I went to two different surgeons; a Fort
Collins’ doctor said, “No” to fixing them, so I flew back home to LA, and that surgeon also said, “No.” My career goal at the time was to become a medical doctor and at the time I felt a little bit pressured, by my career goal, the doctors, and my family to remove them [his 2” stretched earlobes]. I know medical doctors that are fully sleeved [tattooed] and could be in the O.R., but I, with my ears stretched, couldn’t be? It’s almost like social conformity has a dress code. I was told by numerous surgeons that I couldn’t have stretched earlobes in the O.R. I distinctly remember a plastic surgeon had a ½ hour consultation with me about it; he was even from Africa! I think Kenya? He was calm and even-toned but very offensive. At 23, I had my ears reconstructed by a plastic surgeon in Pasadena. I cried in the car after the operation. A piece of me was gone, that’s how it felt. It’s weird how you mourn over that [he pulls his reconstructed ear] but I paid someone to cut off a piece of that [he points to his abdominoplasty]…. Everyone was very shocked after the operation, some even mentioned they liked the old me, even to this day. Most of my interactions are with people without stretched ears.

There is little doubt that the surgeons were doing what they thought was best for Christian. Christian’s medical condition may be incomprehensible to these surgeons who exclusively construct normative ideals of Western beauty. Therefore his desires to keep his stretched earlobes were dismissed with encumbered medical categorizations such as “self-inflicted, cosmetic, and elective.”

Christian’s case appears indicative of a more general problem, in which doctors confuse their morality for beneficence and override a patient’s autonomy. As more people stretch their earlobes, more people will seek earlobe reconstructions resulting from physical problems such as structural tears, infections, and scars or personal choices such as social pressures, career decisions, and aesthetic preferences. The topic of earlobe reconstruction entails difficult questions of economics, access, and ethics. Professional body modifiers offer an affordable option for people who don’t have health care or money, or have health care but want a procedure that’s not covered because it is medically defined as “elective surgery.” Body modifiers charge approximately $400 while surgeons can charge $4000 and up. The procedure supplements the income for body modifiers who are generally at the lower end of middle-class earnings.

So far my research suggests that procedural outcomes are usually better when performed by the body modifiers than by plastic surgeons. These better outcomes correlate with elite body modifiers that are highly networked, specialized, and experienced with this particular procedure.

But what about the ethics of performing what could be considered “plastic surgery” outside the legally sanctioned medical field? What of the ethical consequences of my investigating this activity? Bringing an apparently adaptive system of underground services under scrutiny could have far-reaching repercussions for practitioners trying to make a living, for clients trying to access affordable alternatives, and for my professional and personal relationships.

Considering Change

To form more durable understandings of human behaviors, this research must consider the effects of time. Humans change. The impulse and the act of piercing the earlobe can transpire in moments. In fact, most people can leave the jewelry out for months or even years at a time and the hole will remain open, without consideration or action. But the physiology of the stretched earlobe is different. The moment jewelry is removed, the process of shrinking starts. For many, this appears glacially slow, taking days or weeks to “lose a stretch” and to have to go down in size. But for others this process starts to happen in hours or even in minutes. Over time, innumerable variables shift: finances, style preferences, jobs, relationships, responsibilities, hobbies, and social groups, so what choices factor in keeping stretched earlobes? Melody’s long relationship with her stretched earlobes traces such life changes and her corresponding choices to stretch or not:

[In 1990] When I got to 4 gauge, I stopped because I didn’t think I could go any bigger and have it look right…. At that time, people were JUST starting to do crazy body modifications; some looked awesome while others seemed ugly and deforming. As a piercer, I was really aware that some people were modifying their bodies for aesthetics and others were modifying without that regard. I was 4 gauge for years and years. I stopped being a piercer and got another career entirely. Going into a more professional, straight job, I wanted to maintain my individuality in a way. It’s funny, at work, I see myself edgy as compared with my colleagues and clients. And they see me
as edgy, because of my ears… even though I tone it down. Even though at the same time from 1990 to 2012, body modification has become commonplace, and now I'm TOTALLY tame compared to some people. I get questions like… “Didn’t that hurt?” It hasn’t gone away, it’s such a funny question. I understand the question isn’t really “does that hurt,” but rather, “even though it does hurt, why did you subject yourself to that pain? Help me to understand.” In addition to maintaining my individual style and it being an aesthetic decision, as I’ve gotten older, I feel I’ve been pigeonholed and disregarded. As a woman who is almost 50, I’ve disappeared in some ways. So the stretched ears, in some way, counter balance that, if not for anybody else, then for me. I’ve had a LOT of body modification over the years, and then undone a lot over the next years, and this bout or period of changing things on my body has been very much about grounding and solidifying my own identity… my ears seem to be a way, to make a statement about who I am while at the same time balancing the confines of how I need to look as a professional, to be taken seriously and treated respectfully. My lifestyle has been punk rock, radical lesbian, SM, Mod Prim, radically political and Queer; it’s been a LOT of different things that were far, FAR outside the norm and to a great extent I don’t practice that anymore but it’s still a part of me an integral part of that. It’s almost as if age trumps everything else.

For Thaoe, the custom of stretched earlobes sustains his connection to his grandfather, to his identity as Native American and to his reservation. His traditions teach him the importance of an evolving relationship one should have with enlarged earlobe piercings: stretching is a time thing; when plugs fall out you go up. I'm guessing I was 8 gauge by junior high. The stretching is not forced; it happens with time. It’s natural. There is no stopping stretching until you die, unless they stay at a certain size. You should never push it; they’re the size they’re supposed to be. If there is a problem, then maybe you need to go down in size, think about what’s going on in your life, and reflect on your mental state. It’s time to slow down, time to think and reflect.

Including the richness of diversity may give balance to otherwise reductive and essentialized research conclusions.

Concluding Thoughts

This ethnography of people’s self-reported stories unfolds diverse experiences, ethnicities, communities, and motivations, all of which inform and evolve the choices to stretch and to have enlarged earlobe piercings. As a research tool, ethnography allows for depth, dimension, variation, and personalization within a research cohort that shares commonalities, such as persons with stretched earlobe piercings.

From the stretched earlobe as a locus of study, interviewees revealed varied and complex experiences. These unique insights diverge from categorical generalizations that attempt to aggregate all body modification outside the current social norm as “self-mutilation.” For example, Weston and Thaoe shared their evolving indigenous understandings of stretched earlobe traditions. For Abigail and Jody, the stretched earlobe signified a classic sociological understanding of ingroup affiliation. Jody, Becky, and Morgan each presented the pierced and stretched earlobe as a demonstration of selfhood; however, each original ear piercing was initiated by external pressures of gender inscription. Brian reflected back on a younger self with sophisticated understandings of his personal explorations of earlobe modification within his particular social landscape of place and time. Danny’s earlobe piercing and the subsequent stretching appeared to be a successful ongoing reinforcement of psychological healing and self-esteem building. Christian revealed his emotional pain from being pressured into an unwanted surgical removal of stretched earlobe tissue presented as imperative to conform to a prevalent moral bias within the medical field. Melody eloquently examined her shifting relationship to her stretched earlobes, transformed by her growing age and increasing socioeconomic status.

Seeking out alternative narratives to a chosen hypothesis may be a more holistic approach to studying difficult social systems and psychological behaviors. Including the richness of diversity may give balance to otherwise reductive and essentialized research conclusions.
References


Whether you are conscious of the fact or not, you are on a journey. We are all on journeys, going at our own paces. Wherever you are going, at whatever rate, toward whatever destination, know that it is vital to stop! Gently. Take a break, pull yourself outside the grand adventure, breathe.

If you are tired please sleep. If you’re hungry please eat. If you aren’t hungry but haven’t eaten in a while please eat a little something, at the very least. If you have a cold, drink tea and eat soup. If your head hurts, take some ibuprofen and drink room temperature water. If you’re angry, vent in a way that does not harm yourself or others. If you wish to be distracted, read books, take pictures, watch your second favorite movie under your favorite blanket with someone who loves you. Go to that one place in town that shows local bands, or make plans with old friends. If you want to change something about your life that you have control over, by all means change it. If you want to tell someone you love them, then tell them. This is your journey; journey wisely.
Forgotten in the Haze

Brianna Myers

The doors shut and the warning signal began sounding; as I turned around, I found my friends on the opposing side of the glass windows belonging to my departing train. A panic ensued in me as I searched for any possible way to stop the train and open the doors; despite my efforts, the train pulled away without my friends.

As I stepped out of my train in anticipation of the next train which would reunite me with my friends, I noticed the large amount of fog, rain and thunder that had developed around Downtown Houston. As a California child, I wasn’t used to the loud sound of thunder and was scared rather easily by the thunder that had engulfed the train station I stood at. I was alone, wet, and unsure of what the next moment could bring. However, in that moment, I realized the beauty of the storm that surrounded me.

In this picture, I captured exactly what I saw and felt. The hazy buildings in the background represent my uncertainty of what was in front of me, while the slippery grounds exhibit the condition of my drenched clothes. The lack of any lights and a desolated appearance showcases the sense of loneliness I felt in that moment. Finally, the direction of the photo is that of the direction leading to my friends; in this moment, I couldn’t help but to keep looking back, hoping for the train towing my friends to arrive.
Detours & Dead-Ends

Kristie Chang

I want to change the world, instead I sleep
Uncertainty feels more comforting in dreams

Is this what adult feels like?
Lysol sinking deep into my skin

I scrub away the remnants of the tenants before
Tabletops reflecting fake fulfillment

I ache for recklessness, stupidity – something to compensate, because
Post-undergraduate professional life, not mid, not time, no time –

I want to change the world, instead I sleep
Direction is easier to imagine than keep
Snow

Amy Kuhn

The heat from the fire was stifling. It curled out from the fireplace grate in thick smothering waves; the errant sparks threatened to catch the rug ablaze. Antique furniture pressed up against the walls, overstuffed velvet cushions bursting at the seams.

I was sitting at the window.

The world outside was perfect. Snow had fallen softly and silently the night before, coating the ground and trees with a crystalline blanket of white. It lay untouched, unblemished by footprints or movement. The world out there was clean and quiet.

Still.

A grandfather clock stood against the far wall. Its knobbed wood had long since been worn down to a fine sheen, with a golden pendulum hanging low to its knees. It quavered slightly as it clicked, like a facial tic.

Taunting.

I pressed my palm against the cool window glass.

Out there, the air was surely frosty and crisp. A dusting of snow clung to the back fence pickets. Misshapen icicles hung from the boughs of the curled trees. Not a wind threatened to shake the laden branches.

I let out a sigh to fog the image. Every breath I took was harder and harder to draw from the thick air of the room.

I felt a trickle of sweat sneak down my spine. It pooled in the waist of my stiff dress.

“You cannot go out in weather such as this,” they said to me. “It’s not suitable for a girl such as you.”

Nothing out there was suitable for me. Never would be.
Starving

Eunice Gonzalez-Sierra

I ask my mother if she’s hungry, she responds, “sí.”

We are starving for justice we have been craving it since before our birth since then, my mother pulled at my umbilical cord and asked that I fight.

She sung me lullabies saying, “M’ija tienes que luchar,” She warned me about the men that’ll come in and out of me only to prove that they were powerful enough to make me love them, but could not love me back. I did not take her warning seriously.

Love, we’ve disguised patriarchy as love and too many times womxn have become Cupid’s martyr.

Patriarchy: When my father touches my mother’s face passionately enough, that she flinches.

Patriarchy: When men give themselves the power to touch my best friend because somehow, somewhere on her skirt said, “I am asking for it,” and for some reason that mute idea was louder than her screams.

We are starving for justice; we have not been fed yet. My school said I’d be the architect of my education. I believed them. But they gave me a brick, instead of a pencil.

I’ve been building my future with bricks on my back, and the struggles of my parents in the fields, within me.

My school said, I’d be the architect of my education, but I still have not been given a pencil. And instead I’ve become a construction worker building my future brick by brick and my goodness, I am tired. and even so, I am afraid that my home will crumble. Much like mine, my mother’s fear has always been not to have enough money to house us. but she forgets we come from broken homes.

We are starving for justice, and they have yet to feed us.

My mother picks the strawberries they love so much the same people who despise “illegals,” the same people that say this is their land with their skewed version of history.

She warned me about the people that will pull at my skin, hard enough to remove the brown on me. She warned me about the hunger I would feel. She apologized for this. This is not her doing. She is not to blame.

We are starving, but we will not stop fighting until we are fed the justice that we deserve.

One day, my mother will receive a plate large enough to fill the wounds she’s been left with.
Honey
Elizabeth Klingen
Graphite - 36” x 44”

I took vulnerable pictures of myself in my apartment. I began by drizzling honey over my face and letting it drip down over my body, the sticky drops hit my carpet in succession with my camera’s flashing. I took many photos looking for one that would render me most vulnerable, however I found the only way to communicate the intensity of vulnerability in myself was to draw a portrait of these fleeting moments.

I wanted to discuss the issue of “colorblindness” in society through my lens of honey. Before my start as an undergraduate I was very set on the idea that everyone should be equal and that “colorblindness” was the answer to sexism and racism and a variety of prejudiced behaviors. However, after arriving at the cultural melting pot that is Berkeley, California, my prior views seemed very tainted. To be “colorblind” is to notice no difference between all races and all sexes and all different types of people. I’m not sure how I ever bought this idea.

The sticky topic of prejudice needs to be discussed through a new lens, perhaps one where we are not all equal or the same. We are different and that needs to be accepted. People have been hurt and continue to be hurt because of the standards of society. There should not be one way to be human.

We are all human.
Ivy Zeledon

Artwork is a brief burst of inspiration, born by patience. Different mediums within art are similar to different disciplines in the wider world; each has its own benefits and drawbacks. In painting, I favor acrylics. The reason is that acrylics are simple yet have the capacity for great complexity. They remind me that art is not always finished so much as thrown aside in frustration. The best pieces are those with a clear goal – perhaps a subconscious one – and the tenacity to carry out the work according to plan as much as need will allow.

My painting is not a painting meant for skill or beauty. It exists purely for message. The colors were chosen for a mixture of realism and their ability to be striking on a black canvas; the brush strokes lack a subtly of technique. Together, they are reminiscent of a novice and perhaps one with less than pleasant thoughts. This is not without its purpose.

The image is of a wave – an obstacle that cannot be overcome – striking a cliff. The cliff is the audience; it is the individual experiencing helplessness. The hands on top of the cliff are symbolic of the way people reach out even in a hopeless scenario for anything willing to save them. The hole in cliff is the emptiness that the individual experiences in the face of failure; it is the temporary moment of defeat that I believe most if not all of us have experienced at one time or another. The hands coming out of that hole represents both; the fundamental conflict experienced by the most defeated individuals who still cannot overcome their urge to survive, and the ways in which attempts to help the situation can backfire by burying the solution. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the painting is the words which are white for their contrast to the rest of the painting. These words underlay the overall message while emphasizing that the cliff – crumbling hole, hands and all – is intended to represent the viewer and demand that they face their own no-win scenario.
No Harm in Looking: Exploring visual pleasure and the gendered gaze in The Sheik
Janani Hariharan

Abstract

This research paper examines the role of gendered gaze in George Melford’s 1921 film, The Sheik. In an oral presentation, Professor Bryan Wagner of UC Berkeley referred to the unprecedented male and female response to the release of The Sheik. He particularly marked Rudolph Valentino’s status as the first male sex symbol of American cinema. While many female filmgoers found themselves in a frenzy over Valentino’s eroticized persona, many male filmgoers were enraged by this fanatical response. Some even passionately criticized Valentino’s performance for being both over-the-top and effeminate. Prominent film theorist Laura Mulvey explores the Freudian roots and cinematic implications of shooting film through a predominantly male gaze in her essay, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.” This paper examines the film in relation to Mulvey’s claims and questions how the male gaze dynamic worked to create a novel response from the audience.

In explaining Mulvey’s theories regarding scopophilia, phallocentrism and the patriarchal order of superiority within the context of the film, I argue that the film’s subversion of these theories indicates a shift from the predominant, conventional male gaze, serving as one possible justification for why filmgoers responded to The Sheik the way that they did.

Scopophilia, the pleasure derived from looking, plays an important role in determining the gendered gaze of films. The Sheik subverts and reinforces Mulvey’s claims about scopophilia, which perhaps results in the presentation of a more equalized sexual appreciation on the parts of Ahmed and Diana. Mulvey posits that films provide visual pleasure that arises from both “pleasure in using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight” and the “identification of the ego with the object on the screen through the spectator’s fascination with and recognition of his like.”

According to Mulvey, cinematic visual pleasure exists within both film reels and real realms. Women onscreen provide a two-fold scopophilic sexual pleasure for both men onscreen and men watching the film who can identify with these male characters.

The shared aesthetic appreciation that Diana and Ahmed have for each other suggests that scopophilia prevails in the cinematic world. This visually based relationship also expands Mulvey’s argument to include a certain female voyeuristic appreciation of men that she does not quite explore. When Diana and Ahmed first notice each other at the Monte Carlo, swift cuts between them highlight their physical appreciation – scopophilia, even – for each other. Unlike conventional narrative patterns in film, Diana, the woman, notices Ahmed, the man, first. After, she is told that he is “the great Sheik Ahmed Ben Hassan. He is entertaining at the Casino tonight”.

Viewers were outraged by this fanatical response, vehemently critiquing Valentino’s sex symbol status as unfounded due to his exoticism, wide eyes, and effeminacy. In an essay titled Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema published in 1975, feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey explores the passive role of women in cinema; she argues that films are shot and viewed through a predominantly male gaze that perpetuates a voyeuristic, objectifying way of viewing women, which ultimately continues to uphold the “dominant patriarchal order.” However, on examining The Sheik in conjunction with Mulvey’s theories, it can be argued that the film subverts some of Mulvey’s claims of scopophilia, phallocentrism and the patriarchal order of superiority. In doing so, the film demonstrates a shift in the conventional male gaze of Hollywood cinema, expanding it to include that of the woman.

Popular historiography about film during the 1920s would be remiss to not include George Melford’s The Sheik (1921) and the enormous cultural implications it had for its viewers. In the Transgender Studies Reader, Susan Stryker suggests that Rudolph Valentino, the lead actor of the film, “set off a frenzy of response among (largely female) filmgoers...the fantasy of abduction-turned-to-passionate-love in the desert made Valentino a star, and a love god.” By the same token, male

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3 Ibid., 18.
Ahmed and Diana are equally sexualized by each other – which, on a more metaphysical level, could mean that both male and female spectators will be able to identify with their respective “egos” onscreen.

suggests that, contrary to Mulvey’s belief, visual pleasure in the film is not exclusively split between “active/male and passive/female.”

Medium shots of Diana and Ahmed respectively engaging in their own conversations establish their distance and lack of relationship to each other. After, Ahmed notices Diana and the scene cuts to an iris shot of Diana. From Diana, the scene cuts to an iris shot of Ahmed, who subtly widens his eyes while looking at her. It cuts back to Diana again and then back to the medium shot of Ahmed and the man with whom he is conversing, after which they resume conversation nonchalantly. The music plays an important role in creating this momentary aside; when the scene cuts to Diana’s close up, there is a stark change from an upbeat, multi-instrumental score to a slower, mellower tune with only one instrument. The upbeat music resumes when Ahmed looks back to continue his conversation with the man.

Diana and Ahmed’s simultaneous visual presences and recognition of each other’s visual presences “work against the development of a story-line, [and] freeze the flow of action in moments of erotic contemplation.” This is crystallized by the momentary break in the narrative created by the quick succession of close-ups and the shift of music. It is important to note that when Diana and Ahmed both admire each other, visual pleasure is not simply limited to the Mulveyan dynamic of the woman as the image and man as the looker; rather, it seems that the woman is both the image and bearer of a look, as is the man. Diana and Ahmed revel in their own and each other’s “to-be-looked-at-ness,” in ways that Mulvey would deem scopophilic toward each other. Ultimately, this suggests that both Ahmed and Diana are equally sexualized by each other – which, on a more metaphysical level, could mean that both male and female spectators will be able to identify with their respective “egos” onscreen.

The woman is defined primarily as the antithesis to the thesis that is man.

In the same vein as the concurrent sexualization of Ahmed and Diana, the costuming of the film begins to bridge the disparity between Ahmed’s masculinity and Diana’s femininity. Mulvey argues that the mere presence of the female determines the patriarchal order of society, mostly because she works as a “signifier for the male other,” a point of comparison over which men can assert their superiority and control of visual agency and pleasure. Just as a woman’s lack of a penis “produces the phallus as a symbolic presence,” so does the woman exist “in relation to castration;” in other words, the woman is defined primarily as the antithesis to the thesis that is man. In this case, women and men are hyper-distinguished as two polar opposites, but the inherently subservient position of the woman in the patriarchal order of society means that she is never viewed as the subject, but only the object in an otherwise dialectical scenario, which also plays into the film’s costuming.

Diana’s physical representation, however debatable within the context of the film, effectively subverts Mulvey’s idea of a woman being represented in cinema as directly contrary to men. Even though Diana’s character quickly transitions into a more dependent damsel in distress from her short-lived embodiment of the New Woman, the film presents her in considerably less feminine attire, which downplays the difference between Diana and her male counterparts. For instance, on the first day of her journey into the “sand garden of the sun,” Diana and Aubrey, her brother, are shown in a long shot riding side by side on equally large, similar-looking horses. Diana and Aubrey both wear pantsuits and similar-looking hats, and it is not until they get closer to the camera that we learn which of the two people is Diana and which is Aubrey. The idea of gender as a social, external construction – reminiscent of second-wave feminist ideals that became popular during the 1960s-70s in the United States – is particularly evident in the contrast (or lack thereof) between Aubrey and Diana’s clothing and stature.

Although Diana’s character shifts toward a more conventional and conservative woman later on in the film, it is important to note

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6 Melford, The Sheik. 00:09:14.
7 Ibid., 00:09:17.
that the film first presents her as the independent, strong-willed "young madcap," who wears pantsuits and plans "a tour alone into the desert with only native camel-drivers and Arabs" before her character undergoes its evolution.

13 If Mulvey argues that women are defined by their lack of manliness, then *The Sheik* contradicts this by filling in the differential gap between Diana and her male counterparts and downplaying her overt femininity.

Just as Diana rises above the conventions placed on her gender with the pantsuit, Ahmed transcends normative understandings of white masculinity with his own attire. While it is more complicated to draw an accurate parallel between Ahmed's robes and headdresses and Diana's pantsuits and boots, due to the obvious cultural difference that the film may be consciously trying to overplay, Ahmed's costumes subtly feminize him, creating an important contrast. During Diana and Ahmed's first meeting in his tent after she has been captured, Diana, in her pantsuit, and Ahmed, in his bright, colorful robes and headdress, speak about why she has been brought to his camp. Over-the-shoulder shots of both Ahmed and Diana solidify this difference as the backs of their respective heads create very different overall scene compositions.

When Diana speaks, Ahmed's large striped headdress comprises half the frame; when the shot switches to Ahmed, Diana's bare head is foregrounded but kept out of focus, still putting the emphasis on the brighter, more vibrant outfit of Ahmed.

14 Diana and Ahmed's outfits are not as comparable as Diana and Aubrey's outfits because the film must present a cultural difference between Diana and Ahmed. However, Ahmed's more ethnic and effeminized outfit emphasizes Diana's more masculine attire. I believe that this dynamic subverts Mulvey's argument that women function as neither male nor manly.

The idea of gender as a social, external construction—reminiscent of second-wave feminist ideals that became popular during the 1960s-70s in the United States—is particularly evident in the contrast (or lack thereof) between Aubrey and Diana's clothing and stature. Even as Diana's conventional feminism becomes more explicit over the course of the film, the film moves away from Ahmed's centralized masculinity. In her essay, Mulvey uses Freudian theory to argue that the "paradox of phallocentrism in all its manifestations is that it depends on the image of the castrated woman to give order and meaning to its world." This relates back to the idea that feminism, in order to be effective, must recognize and address the cultural differences between men and women. Just as the film presents the conventions placed on the gender of the central characters, it also emphasizes the importance of understanding and respecting those differences.

Importantly, Ahmed returns from the sandstorm to see Diana weeping on the bed and the next morning he gives his dagger to Gaston.

Just as Diana transitions from the defiant, strong-willed New Woman into a more feminine damsel in distress, Ahmed renounces his symbol of violent love in favor of a more compassionate and gender-sensitive approach. He does not represent the complete threat of castration, mostly because he, with his pantsuit and strong will, does not represent the complete, conventional woman.

Andrew and Diana's clothing and attire—

in the contract (or lack thereof) between the differential between Diana and Ahmed’s roles and professions, the obvious cultural difference between them and their actions as depicted in this film—implies a shift in Mulvey’s argument about the nature of human identity. Female characters are depicted as the independent, strong-willed New Woman, while male characters are more traditional and conformist.

The idea of gender as a societal, external construction—

...
At both violent and romantic stages of their relationship, their dynamic upsets the paradox that Mulvey articulates: when Ahmed acts brutishly hyper-masculine, Diana is costumed in a more masculine manner, upsetting the image of the conventional castrated woman. When Diana begins to resemble the conventional woman by wearing dresses and acting more submissively, Ahmed simultaneously leaves behind his brutish ways and his greatest phallic symbol to adopt a more compassionate almost effeminate approach toward Diana.

It is with this fascinating multiplicity that The Sheik and Laura Mulvey’s theories converse with each other to produce a complex argument that suggests a shift from the quintessentially male gaze of American cinema on the part of The Sheik. By subverting Mulvey’s theories about scopophilia, phallocentrism and the relative ideas of male and female, The Sheik presents a possible gender duality in terms of cinematic gaze: it sexualizes both its male and female leads to appeal to spectators of both genders. Perhaps this shift unconsciously contributed to the male outrage succeeding the film; however, it would be extremely challenging to gauge the causality between these psychological theories and real-world reactions. At the least, the male response and the unconventional gaze of the film are uncanny but intriguing coincidences. Nevertheless, as Tracey Jean Boisseau writes, “never before [The Sheik] was the discourse on fan behavior so strongly marked by the terms of sexual difference, and never again was spectatorship so explicitly linked to the discourse on female desire.”

Regardless of a definitive causality between the male outrage and the shift from a predominantly male gaze, The Sheik remains a watershed for gender representation on and off the American cinematic screen.

References


kiss

Jac Manfield

a crinkled ban of foil
tin and gleaming beneath incandescent
enrapturing the danger
erupting with sugar
like pompeii
a mt vesuvius of beautiful symmetry
sweet to the brim
lush to the tip
no curve left
unreciprocated
it stands tall in the palm of my hand

a cone spouting lava and ash
smoke raising a sky trail of
kisses

beneath the metallic lies
careful ingenuity and
generations of obesity — an incarceration in ones own body
its deceives with pastel whites and babyblues
this hidden message a dead giveaway from the
go of capitalism — paper & ink

kisses ®

its dainty message soothes the conscience

my lips two blushing pilgrims
blah blah blah

its just a kiss
a tender kiss
playful and loving from an honest stranger
a capitalist investment made just for you
for only 25¢
such a steal

but
it steals as well
they all do
premeditated

how could sweetness be bad for you
it abides to your needs
the servant now a pagan god
your master, religion, and orgasm
dont you dare leave me here to rot!
i am all that is good for you!
i am your glutton!
moloch! moloch!

Give me my sin again, milton
you judas
The Journey of a Dress

Her steady hand directs the needle's path
The cotton twill takes on new shape and form
The simple sack is transformed by her craft
Into a dress—a story to be worn.

What hardships might this age-old dress have seen?
What moments, inexplicable and rare?
These fragmentary remnants of her being
Are woven as the textile's unseen layr

Now, after untold years of dormancy
I claim her old, discarded dress as mine
And though I cannot know her whole journey,
Our stories, stitched infeed sock, are entwined

Silent textiles, fragments of our lives—
The journey of a woman stitched in time.
Sexism, Entitlement, and Stalking-Related Behavior
Zachary Gillet

Abstract

Women (N = 87) and men (N = 67) described their engagement in stalking-related behaviors in unrequited love or liking courtship settings in the Courtship Styles survey. They also completed measures of psychological entitlement and hostile/benevolent sexism. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) results indicated a significant gender effect for engagement in one type of stalking-related behavior, “normal approach behavior”, such that men engaged in more of this behavior than women. Pearson product-moment correlations were also conducted between key variables. Significant correlations included: a positive relationship between entitlement and hostile sexism for men and women, a positive relationship between entitlement and surveillance/intimidation stalking-related behaviors for men and women, and a positive relationship between entitlement and verbal/physical violence for women. Other significant correlations between different forms of stalking-related behaviors and sexism were found. Implications of gender effects and correlations between key variables are also discussed.

In the first ever national survey of stalking behavior, the National Institute of Justice Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Stalking reported an estimated 1,066,970 women and 370,990 men are stalked in the United States every year. Further, 8% of women and 2% of men report having been stalked at least one time in their life (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1997). The National Violence Against Women Survey defines stalking as “a course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated visual or physical proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written or implied threats, or a combination thereof, that would cause a reasonable person fear” (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1997, p 2). Stalkers are usually someone known by the victim. Reports indicate that 59% of female victims and 30% of male victims were stalked by an intimate partner, such as a spouse, or a current/former boyfriend or girlfriend.
Cultural beliefs about women may lead individuals to not perceive a rejection as a rejection. Signals from love interests may be due to ignoring or misinterpreting rejections from women based on cultural beliefs of a women’s “no” not meaning “no” (e.g., playing hard to get or exhibiting token resistance) or a general negativity blindness (Sinclair & Frieze, 2005).

Cultural beliefs about women may lead individuals to not perceive a rejection as a rejection. This study investigates the relationship between stalking-related behavior and two forms of sexism: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is predictive of negative attitudes towards women and belief in negative stereotypes about women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). An individual exhibiting high levels of hostile sexism might believe that “women are seductive and generally devious in their intentions” (Grubbs, Exline, & Twenge, 2014, p. 209). It may be that men high in hostile sexism view women as seductive and see their rejections as dishonest or an attempt at playing hard to get. Benevolent sexism entails more traditional and paternal attitudes towards women and is predictive of positive attitudes and stereotypes about women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexists may believe that women are special and deserve special treatment and protection. Although at a surface level benevolent sexism may seem chivalrous or generally women-positive, it is predictive of misogynistic attitudes and behaviors in men and women (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003). Benevolent and hostile sexism may predict higher levels of engagement in stalking-related behavior in nonreciprocal romantic relationships and higher levels of belief that a partner was interested when they were not. Sextist attitudes and beliefs may result in a disregard for rejections and a false belief that romantic interest is reciprocal. This study seeks to investigate the relationship between these two forms of sexism and stalking-related behavior in the courtship setting using correlational measures.

This study also investigates the relationship between psychological entitlement and engagement in stalking-related behaviors in the context of unrequited love experiences. Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bushman (2004), the developers of the Psychological Entitlement Scale, define psychological entitlement as a stable and pervasive sense that one deserves, and is entitled to, more than others. This sensation is experienced across different situations. Entitlement is a component of narcissism and has been positively associated with benevolent sexism and hostile sexism (Campbell et al., 2004; Grubbs et al., 2014). Entitled individuals consistently expect special goods, services, and treatment from others. Campbell et al. (2004) found that individuals high in entitlement and in relationships “display a pattern of selfishness on a range of variables including more dismissing attachment, less overall accommodation, less empathy, perspective taking and respect, greater game playing, and less selflessness” (p. 42). It may be that due to their selfish behavior and inability to empathize with others, individuals exhibiting high levels of psychological entitlement may be more likely to stalk their victims, who they do not empathize with, and who’s personal privacy they do not respect.

Entitlement may predict individuals’ engagement in stalking-related behavior because entitled individuals feel they deserve special treatment or could be insensitive to the feelings and desires of others in an unrequited love relationship context. According to Sinclair and Frieze (2005) “pursuers chronically high in courtship persistence were more likely than those low in courtship persistence to believe that they had a high likelihood of acceptance, instead of rejection, on a measure of rejection sensitivity” (p. 848). This study will investigate the relationship between psychological entitlement and stalking-related behavior in the courtship setting. Past research demonstrates that psychological entitlement is a strong predictor of benevolent sexism in women but not in men and a strong predictor of hostile sexism in men but not in women (Grubbs, Exline, & Twenge, 2014). This study will seek to replicate these findings with correlational measures.

The methodology utilized in this study follows that of Sinclair and Frieze (2005) in that it measures stalking-related behavior in the context of unrequited love during the initial courtship stage. However, unlike Sinclair and Frieze, we will not measure experiences in which participants were rejecters who were loved but did not reciprocate. We will also forego measures of pursuers’ perception of their love interests’ reaction to their pursuit. Portions of Sinclair and Frieze’s (2005) Courtship Styles Survey will be used to measure four different types of stalking-related behavior: normal courtship approach behavior, surveillance,
intimidation, and verbal and physical aggression. These four categories of stalking-related behavior are based on factor analyses and the logical association of sets of items (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). Campbell et. al.’s (2004) Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES) will be used to measure psychological entitlement. Glick & Fiske’s (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) will be used to measure hostile sexism and benevolent sexism.

This study will test for gender differences in psychological entitlement, hostile and benevolent sexism, and stalking-related behaviors using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) testing. Pearson product-moment correlations will be conducted to test for relationships between psychological entitlement, benevolent and hostile sexism, and four forms of stalking-related behavior in men and women. First, I hypothesize that men will display higher levels of entitlement, hostile sexism, normal courtship approach, surveillance, intimidation, and verbal and physical aggression stalking-related behaviors. Second, I hypothesize that scores on the PES will significantly positively predict high levels of benevolent sexism in men and women, as measured by the ASI, as well as positively predict hostile sexism in men, as shown by past research (Grubbs, Exline, & Twenge, 2014). Third, I hypothesize psychological entitlement will positively predict engagement in surveillance, and intimidation stalking behaviors. Fourth, I hypothesize that hostile sexism will positively predict intimidation and verbal and physical aggression stalking behaviors. Finally, I hypothesize that benevolent sexism will predict normal approach behaviors in men. I predict an effect for gender such that males will engage in significantly more intimidation, surveillance, and physical and verbal aggression types of stalking related behavior.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were recruited online for a “Courtships Styles in Unrequited Love Context” survey. A total of 161 participants completed the survey. The responses of 6 participants were omitted from the survey as they left large portions of the survey uncompleted. The final sample included 155 participants, 87 females and 67 males ($M_{\text{age}} = 24.987, SD = 9.8711$).

**Materials and Procedure**

Participants were recruited online and asked to fill out a survey of “Courtships Styles in Unrequited Love Context”. Participants filled out the survey online and were allotted an unregulated amount of time to complete the survey. To be included in the sample, study participants had to have at least one experience unrequited love or liking. The first portion of the survey informed participants of the anonymity of the survey and collected demographic information (age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic identity, current education). The survey contained three measures The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Psychological Entitlement Scale, and Sinclair & Frieze’ (2000) Courtship Styles survey.

**Ambivalent sexism inventory.** The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske, 1996) is a 22-item scale measuring both hostile and benevolent sexism on a seven-point scale from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly). An example of a benevolent sexism item is: “Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.” An example of a hostile sexism item is: 5. “Women are too easily offended.” The subscales were scored by taking the average across items. The reported internal reliability of the ASI is alpha = .89, with the two composite factors, benevolent sexism and hostile sexism, reported as alpha = .81 and alpha = .90 respectively (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

**Psychological entitlement scale.** The Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES, Campbell et al. 2004) is a 9-item scale rated from 1 (strong disagreement) to 7 (strong agreement). Example psychological entitlement items are: “I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others,” and “People like me deserve an extra break now and then.” Psychological entitlement was scored by taking the average across items. The reported the internal consistency of the PES is alpha > .80.

**Courtship styles survey.** Using Sinclair & Frieze’ (2000) Courtship Styles survey, participants were asked to report on stalking-related behavior in the courtship stages of an unrequited liking or love. Participants were asked to report on their experiences of unrequited love before any mutual relationship had occurred. Stalking related behavior was divided into four categories based on previous factor analysis (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). Participants were asked to report their frequency in engagement in behaviors using a scale of 1 (never) to 5 (frequently, more than 10 times).

The first category, “normal courtship approach behavior” contained items asking about sending or giving notes, sending or giving gifts, doing unrequested favors, asking out as a friend, asking out on a date, and attempting communication. The reported reliability for this scale was alpha = .74 (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). The second category, “surveillance”, contained items asking about waiting outside the class or home of the
Audeamus MMXV

person, driving by the residence, showing up at an event where the person would be, following the person, finding out information about the person, changing one’s schedule to be nearer the person, asking friends about the person, and spying. The reported reliability for this scale was alpha = .80 (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). “Intimidation” category items asked about secretly taking the person’s belongings, manipulating the person into dating, trying to scare the person, leaving unwanted items for the person to find, giving the person “unusual parcels,” not taking “no” for an answer, making unsolicited calls to the person, calling and hanging up, calling and leaving a message on the person’s machine, and making threats. The reported reliability for this scale was alpha = .72 (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). Finally, “verbal and physical aggression” items asked about harassing, forcing sexual contact, physically harming slightly or more than slightly, making threats, trespassing, threats, attempting and successfully committing acts of physical harms, emotional hurt, damaging belongings, vandalizing the person’s home or car, physically hurting someone known to the person, hurting oneself, and verbally abusing. The reported reliability for this scale was alpha = .93 (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000).

Results

Gender differences in psychological entitlement, hostile and benevolent sexism, and all four forms of stalking-related behavior were examined using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). MANOVA results revealed significant group differences between women ($M = 2.2954, SD = .8816$) and men ($M = 3.00, SD = .9211$) on one key variable, normal approach behavior $F(1,154) = 4.352, p = .0388, n^2 = .0278$. No other significant gender effects were found. Mean scores for women and men on key variables are available in Table 1.

Pearson product-moment correlations were computed between key variables of interest. Consistent with my hypothesis and past research findings psychological entitlement positively predicted benevolent sexism in women $r(87) = .344, p = .0011$ and entitlement positively correlated hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, surveillance, intimidation, and verbal and physical violence stalking-related behaviors for women (see Table 2). Consistent with my hypothesis, entitlement was a positive predictor of surveillance and intimidation stalking-related behaviors in men, $r(67) = .440, p = .0002$ and $r(67) = .295, p = .0152$ respectively. Consistent with my hypothesis, hostile sexism positively predicted intimidation stalking-related behavior in men $r(67) = .309, p = .011$. Results also indicated a positive relationship between benevolent sexism and surveillance and verbal and physical violence stalking-related behaviors in women. All Pearson product moment correlations and p-values are available in Table 2. Results are discussed below.

Discussion

Gender Differences in Stalking Behavior

Participants were required to recall and report their behavior during the courtship setting of a relationship in which they experienced unrequited love or liking in the Courtship Styles survey and complete the Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES) and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). This study found no significant difference for men and women in levels of psychological entitlement, hostile sexism, or benevolent sexism. Only one significant gender difference was found for stalking-related behaviors in our MANOVA analysis. Mean levels of normal approach behavior were found to be significantly higher for men than for women. Normal courtship behaviors are not necessarily hostile in nature; rather, in the context of this study, they indicate an excess of engagement in courtship behaviors considered normal. This includes sending or giving notes, sending or giving gifts, doing unrequested favors, asking out as a friend, asking out on a date, and attempting communication.

Men’s observed higher levels of approach behavior in unrequited love courtship settings may be due to misperceptions of women’s responses to their pursuit. Indeed, Malamuth and Brown (1994) posit three explanations of sexually aggressive men’s misunderstanding of women’s negative responses to their pursuit. The first explanation posits that men may over perceive women’s friendly behavior with sexual intent and may misperceive a woman’s friendliness as seduction (Malamuth & Brown, 1994). Thus men may engage in higher levels of approach behavior due to their misperception of women’s friendly behavior as a positive response to pursuit and continue to pursue a target that does not reciprocate their attraction. The second explanation asserts that aggressive men may be subject to certain “negativness
Thus men may engage in higher levels of approach behavior due to their misperception of women’s friendly behavior as a positive response to pursuit and continue to pursue a target that does not reciprocate their attraction.

blindness”; unable to recognize women’s negative responses as such, aggressive men may continue to persist after women despite their negative responses. This would explain men’s higher levels of approach behavior in settings of nonreciprocal attraction, as they continue to make advances towards women whose negative responses they are unable to perceive. The third explanation offered by Malamuth and Brown (1994) explains men’s continued pursuit of women despite negative responses in terms of a “suspicion schema”:

“Recent research on sexually aggressive men has suggested that the schema likely to guide their perceptions of women is a suspicion schema: Women’s communications about romantic or sexual interest cannot be trusted as veridical (i.e., Women don’t tell the truth when it comes to sex). This schema is hypothesized to form expectancies that underlie perceptions of women generally (e.g., greater typicality of hostile behaviors) and to be applied to initial perceptions of individual women (e.g., suspecting the veridicality of her sexual communication)” (Malamuth & Brown, 1994, p. 701).

Thus men engaging in higher levels of approach behavior may be explained by their mistrust of women’s negative responses and rejections due to a general suspicion of women’s honesty around sexual and romantic communications. Suspicion about the truthfulness of women’s responses to unwanted pursuit might lead men to continue pursuit, regardless of rejections, due to their belief that women may still be interested even when they indicate that they are not. Any of these three explanations might provide further insight into why men engage in higher levels of approach behavior than women. Future research might investigate Malamuth and Brown’s explanations to further understand why men engage in higher levels of approach behavior.

Entitlement and Sexism

Consistent with past research, this study found that psychological entitlement was predictive of benevolent sexism in women. In contrast to past research, which found entitlement predicts hostile sexism in men, but not in women, and benevolent sexism in women but not in men, this study revealed significant positive correlations for both benevolent sexism and hostile sexism in women, but not in men (Grubbs, Exline, & Twenge, 2014). This finding does not support my hypothesis that entitlement would positively predict hostile sexism in men. This finding is inconsistent with the work of Grubbs, Exline, and Twenge (2014) who found entitlement to be a robust predictor of hostile sexism in men. It is important to note that this correlational research cannot be inferred to prove a causal or non-causal relationship between psychological entitlement and the two forms of sexism.

The relationship between entitlement and benevolent sexism in women may be explained by the common conception of deservingness in both constructs. Benevolent sexism predicts traditional beliefs and positive stereotypes about women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Individuals displaying higher levels of sexism might see women as deserving of protection and special treatment. Given that entitlement is characterized by a sense of deserving special treatment, services, and goods, we might expect to find a relationship between entitlement and benevolent sexism in women. Future research might explore the relationship between hostile sexism and entitlement in women.

Correlates of Stalking-Related Behaviors

Entitlement was found to be a positive predictor of surveillance, intimidation, and verbal and physical violence stalking-related behaviors for both women and men. Entitlement was also found to be positively predictive of verbal and physical violence stalking-related behaviors for women. Past research has found entitlement to be associated with lack of cooperation, empathy, and perspective taking (Campbell et al. 2004). It may be that entitled individuals are more willing to engage in stalking-related behaviors because of their inability to recognize how their actions affect the person they are pursuing. Benevolent sexism was predictive of surveillance and verbal and physical violence stalking-related behaviors in women. Hostile sexism was predictive of surveillance stalking-related behavior in women and

It may be that entitled individuals are more willing to engage in stalking-related behaviors because of their inability to recognize how their actions affect the person they are pursuing.
intimidation stalking-related behaviors in men. Future research might try to establish causal links between entitlement and engagement in stalking-related behaviors.

Limitations and Future Research

This study was limited both by the size of the sample collected and by the online sampling method to recruit participants. Due to the small sample size, this study may have missed significant gender effects on key variables and significant correlations. It may be noted that in this and past research, means for men's scores on hostile and benevolent sexism and the four forms of stalking-related behavior were higher than women's mean scores (Glick and Fiske, 1996; Grubbs, Exline, & Twenge, 2014; Sinclair & Frieze, 2005). As previously noted, our study was limited by the size of our sample and methodology of sampling. Future studies may seek to establish significant gender effects for these variables by conducting larger studies, which may capture gender effects missed by the current and previous studies. It is also important to note that participants reported on their own engagement in stalking-behavior. Although before completing our measures participants were informed of the anonymity of the study, it is still possible that their reports were inaccurate due to imperfections known to human memory as well as untruthful reporting of past behavior. According to Sinclair and Frieze (2005), individuals reporting on past relationships have a tendency to view their own actions as noble or romantic. They often retell events in a way that portrays them in a favorable light. Although the survey was anonymous, it may still be that individuals reported less engagement in stalking-related behavior than they actually engaged in. Few participants reported engagement in the verbal and physical violence items of the Courtship Styles survey, which may implicate participants' desire to avoid reporting on their behaviors that are perceived as socially undesirable. To account for dishonesty in survey responses, future studies of stalking-related behavior should include measures of lying within the survey to obtain more accurate reports. It is important to continue to investigate the different factors that relate to stalking-related behavior and explore causal relationships. Future research might try to establish causal links between entitlement, sexism, and engagement in stalking-related behavior in courtship settings.

References


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Descriptive Statistics for Men and Women</th>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Mean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benevolent</td>
<td>1.856</td>
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<td>Sexism</td>
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Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).*
Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Relationships Between Men and Women

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
   0 1 2 3 4 5

3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

5. Women are too easily offended.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

13. Men are complete without women.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.
    0 1 2 3 4 5

Psychological Entitlement Scale

Please respond to the following items using the number that best reflects your own beliefs. Please use the following 7-point scale: 1 = strong disagreement. 2 = moderate disagreement. 3 = slight disagreement. 4 = neither agreement nor disagreement. 5 = slight agreement. 6 = moderate agreement. 7 = strong agreement.

1. I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Great things should come to me.
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat!
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. I demand the best because I’m worth it.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. I do not necessarily deserve special treatment.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. I deserve more things in my life.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. People like me deserve an extra break now and then.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Things should go my way.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. I feel entitled to more of everything.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Courtship Styles Survey

This survey is meant to examine the courtship process. We are particularly interested in an unrequited liking or love. The survey will ask you about crushes, love interests, or passionate love that you have felt for another person that they did not reciprocate. If any courtship eventually resulted in a relationship or dates, that is fine, but keep in mind that the questions are primarily directed at the time before any sort of mutual relationship occurred. There are no right or wrong answers and all responses are confidential.

Frequency Scale
When answering the following questions, think of someone whom you have had feelings for but who did not have feelings for you, a crush, a general love interest, or a more passionate love. If there has been more than one person think of the person who you had the strongest feelings for. How did you express your interest? For the following questions indicate how frequently you expressed your interest on the following scale: 1 = never; 2 = rarely (once or twice); 3 = occasionally (more than twice); 4 = repeatedly (more than 5 times); 5 = frequently (more than 10 times). Did you:

1. Send him/her notes, letters, e-mail or other written communication?
   1 2 3 4 5

2. Send or give him/her gifts?
   1 2 3 4 5

3. Do unrequested favors for him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

4. Just not take “no” for an answer?
   1 2 3 4 5

5. Make unsolicited phone calls (or e-mail “talk” requests)?
   1 2 3 4 5

6. Call him/her but hang up?
   1 2 3 4 5

7. Call him/her when you knew s/he was not home so you could leave a message or hear his/her voice on the answering machine?
   1 2 3 4 5

8. Attempt to communicate with him/her in person?
   1 2 3 4 5

9. Wait or stand outside of his/her class, school, home, or work?
   1 2 3 4 5

10. Drive, ride or walk purposefully by residence, work or school?
    1 2 3 4 5

11. Try to show up at social or recreational events where you’d knew s/he be?
    1 2 3 4 5

12. Follow him/her?
    1 2 3 4 5

13. Find out information about him/her (phone number, address, hobbies, plans, love interests, etc.) by means other than asking him/her for it?
    1 2 3 4 5

14. Secretly take his/her belongings?
    1 2 3 4 5

15. Change classes, offices, or otherwise take up an activity to be closer to him/her?
    1 2 3 4 5

16. Ask friends about him/her?
    1 2 3 4 5

17. Ask friend(s) to talk to him/her?
    1 2 3 4 5

18. Ask him/her out as friends?
    1 2 3 4 5

19. Ask him/her out on a date?
    1 2 3 4 5

20. Ask out a friend of his/her’s?
    1 2 3 4 5
21. Try to manipulate or coerce him/her into dating me?
   1 2 3 4 5

22. Tell friends I didn’t like him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

23. Want to hurt him/her like s/he had hurt me?
   1 2 3 4 5

24. Try to scare him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

25. Leave unwanted items for him/her to find?
   1 2 3 4 5

26. Give him/her unusual parcels?
   1 2 3 4 5

27. Spy on him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

28. Harass him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

29. Make sexual overtures?
   1 2 3 4 5

30. Make threats?
   1 2 3 4 5

31. Trespass on his/her property?
   1 2 3 4 5

32. Threaten to hurt him/her emotionally (i.e. ruin reputation, verbally abuse, etc.)?
   1 2 3 4 5

33. Threaten to damage belongings (i.e. threaten to vandalize, steal, break, etc.)?
   1 2 3 4 5

34. Threaten to vandalize home or car (i.e. break in, fix locks, used graffiti, cut brakes.)?
   1 2 3 4 5

35. Threaten to physically hurt someone s/he knew?
   1 2 3 4 5

36. Threaten to hurt yourself?
   1 2 3 4 5

37. Threaten to physically harm him/her slightly (slap, single punch, grab, push or shove)?
   1 2 3 4 5

38. Attempt to verbally abuse him/her (i.e. use sexually explicit or obscene language)?
   1 2 3 4 5

39. Attempt to damage his/her belongings?
   1 2 3 4 5

40. Attempt to vandalize home or car?
   1 2 3 4 5

41. Attempt to physically harm someone s/he knew?
   1 2 3 4 5

42. Attempt to hurt yourself?
   1 2 3 4 5

43. Attempt to physically harm him/her more than slightly?
   1 2 3 4 5

44. Verbally abuse him/her?
   1 2 3 4 5

45. Damage his/her property?
   1 2 3 4 5

46. Vandalize his/her car or home.
   1 2 3 4 5

47. Physically harm someone s/he knew?
   1 2 3 4 5

48. Physically hurt yourself?
   1 2 3 4 5

49. Physically harm him/her slightly?
   1 2 3 4 5

50. Physically harm him/her more than slightly?
   1 2 3 4 5

51. Force sexual contact?
   1 2 3 4 5
An Essay on Journey and Identity

Anagha Madgulkar

With the theme of this year’s journal being that of the ‘journey’, in its various forms, I thought I would submit some of my own musings and thoughts on the subject. As college students, we are all on a journey filled with learning new things, exploring new places, and meeting new people. It’s an exciting and exhilarating journey that has an ever looming, ever-present stop date. Graduation. However, this daunting end never felt real. It is always just out of reach in such a way that made me almost disregard it.

But when it inevitably comes, you’re faced with determining your identity. You’re faced with figuring out everything you are and everything you want to be. You’re faced with summarizing and debriefing on how the past four years have shaped your individuality and your aspirations. I know where I’ve come from and I know who I am. But how does that affect my future? How does that shape who I’ll be? What role will it play in my journey? I’ve always also held fast to order and form. Every step has been measured and planned. There has always been an end goal. There still is, but the path is ambiguous and open. This used to be a great source of anxiety and apprehension for me. There are innumerable roads and opportunities. That has been the realization and greatest gift of my journey.

from Reconnaissance

Ariana Elizalde

It was the first time I had seen him in many years. Apathy, confusion, and vulnerability filled his face. I couldn’t quite make out the possibilities that could be running through his mind at this moment. His posture was so stiff that it seemed to demand more of him, like his uniform, which didn’t fail to resemble him well. It was a sorry blue color that had maintained itself dolefully with no means to. Interrupted by the sound of a mournful engine taking off. Planes. An over familiar sight to him among others, immutable in actuality as well as in the mind.
Rejuvenating the Mauri of Ruatepupuke II
Toni Marie Pasion

Abstract

As of 2010, there are over 800 marae (Māori meeting spaces) in Aotearoa New Zealand. Of these marae, three whare whakairo (artistically carved house within the meeting space) are located outside of Aotearoa. One of these whare (houses) represents the ancestor Ruatepupuke of the Ngāti Porou iwi (tribe) of Tokomaru Bay. It is now located in the Field Museum of Chicago, Illinois, and has been in the museum’s possession since 1905. This paper challenges cultural custodial care of Māori taonga (treasures) within an American cultural context, and offers insight into how to improve current procedures of care and educational outreach regarding Ruatepupuke II in the Field Museum. In the following essay, I will present Ruatepupuke’s significance as an ancestor of the Ngāti Porou iwi, concerns regarding the whare’s care, the argument to bring the whare home, and suggestions for reconciling these concerns.

The marae (Māori meeting space) is a space of physical and spiritual connection for the Māori people, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. This space makes accessible the histories and relationships between Māori iwi (tribes) and their ancestors. It is a symbol of the ways in which the Māori view and understand the world. The whare whakairo (carved house) situated in the marae space is representative of an eponymous ancestor. Its physical structure symbolizes the different parts of the body. Conducting meetings in the marae allows the presence of the ancestor to contribute to mental and spiritual development.

As of 2010, there are over 800 marae in Aotearoa New Zealand. Of these spaces, three whare whakairo are located outside of Aotearoa. One of these whare represents the ancestor Ruatepupuke of the Ngāti Porou iwi of Tokomaru Bay. It is now located in the Field Museum of Chicago, Illinois, and has been in the museum’s possession since 1905. Although curator John Terrell and the Field Museum’s conservation team have been acknowledged by Ngāti Porou elders as genuine in their intentions to care for the whare, issues of conducting tikanga (correct procedure) within an American cultural context continue to be a main concern. In addressing Ruatepupuke’s location in Chicago, kuia (elder woman) of Tokomaru Bay, Hine Babbington states, “E pai. Engari, kia mau tonu te Māoritanga kaua e tukuna kia whakapakehangia” (“It is good. But the Māori integrity must be maintained and not compromised”) as cited in Hakiwai and Terrell, 1994. Kaumātua (elder) Kino Ward states, “It’s a wonderful thing that the house is still there, kei reira manaakitia ai” (“to be looked after over there”) (Hakiwai and Terrell, 1994, p. 46).

Conversely, in a personal communication, Jack Gray of Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Rarawa, and Ngā Puhi tribal ancestries shared with me his recent 2014 experience in visiting the marae Ruatepupuke II. He was not satisfied with its care and display (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014).

Does the Chicago team of conservationists of Ruatepupuke have the cultural capacity required to truly uphold the Māori integrity of Māori taonga? What about the needs of the iwi who trace their lineages to back this particular whare? As Māori researcher Paul Tapsell states, “The marae is the anchor stone of tribal identity, tying every Māori to their wider communities of origin, genealogically connecting the past to the future and journeying us back into a deep Pacific history of common ancestral origins over 3,000 years old. The marae represents modern day New Zealand’s unique social and cultural point of difference. Can we afford to lose it?” (“The Marae and Its Place”). Given these arguments, what must be conducted to reconcile the concerns regarding the whare’s care and placement? How can this situation involve the Ngāti Porou iwi as a collective, despite differing generations and whānau (family) affiliation? In the following essay, I will present Ruatepupuke’s significance as an ancestor of the Ngāti Porou iwi,
concerns regarding the whare's care, the argument to bring the whare home, and suggestions for reconciling these concerns.

Ruatapupuke is honored as the ancestor who brought the art of creating whakairo (carving) to the people of Ngāti Porou. One of the lessons of this story is that art is from the gods; it manifests from a deep connection between the person and the realm of Tangaroa (god of the sea). The story has multiple versions with differing details, but the main points of the story are as follows: Ruatapupuke's grandson, Manuruhi, often hungered for seafood. Manuruhi would go fishing in Takawhiti, the seaside of Hawaiki, with a stone fashioned to look like a fish. This stone was named “The Prized Stone of Tangaroa.” One day while Manuruhi was fishing, Tangaroa kidnapped him and took him to his house deep down into the sea abyss. After concluding what had happened to his son, Ruatapupuke swam downwards to Tangaroa's house. When Ruatapupuke entered the house, he heard voices coming from the pillars. He asked them where his son was, and they directed him to continue inward. There he saw Manuruhi transformed into a carved wooden piece. This was done out of revenge for naming the fishing stone after Tangaroa.

In response to the transfiguration of Manuruhi, Ruatapupuke took revenge upon Tangaroa. He planned an attack on the inhabitants of the house, and then set the house on fire. Ruatapupuke covered the windows and crevices of the house so as to block the sunlight. He knew that the inhabitants went into the ocean during the day to avoid the light. The next day, as the sun shined fondly upon the house, Ruatapupuke quickly uncovered all the windows and crevices and stood outside the door with his patu (short club). The inhabitants of the house ran outside as fast as they could, and Ruatapupuke struck all of them. He then lit the house on fire. In a hurry to leave the area, he picked up that which he thought was Manuruhi, but was actually a carving that could not speak. To this day, whakairo and other toonga of wooden sculpture cannot speak because Ruatapupuke retrieved the nonspeaking pieces from Tangaroa's home (“Story of Rua and Tangaroa”, 1928).

As a result of cultural relativities and politics continuing to evolve, whatever narrations that may have been perceived and/or recorded in the past are completely different than what can be read now. There are various explanations pertaining to the selling of the whare Ruatapupuke II. According to members of Ngāti Porou, the first Ruatapupuke whare had been disassembled, soaked in whale oil, and hidden in the river to hide and protect it from warring tribes. However, its remains have not been retrieved. Many people of Tokomaru Bay claim that these pieces had returned to Tangaroa's realm.

A second Ruatapupuke whare was commissioned to be built for Mōkena Babbington in 1881. Written records show the second Ruatapupuke whare was sold to a man named Mr. Hindmarsh, who then sold it to a German collector named J.F.G. Umlauff. Mr. Umlauff then put it for sale in his catalogue, thereby re-naming it Ruatapupuke II so as to distinguish it from the first disassembled Ruatapupuke whare.

In 1905, Mr. Umlauff sold Ruatapupuke II to George Dorsey, a curator of the Chicago Field Museum. The whare had been in storage from 1905 to 1925 due to lack of presentational space on the museum display floor. Throughout the years of its display, it had undergone a series of presentational developments in efforts to improve the museum's quality of Māori cultural representation (Te Kōrero O Te Tairawhiti, 2008).

Witi Ihimaera, a descendant of Mōkena Babbington, is concerned with museum visitors’ cultural ignorance when interacting with the whare in the Field Museum. For example, in reference to the protocol of removing shoes prior to entering the whare, one fieldworker states, “the one word I heard more than any other during my observations was 'shoes'. I'm sure I heard this word thousands of times and 'New Zealand' only a few…” (Ihimaera and Ngarino, 2002, p. 96). The fact that visitors mention the inconvenience of the removing their shoes emphasizes the need to explain the Māori reasoning for protocol in a manner that is understandable for all visitors.

Another major concern involving Ruatapupuke’s care is the museum staff’s ability to steadfastly uphold tikanga, or respectful interactive protocol. In 2007, Māori Television documented 34 members of Ngāti Porou and their visit to the Field Museum. The resulting documentary, “Ruatapupuke,” directed by Maramena Roderick (2007), provides insights of this visit, their noho (overnight stay) inside the whare, and the visit of Ruatapupuke's Chicagoan caretakers to Tokomaru Bay.
The documentary juxtaposed the differing interpretations of tikanga from the Chicagoan caretakers and the tangata whenua [people of the land] of Tokomaru Bay. An example of these differing interpretations is the interruption by an American woman singing a solemn song through a microphone while the Ngāti Porou people were singing their waiata [song] to ceremonially greet and approach the whare. Also, it is displayed in the act of the Chicagoans sitting at the space designated for the whānau of the whare. These examples disrupt the Māori protocols that preserve the mauri of culture. In a personal communication, Jack Gray expressed concern that the docent's answers to museum visitors' questions pertaining to the whare were both fabricated and untrue (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014).

In efforts to make use of the whare, the Chicagoan caretakers have attempted to make Ruatupuke a “living marae” that would be available for diverse cultures of Chicago to use for special gatherings. So far, the whare has been used for tokenistic gestures of Aotearoa New Zealand promotion, such as the U.S. film premiere of The Whale Rider and a pōwhiri for the visiting All Blacks rugby team. These uses are perceived to partly fulfill a vision to be an “outpost” for Māori in America. But what of Ruatupuke’s relativity to living descendants, like Jack Gray, who wish to honor and embody the wairua [spirit] of the ancestors? The issues that arise from this situation involve considering the concepts of preservation and ownership both from the standpoint of the museum and from those who stand in direct relation to the whare. What are these different worldviews and protocols of preservation and ownership, and how do we situate these differences? Should there be compromise? And why has contractual legality ultimately overridden cultural significance? These questions lead to another issue regarding location.

Should Ruatupuke II remain in Chicago? One key point that Roderick (2007) highlights in his “Ruatepupuke” documentary is the difference of opinions between generations regarding the artifact’s return. Commentary of various kaumātua in the documentary inform its audiences of a partnership with the Field Museum staff in caring for the whare, suggesting that the whare will stay in Chicago. Hōne Ngāta, restorer of Ruatupuke II, initially states his desire to bring the whare back home. However, he displays a transition later in the documentary. He states, “I just know Ruatupuke’s place here in Chicago is an icon for Tokomaru Bay, for Aotearoa, for Māori in general… He’s a gateway, portal… He’s a way for people to see us and who we are in Aotearoa”, suggesting an understanding of Ruatupuke’s significance as a delegate of Māori culture (Roderick, 2007).

However, not all Ngāti Porou members are satisfied with this “gateway” function into Māori culture, adding to the complexity of the issue of the whare’s retrieval. Maria Smith of Whānau-a-Ruatepupuke (the family of Ruatupuke) is a member of the younger generation. She expresses the necessity to retrieve the whare, but acknowledges that there is a large monetary expense that will be necessary to do so. Indeed, Jack Gray conjectures that in an “ideal” world, Ruatupuke would be returned home to teach current generations of their living legacy. He expresses concern in observing that “it doesn’t take that many generations at all for people to forget about their taonga,” (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014). However, Gray acknowledges that keeping the artifact in the U.S. presents several possibilities for indigenous decolonization and new creative energy. Ihimaera (2002) also states, “We may think that our art is all around us. But what we have is only splendid fragments that tell some of the story but not all of the story. They show us some of our possibilities but not all of our possibilities,” (Ihimaera & Ngarino, Te Ata: Maori Art from the East Coast). The question of location considers international Māori representation; it deeply considers Ruatupuke II’s benefits to its community of residence.

Given the fast pace of human technological development, instructional techniques must constantly be revised so as to ensure mutual comprehension. Maintaining and strengthening the quality of our interpersonal relationships between generations and regions remains a challenge. To make use of the educational potential of the whare, we must revamp and update Ruatupuke’s presentation by incorporating various creative techniques to achieve greater public...
engagement. After all, as a well-known *whakatauki* (Māori proverb) states, *ka mate kōinga tahi, ka ora kōinga rua* (there is more than one way to achieve an objective). This approach must include more than a publication of Ruatopupuke II’s background information, as not everyone always abides by signs and obtains pamphlets.

There are several ways to implement a more engaging approach. One way this could be implemented is by widening the decision-making and creative processes to include members of the younger generation. The research of Paul Tapsell, Angus Hikairo Macfarlane, and Melinda Webber complement one another in terms of making known the significance of the *marae* for Māori wellbeing and sense of identity, and the need to enhance the *marae*’s functions in preparations for Māori youth who attain higher education and return home to apply their studies towards bettering their communities. The *marae* must develop as the community develops, and needs to continue to uphold its relevance in this era of globalization. Also, with more Māori and Pākeha (non-Māori) youth being raised to be bilingual in *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and English, elder generations must consider the inclusion and fostering of Māori youth in their own decision-making processes.

Second, Jack Gray proposes a creative use of modern technology in the *marae*. Jack suggested an interactive approach to educating museum visitors of the reciprocal nature of being on a real *marae* (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014). This program would involve implementation of media and performing arts, such as recorded *karanga* (formal calls) and *whaikōrero* (formal oratory). Visitors would be led to different parts of the *whare* to distinguish its different components, and they would traverse between *tapu* (restriction) and *noa* (free of *tapu*). The museum staff must be consciously aware of which approaches work and which do not. This constant observation is needed in the events of cross-cultural caretaking regarding *taonga*.

The museum staff’s constant awareness of their responsibility to uphold Māori *tikanga* is the surest way to ensure its care on a regular basis. Given the low presence of Māori in Chicago, this is a major challenge. Therefore, staff members involved with Ruatopupuke must involve themselves in more frequent orientations of *tikanga* and current Māori events. Following *tikanga* involves a proper, respectful way to address Māori and other indigenous peoples. For example, stating one’s *pepeha* (a specific introduction) is instilled in Māori communications and utilized in daily interactions in Aotearoa.

In our communication, Jack Gray stated that the docent should have been trained thoroughly to answer questions more precisely. The museum holds certain obligations of cultural custodianship towards Māori and other recognized and non-recognized Native American tribes in Chicago (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014). For a docent to provide only surface level information to a visitor who knows nothing of Māori culture will not imply enough *te Ao Māori* (Māori worldview) in his/her instructional descriptions, thereby enabling a visitor’s Western paradigm to situate the vague information of Māori culture introduced. I imply the Western paradigm because the land Ruatopupuke is situated upon is in the Western context. Definitely, perceiving new information through a Western paradigm varies depending on each individual. Descriptions of Māori culture in the museum must use an empowering vocabulary that recognizes distinctive characteristics without simply juxtaposing its culture.

Another suggested improvement involves the acknowledgement of the Māori people and Ruatopupuke. This should occur first and foremost prior to the meetings held in the *marae*. This would be considered a protocol. There must be an acknowledgment of the ancestor’s *hakapapa*, and knowing that Ruatopupuke is of a specific culture whose symbolism should not be adjusted in favor of “fitting in” with Chicago’s diverse cultural society. This reminder should introduce every gathering in the *marae*’s space, as a *pepeha* is conducted before every formal introduction in Aotearoa.

Jack and the elders of Tokomaru Bay both suggested a partnership with Native Americans to look after the *whare* (J. Gray, 11 Sept 2014). However, for the Field Museum to genuinely uphold *tikanga* towards *taonga*, they *must* be regularly observant of indigenous practices and worldviews. Therefore, they must acknowledge the treatment of the Native Americans in Chicago and throughout US history. After all, how can American caretakers genuinely honor Māori *taonga* with the ongoing ignorance of Native American cultures in their own homeland? Not only acknowledgement of Native American indigenous marginalization, but also of U.S. occupations in Hawai‘i, Puerto Rico, and other islands throughout the world.

One Māori proverb states, *mātua whakapai i tōu marae, ka whakapai ai i te marae o te tangata* (first set in order your own *marae*).

*Descriptions of Māori culture in the museum must use an empowering vocabulary that recognizes distinctive characteristics without simply juxtaposing its culture with another.*
before you clean up another’s). Regular acknowledgement would affect the staff on a grassroots level. For example, the care applied in daily terminology when describing Māori culture would improve the display and ability to situate this cultural artifact within a proper context. Regular acknowledgement of indigenous worldviews would eventually make the curator and staff aware of the unwanted and subtle “other-ing”, orientalizing vocabulary.

The debate of whether Ruatepupuke II should return to Aotearoa is one that will continue to regularly occur. Anytime a member of Ngāti Porou of Tokomaru Bay undergoes a journey to search for his/her roots, acknowledgment of Ruatepupuke will emerge as one of the puzzle pieces of hokapapa identity. Maria Smith jokingly states in Roderick’s documentary that in order to retrieve the whare, one must win the lottery (Roderick, 2007). Although there is a conflict of intentions between generations, kaumātua seem to accept that Ruatepupuke may not be retrieved in their lifetimes. However, the younger generation may decide to undergo this retrieval work. In the documentary, a kaumātua states, “It’s all our mutual thought, bringing back Ruatepupuke. We’re all gonna think like that. But it may not happen in our lifetime. But who’s to say it won’t happen in the future?” (Roderick, 2007). Kaumātua Piripi Aspinall too states, “I’m quite happy with what’s going on, but who knows what Mary [Smith], who’s 40 years younger than me, is going to think tomorrow,” (Aspinall et. al, 1994).

The integration of these new cultural practices that are emerging from this Māori-American relationship leaves much to be desired. However, they are just the beginning of a wide-reaching invocation to infuse American institutionalism with indigenous epistemologies in a way that could shake up the earthly foundations upon which we stand. Ruatepupuke’s presence in Chicago’s Field Museum sets a standard for negotiating new post-colonial possibilities; it creates a space in which to continue critical dialogues of Western and Indigenous encounters and confrontation. To the people of Ngāti Porou, Ruatepupuke symbolizes the connection between the divine and the human. The art of whakairo is of a divine consciousness that is the upmost, reverent representation that simultaneously displays the interwoven dimensions of te ao Māori.

This is why the Field Museum is most fortunate to house this taonga. In the meantime, revision of Ruatepupuke II’s presentation and training of staff must be implemented to maintain the “Māori integrity” that kuia Hine Babbington refers to. A greater act of solidarity with the Native Americans of Chicago and indigenous peoples nationally and internationally must be recognized for Ruatepupuke’s Chicaguan caretakers to better understand the indigenous worldview. Until then, we can await the day that Ruatepupuke returns to its rightful homeland and reinvigorates the iwi identity of Ngāti Porou in Tokomaru Bay.

References


An Anatomy of the World, on the Patience of Her Faith, the Four Hundred and Third Anniversary

Michael Shaw


Wherein, by the occasion of the death of Mistress ELIZABETH DRURY, the patience of her faith in witnessing the sins of the world since her death in December, 1610, while awaiting the Resurrection, is finally resolved by the late JOHN DONNE.

She has been our long-belated witness; sat in Heaven, though remembered less, this queen of angels has so often turned the world’s pages, memorized and learned this book of ages cracked four hundred times and more until the binding, at our crimes, shattered, and crumbled pages into dust that, so combined with blood for dye, she must scribe again from mem’ry, in the rust.

So her perfect soul, so, constant thus has epitaphed upon this ancient grave; as she anointing spices brought, the cave, where stone, still sealed upon the world is; she may, yet, anoint, embalming this putrefied husk; if the body, still at hand when the seal, opened, leaves not only sand,

For two millennia have passed, apace; if her vigil has preserved, the body whole, our life, still in this earth, a vein of coal to be slowly chipped by faithful hands, to burn in industry, our low demands, our sleeping ease, this light, so spending life of long-dead Earth, consuming ancients, blithe; then, untouched, she’s holding up the frame, lest it collapse, so she preserves our claim.

If our Teacher said to her, do not hold, as a prince’s ship, to a mooring told, that was lashed by usurers lines astern whilst at sail in the bay, full, still, and turned; leave off and cling not so, to he, the past; then this dust might return at last to be reshaped in characters, lines remembered but cut free from those they bind, or reforged, not by their creator, but by she, who can thus remember what was once its glory, and perhaps its name, as what is earthly, never is the same.

Lord, thy call was for this generation when thy Son’s fair hand, in Incarnation relived the poor, gave forgiveness, healed the sick and weary, but making clear to the quick, they would receive no sign this generation, and, truly, we have been ages, patient: She, she most of all, the saints to her attend loath to step too far, as she did ascend, for the Resurrection must, it nears;

1 Based upon “the First Anniversary” and “the Second Anniversary” by John Donne
2 Mary Magdalene and others go to anoint Jesus in his tomb not knowing how they will open the stone door, but they find the tomb open and empty. They flee and say, “nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.” Mark 16:1-8
3 Jesus to Mary M. in John 20:17. The KJV says “touch me not,” but more modern translations like the NRSV says “Do not hold on to me”
4 Jesus tells the Pharisees they will be sent to hell now, in this generation, something that would not happen until Judgment Day. Matthew 25:36
5 “Truly I tell you, no sign will be given to this generation.” Mark 8:12
since you were ready to combine the spheres, to make a second Eden Earth, to return a state of grace, you must these pages turn.

We will not all die, but all will be changed,⁶ he says to us, but what have we exchanged?

The blood of the promise is: Two thousand years and her patience for our hope, my fears, her chastity, what, for, purest not to touch,⁷ this monstrous world is taking much too hard; its grasp pulls at those not free—that always was her fortune: not to be bound in the tangled strands of death and fate, nor in this body, as decayed as late.

If, not to touch it is, the highest aim, then these children, they're a fever flame⁸ lighting, ever hotter, the burning passion that consumes, embers in this ashen immolation, torment in and of the world.

She, she most of all was in innocence, so long ago, when she fled from thence, but I, hung on him that hung, on the cross as promise, of what already'd been paid, and I, dead, long under, I have been laid entombed and risen east to her who waits for I alone, and I for nineteen score and four (last month) have waited for the door, far from her patient tranquil herbs and hands, unable to watch the body of these lands; I turn, turn away the pages every day, but in fever, death, the world is fixed, to stay.

—But none of that is true; I have found a way: On this new sheet, the stone has ceased to weigh, and found the body-soul put upon display,⁹ and opened the door, to a life, remade from dust, the ruddy dust that makes the clayed Earth, reborn; as I think she always knew, that to be called was to be created new.

By the soul that lives in mem’ry: To be remembered is to be.

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⁶ Paul promises to early Christians, “We will not all die but we will all be changed...” 1 Corinthians 15:51
⁷ “It is well for a man not to touch a woman.” 1 Corinthians 7:1
⁸ “To the unmarried and the widows I say that it is well for them to remain unmarried as I am. But if they are not practicing self-control, they should marry. For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion.” 1 Corinthians 7:8-9
⁹ “If there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body.” 1 Corinthians 15:44
I have always considered travelling important for personal growth and finding new sources of inspiration. Especially being an artist, world exploration allows me to widen my scope and learn about the same things from a different perspective. Personally, I try to enrich my artistic experience by emerging myself in different cultures and communities.

Being classically trained, I get inspired a lot by the very reality of this world – both nature and city landscapes, still lives, people, and social situations. My main influences include classical European artistic movements such as realism and impressionism in late 19th and early 20th century.

"The Ghost House" is a black-and-white 16x20 inches watercolor painting with black ink done at an abandoned site at the Black Sea after a big fire. I found this place accidentally; far away from the road, it was filled with peace and contemplation. There is always a certain beauty in old, ruined buildings I believe. I wanted this piece to be radiating cold and abandonment as well as its quietness and stillness from which disconcerting beauty emerges. This rural landscape is depicted in a way to help find poetic meaning in everyday life and clarify our existence. This artwork has many shades of gray ranging from black to untouched white color of paper, which creates a full spectrum of possible gradations of tone. This helped me create a link between the landscape’s reality and that imagined and represented on picture plane.
The Castle in the Storm

Steven Shatkin

I am the priest in the empty chapel,
My flock has fled to greener pastures
And I, too, shall soon leave this dusty church to perish.
I run my fingers across the ivory teeth of the organ
Letting it sigh with my touch.
Its ivory teeth give it a wide smile–
One empty of substance
For faces no longer smile in the pews
Singing along with its sighs and moans during our hymns.
White against black against white.
The keys to locked doors sit contrasted on the organ.
How many of their names did I know?
So few were black sheep–
So few touched my life as I touched theirs.
And now the keys are silent.
Locked in a church condemned to dust.
I am a priest on hollow ground
Questioning the fate of our covenant.
Will the faith we have nurtured within these walls scatter on the Wind?
I grasp my collar,
My spirit shaken,
My trembling hand causing the organ to sigh dissonant chords.
Black against white against black.
Faith is more than ash on a grave,
It is something blooming in the heart.
Like a flower hushed in the winter
Or a forest blackened by wildfire,
It shall always bloom again.
Faith ties.
Faith holds.
This is not yet good bye.
I let my fingers dance across the keys,
Playing the music to hymns old and new.
I am waiting for doors to open again,
My faith is now restored.
That will not be forgotten.
When I return, my work will not be undone.
I throw my axe over my shoulder
And begin the long march to fetch my sleigh,
Confident that, when I return,
I will find the logs amongst the snow.

I am the child in his bed at night
Cowering from the storm outside
Fiercer than any blizzard I have ever seen.
My parents are gone for the night,
Knowing I am old enough to watch myself for a brief while.
But they could not anticipate the storm.
Though, it is not the storm that frightens me,
But the jagged lightning it brings.

I stare out my window,
The Wind howling outside,
Wrapped in my covers trying to be brave
As the vicious sparks run across the sky.
The lightning arcs again,
Painting the sky a blinding white
That turns the billowing thunderheads to a feeble gray.
Light against dark against light.
Who can save me from the storm?
The lightning will come and pin me down
For the Wind to come flay me to thunder-food.
The bright light should comfort me–
It should scare away the dark,
But the dark is kind compared to the jagged shadows that the lightning puppeteers.
The light exposes me in all of my fear–
It makes me more of a child,
But I know I must be brave.

I sit alone
In an empty house
Trying to be brave
As the Wind batters the window.
And then the storm shifts its stance,
And reveals the moon at its heart.
Dark against light against dark.
The moon glows in a kinder way than the lightning
And reveals to me the beauty hidden in the storm.
I see castle pillars in the clouds,
Fields of black with herds of horses
Running wildly in their freedom,
Princesses and kings awaiting my arrival.
And I know that the Wind cannot blow this storm away–
That its wonder shall survive the lightning and the Wind.
I know that I, too, shall not be blown away.
The Wind is rushing toward me
Because I am standing the wrong direction,
And am afraid of the speed which the Zephyr carries me.
I only need to turn around
For the Zephyr to carry me to that palace amid the storm.
I crack open my window
Just enough for the Zephyr to whisper to me as I sleep.
I lie down in my bed.
The lightning shall always scare me,
As will the speed at which I travel,
But I know that I shall be safe.
I know that I shall travel ever onward
Toward the castle in the storm
The Zephyr at my back
The lightning at my sides
Forever me,
Flying,
A child trying to be brave.
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