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Title: A Case Study In Religion And Culture History: Faith Healing In The United States Within The Christian Tradition

“Law is a resource in signification that enables us to submit, rejoice, struggle, pervert, mock, disgrace, humiliate, or dignify” (Cover, 1982).

Death comes at any time to anyone. Special attention and grief are given to those deemed to have died “before their time.” Sense is sought in the insensible by looking for someone or something to blame. Who is to blame when a child dies—God or the parents? The legal controversies surrounding faith healing often highlight questions of blame. Christians proclaim a belief in the ultimate power of God to give and take life (Job 1:21, NRSV); thus, the vast majority of Christian traditions acknowledge healing by faith to some degree and pray for the sick. Faith healing, however, has been redefined to mean the complete rejection of Western secular medicine in favor of prayer alone, even in the face of infant death. While some aspects of faith healing are endemic to most Christian communities, the total rejection of Western medicine presents many problems, especially when seeking medical care may have prevented death.

Modern day faith healing stems from the Prosperity Gospel, propagated during the Charismatic Movement of the 1960s. Therefore, it is no surprise that Pentecostals and Charismatic groups, such as Christian Scientists and the Church of the First Born, are the primary denominations that practice faith healing. In a survey by Pew Research Center, 96% of renewalists (those who identify as Pentecostal or Charismatic) report to have witnessed or experienced divine healing, compared to 66% of non-renewalists (Liu, 2011). Yet, it is not divine healing that creates a controversy. A controversy is precipitated when healing does not come and a child dies after being treated by faith healing instead of receiving secular medical care. Controversies over faith healing have been treated differently depending on how American society defined religious freedom at the time. Furthermore, states are more likely to bear the burden of creating these definitions and determining the breadth of religious exemptions. “When statutes and constitutional principles give special treatment to a religious action or organization, courts must be able to say what is religious” (Greenwalt, 2011). However, in attempting to define religion, one will leave out the nontraditional and create a definition limited in its reach. This is problematic when courts are challenged to decide on cases involving faith healing deaths.

BIBLICAL ROOTS

Faith healing has been practiced within the Christian faith for centuries. Jesus’ ability to heal is what makes him credible in the earliest Gospel, the Gospel of Mark. Recorded in the Gospel of Mark, the first of the Gospels to be published circa 70 CE, the credibility of Jesus’s divinity is due to healings. The other Gospels, Matthew, Luke, and John, also utilize this theme of healing. In all four Gospels, there are seventy-two recorded healings attributed to Jesus, forty-one of which refer to distinct episodes (Porterfield, 2005). Outside of the Gospels, faith healing continues as a Biblical theme within New Testament epistles. Many who practice faith healing often cite the Epistle of James 5:14-15: “Is anyone among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith will save the sick, and the Lord will raise him up” (NRSV).

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The theology of faith healing can be broken down into three main forms of justification. The first is conceiving faith healing as a religious obligation. From this viewpoint, Scripture is seen as law directing one's actions and inactions. Therefore, faith healing is seen as a commandment instructed by God. Many support this viewpoint by the Mission of the Twelve recorded in Matthew: "Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons" (Matthew 10:8, NRSV). Others view faith healing as a proof of one's faith. This point is made by concluding that Jesus healed others, and if one is to be like Jesus, they must also heal. The third theological viewpoint on faith healing includes the belief that faith healing is more effective than secular medicine because God's power is more trustworthy than works of man, including medicine (Campbell, 2010).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FAITH HEALING

The popularity of these justifications of faith healing arose in Europe circa 1800. Johann Blumhardt, a Protestant evangelist in the former state of Württemberg, Germany, drew attention due to his Charismatic speaking coupled with his alleged power of faith healing. Many traveled from great distances to visit Blumhardt and request healing. In response, Blumhardt insisted healing came not through his hands, but through prayer. Blumhardt received tremendous amounts of attention, leading him to build houses for people to stay in when they came to seek his services. These houses became the first "healing homes" gaining international attention (Hughes, n.d.).

Familiar with the work of Blumhardt, John Banyard began the Church of the Peculiar People (later known as the Union of Evangelical Churches) in 1838 London. This group was the first sect of Protestantism to completely refuse medical treatment as a tenant of their faith (Livingstone, 2006). Their denial of medical treatment created the first recorded faith healing court cases involving child death. The majority of these rulings resulted in the imprisonment of parents, leading the Church to reluctantly accept modern medicine in 1930 (Livingstone, 2006).

In 1875, Mary Baker Eddy, inspired by the Church of the Peculiar People, popularized and revolutionized faith healing in America through her book *Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures*. In her book, Eddy constructs a theory of sickness as an illusion that can be overcome by prayer. Furthermore, she argues faith healing is the only proper and effective "system of medicine." She states, "We must abandon pharmaceuticals, and take up ontology, 'the science of real being.' We must look deep into realism instead of accepting only the outward sense of things" (Eddy, 1875).

In 1879, Eddy's book became a core text in the religious doctrines of the Church of Christian Science. Eddy describes the Christian Science faith as a revival of "primitive Christianity and its lost element of healing" (Eddy, 1875). Although not fully outlawing medicine, the Christian Science doctrine states prayer is most effective when not combined with medicine. To train faith healers in the art of prayer, Eddy chartered and presided over the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. The Massachusetts Metaphysical College graduated over 4000 doctors of "Christian Science" (Swan, 1983). Yet, the Christian Science movement, and consequently faith healing, lost popularity in 1910 after the death of Mary Baker Eddy as the denomination was divided over who should succeed her leadership (Craft, 1999).

The Charismatic Movement of the 1960s brought renewed life to faith healing. The Charismatic Movement was a primarily Pentecostal movement and popularized the Prosperity Gospel, which resulted in a rise of faith healing. The Prosperity Gospel presents the idea that those who are doing what is right in the Lord's eyes will be rewarded by tangible blessings, such as good health. Many Pentecostal and Charismatic leaders

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used the Prosperity Gospel to draw attention to faith healing by equating great faith with great healing powers (Hugh, n.d.). Faith healing drew in large crowds as the Charismatic Movement grew. Becoming more prevalent and commonplace, faith healing drew the public's attention as it became both more socially acceptable as well as more openly challenged. Now, modern day politicians and Christians are challenged to address faith healing and its legality.

FAITH HEALING CASE STUDY

In the late 1980s to early 1990s, numerous criminal cases were filed, prosecuting members of the Christian Science Church for the deaths of children. These cases involved families who rejected available medicine, choosing instead to treat their children with prayer. The most prominent of these cases was the *Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Twitchell* in 1986 (Rosato, 1994).

When Robyn Twitchell, son of David and Ginger Twitchell, began showing signs of illness, his parents called the on-staff nurse at their church of Christian Science and consulted Christian Science publications outlining the rights and obligations of faith healers. The Church appointed a nurse to pray over the child, yet Robyn died on the fifth day of sickness. An autopsy concluded Robyn has died from peritonitis, which is easily treated with secular medicine. The legal case reported that Robyn was in immense pain at the time of death. One witness claims the neighbors closed their windows in an attempt to shut out his cries. The nature of his death triggered the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to charge the Twitchells with involuntary manslaughter for failing to provide necessary medical care to a minor under their care (Rosato, 1994).

The Twitchells' defense contended that the couple was well within their First Amendment rights to treat their son's illness in accordance to their faith tradition. The First Amendment "prohibits the making of any law [...] impeding the free exercise of religion" (U.S. Const. Amend I). The Twitchells believed they should not be required to take their son to the doctor due to the tenants of their faith. "Christian Scientists maintain that seeking medical attention is a personal decision and that the First Amendment protects their right to believe that 'God's infinite goodness, realized in prayer and actions, heals'" (Guzder, 2009). Requiring medical care against their religious beliefs of theodicy, they argued, would be prohibiting their right of free exercise.

In response to the Twitchells' case, a religious studies professor at Oregon State University, Dr. Courtney Campbell, stated, "If such a theodicy cannot be articulated beyond the bare statement of belief, community custom, and a citation of a biblical reference, the practice cannot be ethically justified and the state has a compelling reason to intervene in the interests of protecting children" (Campbell, 2010). By this statement, Campbell is creating a criterion of providing proof for religious actions in order to merit First Amendment protection. Campbell's statement brings up the question of how one can prove healing claimed to be by God in a society where proof is highly valued. Without tangible proof, Campbell reasons the state has a compelling interest to intervene, which the prosecution also agreed upon. The prosecution stated the wellbeing and health of their son outweighed the Twitchells' religious convictions. As Dr. Richard Sloan stated, "Too often, religious exemptions in contemporary American society has resulted in us subordinating all other values [...] the law must recognize that the rights of children supersede the rights of their parents to free expression of religion" (Guzder, 2009). The Twitchells were ultimately convicted of involuntary manslaughter and required to bring their remaining children to a licensed physician. Robyn Gittens from the Prosecutor's Office commented, "The law is now clear: Parents cannot sacrifice the lives of their children in the name of religious freedom" (Courts Overturn, 1993). Although Gittens attempted to create a clear-cut answer, the issue of faith healing is not that

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simple. The law is not as clear as Gittens stated; otherwise, the controversy of faith healing would have ended there.

In 1993, the Twitchells' conviction was overturned on a technicality. During an appeal, evidence was presented to the judge that showed the Twitchells reasonably believed they could rely on spiritual treatment without fear of repercussions by the State. The father, David Twitchell, had read a church publication entitled *The Legal Rights and Obligations of Christian Scientists in Massachusetts*, which stated that "remedial treatment by spiritual means alone satisfies any parental obligations not to neglect a child or to provide a child with physical care" (Suber, 1993). Although ignorance of the law, *ignorantia juris non excusat*, is not allowed as a defense, the judge ruled this was crucial information that should have been presented to the jury before conviction.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO FAITH HEALING

The Twitchells' case and numerous court cases following prompted the public to urge the federal government to respond. Those who supported faith healing wished for an amendment to legalize the rejection of medical care on religious grounds as protected by the First Amendment. On the other hand, those who did not support faith healing hoped for stricter laws that would hold parents responsible when faith healing resulted in the death of a child. This divide was also noted within Congress. Republican Senator Dan Coats and Republican Congressman Bill Goodling spoke on the floor claiming parents have a right to deny medical care for their children under the First Amendment (Swan, n.d.). Alternatively, Democratic Senator Walter Mondale and Democratic Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder argued that faith healing was child abuse and the interest of the child should trump religious expression of the parents. In order to please both sides and limit federal government involvement, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Amendment (CAPTA) was presented and was ratified in 1996 (National Child Abuse Project, 2014).

The Amendment stated three main principles:

The Federal government cannot require medical treatment against the religious beliefs of the parent.

State governments may find parents guilty of child abuse or neglect due to reliance on spiritual means rather than medical treatment.

State child protective services may intervene to provide medical care to a child when treatment is necessary to prevent serious harm to the child.

Furthermore, an accompanying clause declared "case by case determinations concerning the exercise of the authority of this subsection shall be within the sole discretion of the State" (42 U.S.C. § 5106i). Therefore, CAPTA allows, but does not require, state involvement when child abuse is suspected.

Thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia have religious exemptions from child abuse and neglect prosecution within their civil law codes. These exemptions can prevent Child Protective Services from investigating suspected child abuse on the basis of religious beliefs. Six states allow exemptions for "negligent homicide, manslaughter and/or capital murder" (Swan, n.d.). States have these religious exemptions because of a traditional dedication to the family. "In the liberal political tradition, the state necessarily grants the family wide latitude and substantial social space and freedom in the nurturing of children" (Campbell, 2010). In doing so, parents are allowed to engage in a wide range of activities they may potentially harm their children.

While prioritizing the family, societal culture also limits religious expression by narrowing what is

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included under the umbrella of religion. These societal beliefs are expressed in law. Out of the thirty-eight states with religious exemptions, twenty have a variation of the statement, faith healing exemptions only apply when done “in accordance with the tenets and practices of a recognized church or religious denomination” (i.e. Virginia Code 63.1-248.2)¹. This statement limits faith healing religious exemptions for known established organizations who have a history of faith healing, such as the Church of Christian Science and the Church of Christ. Consequently, those in new religious groups, those who practice faith healing without membership to a religious group, and those in denominations that do not practice faith healing, would not have protection under religious exemption laws.

The civil codes of fourteen other states define religious exemptions only applying to the “legitimate and genuine practice of his religious beliefs” (i.e. Indiana Code 31-34-1-14). These codes assume a person is able to validate religion based on the idea of sincerity and legitimacy, which is highly subjective. American courts legitimize religions that fall into a set category defined by “services that take place in buildings [...] where people gather together to worship this transcendent deity, usually called God, under the supervision of a religious specialist” (Geil, 2009). Questions are raised when one practices faith healing outside of what American society deems a religious norm.

With states answering questions of religion and culture differently, many people and organizations have joined together to pressure the federal government to set a national standard in regards to children and faith healing. The largest movement is being led by Dr. Rita Swan. Swan founded Children’s Healthcare is a Legal Duty (CHILD) in hopes of ending state allowed exemptions as reflected in CHILD’s mission statement: “The mission of Children’s Healthcare Is a Legal Duty is to end child abuse or neglect related to religion, cultural practices, or quackery through public education, research, legal action, and lobbying” (Swan, n.d.). Swan, an ex-Christian Scientist who lost her son to faith healing, stated that many parents would be relieved to have legislation to remove all religious faith healing exemption because “it takes the moral burden of decision making off the parents’ shoulders,” and “they no longer have broken a law of the church” (Blue Ridge, 2009). Dr. Swan believes the entire public wants and would benefit from a stricter amendment denying religious exemptions.

Despite Swan’s efforts, and the efforts of many others, the federal government has been silent. This is because the government is facing a conflict of interests. The federal government is torn between two prized commitments—a commitment to child welfare laws and a commitment to freedom of religious expression. The federal government strives to be secularized with the state being divided from religion; however, their commitment to freedom of religious expressions forces religion and the state to interact in the form of religious exemptions. These interactions are marked with tensions between the state’s dedication to religious freedom and child welfare. Dr. Gordinier, Director of Public Policy of the Institute for Humanist Studies, defines religious exemptions as “dispensations given to certain individuals to not comply with laws that other[s] are legally obligated to obey” (Gordinier, 2000). If a law is not important enough to be followed by everyone, should there even be a law? (Greenwalt, 2011). If one must legalize religious exemptions to allow for individuals not to comply with the current child neglect laws, should the child neglect laws be put in place?

The federal reluctance to intervene explains why CAPTA delicately hands the burden of determining the legality of faith healing from the federal government to the states. The United States federal government historically avoids involvement in religious affairs as Americans prize and idealize their forefathers’ struggles escaping religious persecution. Americans cling to the separation of church and state causing the federal government to exert extreme caution when interfering with religious matters. Therefore, the federal government declares their involvement in faith healing illegal in order for the states to have sole jurisdiction over setting

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religious exemptions.

Yet, not all religious exemptions are granted, as laid out in the consequences and implications of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) signed by President Bill Clinton in 1993. RFRA was established to “ensure that interests in religious freedom are protected” (2 U.S.C. § 2000bb) by limiting government involvement in religious activities. However, an exception is included to be applied in instances of compelling government interest. “The compelling interest test, under the RFRA, [states] ‘once the plaintiff shows a substantial burden on the exercise of religion, the burden shifts to the government to demonstrate that the application of the burden furthers a compelling government interest’” (Greenwalt, 2011). Although RFRA answered some questions of the government’s legal duty in regards to religion, it also raised many more questions. For instance, what constitutes “compelling government interest?” This question is answered in a variety of forms depending on case by case analysis. In the controversy of faith healing, many believe the faith healers’ burden of free exercise of religion is “outweighed by the government’s very compelling governmental interest to stop child neglect and abuse, ensuring children do not unduly suffer” (Williams, 2014). However, the federal government has yet to claim a compelling interest and institute national laws against the practice of faith healing.

In 2001, an opportunity for federal government involvement emerged as an appeal rose to the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Nixon v. Pennsylvania*. This case further questioned the constitutionality of faith healing as applied to the First Amendment by once again putting religious expression and child welfare in opposition to one another. However, the United States Supreme Court declined a hearing. Although the federal government continues to try to remain uninvolved, cultural and religious pressures will eventually force the judicial system to a set national resolution on the legality of faith healing. Just as faith healing by the Church of the Peculiar People was restricted by cultural norms and laws, so will culture pressure the federal government to place restrictions on religious exemptions in modern society. Faith healing will either be labeled as a religious exemption in the name of the Free Exercise clause or indicted as child abuse and will create compelling government interest to merit government involvement and persecution.

CONCLUSION

The question of faith healing is not whether a parent loves their child. It is out of love that parents seek healing through rituals of prayer, anointing, and blessings. Out of love, the parents are calling on their benevolent God to preserve their child’s life (Campbell, 2010). Rather, faith healing is a question of government interest. The government is faced with the question of whether to limit religious freedom in order to require medical care for children that could potentially save their lives. Yet, “legal limits to religious freedom are often expressed by rhetorically set boundaries that are strangely unhelpful when it comes to actual cases” (Sullivan, 2005). This can be seen in the ineffectiveness of the current CAPTA, as the federal government hands faith healing over to the states’ governments.

The legality of faith healing is a controversial and complicated topic plaguing state governments within the United States. The states are looking toward the federal government for direction, yet the federal government has trepidations about becoming involved in the debate. Americans pride themselves on the separation of Church and State, yet legal cases involving faith healing force sacred and secular to interact and will eventually require federal action. Historically, the federal government has demonstrated their commitment to religious neutrality by handing the decision over to state governments. The states have handled this decision by trying

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to define religious practice as legitimate only when there is connection to a religious tradition and a level of sincerity. Yet, cultural and religious pressure seek to involve the federal government to either define faith healing as a cult of child neglect or a sacred piece of religious expression. This contention is seen in the creation of new laws that reflect the ever-shifting norms and commitments of society toward what is deemed a legitimate religion.

New religious exemptions laws are especially difficult. As federal and state governments are pressured to put these laws in place, they are challenged to define religion. Law becomes an articulation of what a culture holds as the “ideal,” including what is the ideal religion or religious practices (Cover, 1982). This will create inequality as some are granted religious exemption privileges while others are denied the same rights. If religion interacting with the state creates inequality, can there ever truly be religious freedom? As the United States Federal Government struggles to face the controversy of faith healing and answer these questions, children are dying, thus leaving society to debate who is to blame when a child dies—God or the parents.

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Title: Human Trafficking of Children on a Global Scale

According to a recent article written by Maryse Godden, Shelia Fredrick, a 49-year-old flight attendant, walked down the aisle of a flight one afternoon and altered the course of someone's life forever. In February 2017, Alaska Airlines was taking Fredrick from Seattle to San Francisco and the procedure seemed like a regular day for her. She noticed a girl on the flight with greasy blond hair who she guessed was around 14 years old sitting next to a well-dressed man. Fredrick claimed to be suspicious of the pair and described the girl as looking like "she had been through pure hell." Fredrick went up to the girl and the child refused to look at or speak a word to her. The man interrupted and seemed to hover over the young child in defense. Fredrick felt something wasn't quite right so she came up with a plan: once she had convinced the girl to use the restroom, she left a note stuck to the mirror, and the child wrote back on it in need of help. Fredrick reported the news to the pilot who told the police. By the time the flight arrived, cops were waiting. It was revealed later that the girl was involved in an instance of human trafficking and Fredrick had saved her life. Fredrick has been on flights for ten years and couldn't fathom the thought of possibly missing these cases before. According to The Washington Post, it is estimated that 50,000 young girls are trafficked in the United States for prostitution each year. In 2016, the US immigration and Customs Enforcement arrested 2,000 human traffickers for 400 child victims (Godden 2-3).

Human trafficking has detrimental effects on the development and lifespan of children around the world. Human trafficking in its many forms is a modern day form of slavery and involves the use of force, fraud, or coercion to obtain some type of service from another human being. This essay will comprehensively explore the scope of human trafficking in children on a global scale by analyzing Europe and the United States. The awareness of this social issue is only recently, becoming prevalent around the globe.

In this paper, I will explore the history of anti-trafficking efforts to ensure explanation in the lack of focus on this issue. I will then examine how the practices of prostitution has become a prolonged issue on a global scale. It will also cover how child pornography, and its nature of child exploitation, has developed in the United States and the Netherlands. Finally, I will explore domestic labor in the United States and Europe with context regarding how it has traditionally been practiced, how it has changed, and how it is changing. After reviewing all of this information, I will finish with the effects and analysis of how this has affected adolescents in different ways.



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Because there are currently gaps in knowledge about the causes and responses to human trafficking, there is neither precise nor quantitative data in regards to how many children are affected.

HISTORY OF ANTI-CHILD TRAFFICKING EFFORTS

In 1948, the United Nations created the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, followed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1984 (English). Because of this legislation, international protocols have been placed in several nations to prohibit human trafficking of citizens. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrined in international law the right to life, liberty, and the security of freedom from servitude as well as freedom from cruel and inhumane treatment. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child includes the right to freedom of life without violence and to be healthy.

The UN legal framework against human trafficking have been strengthened by the Palermo Protocol, which led to the pushing of national anti-human trafficking laws in a majority of developed nations. It was taken up in the United States through the Federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act, put into place in 2000, and has been amended five times. Legislation according to the model of the Palermo Protocol details this specific focus at the state level in the United States. This highlighted prosecution, more than prevention and protection; however, a shift is occurring.

Not only do surviving children have an urgent need for mental health care, but also many of the victims are being helped while still living in trafficked environments. The Kiss study concluded that children that have survived and been through these experiences are mentally haunted for a lifetime. This ongoing trauma should serve as a call to action not only for government organizations, but for policymakers to give and create the right responses for these traumatized children that have and are currently dealing with human trafficking (English 2).

COMMERCIAL SEX EXPLOITATION

Child Prostitution in the States

According to David Rosen's research on teen prostitution, the majority of youth involved in prostitution in America are female, however, there is an increase in the number of young males. Most girls who become involved in prostitution are approximately 14 years old with a median age of 15.5 years. There have been some reports of child prostitutes being picked up at ages as young as nine. These child prostitutes come from throughout the United States, from inner cities, suburbs, and even small towns. However, larger cities are more likely to have a higher percentage of boys involved in child prostitution in comparison to the proportions of other locations. This could be due to the greater ease of participants and more public space. A Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation researcher, Jessica Edwards, found that teenagers as well as adults have exchanged sex in over 650,000 agreements, finding that more males were likely to be involved in this practice. With stereotypes and what the world typically pictures when they hear "prostitution," a female would likely come to mind first. The increasing participation of males can help us understand how vaguely child prostitution has been noted (Rosen 4-7).

According to an East Bay Times article by Kamika Dunlap, due to technology, with a high concentration on social media sites, such as Kik, Snapchat, and Facebook, authorities are discovering that child prostitution is more devious and sophisticated than it was just 10 years ago. A "pimp" is defined as a person (stereotypically, a man), who solicits other persons for sexual favors sometimes in return for earnings or assets. In contrast to in-

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person “recruiting,” pimps can now use these social media sites to sell girls as young as 11 years old for sex on the Internet.

When police on the street find child prostitutes, their pimps are most likely to be within a few yards watching. Typically, the younger the girls, the more protected they are by the pimp. The number one rule of prostitution is ultimately to never reveal the location of the pimp. If the pimp has a larger service running, there might even be a senior girl who is a buffer between the pimp and the younger victim (known as a “bottom bitch”), making the location and collection of pimps even more complicated for police. Victims can also suffer from being repeatedly raped or robbed by what is known as a “guerrilla pimp” who seems to be culturally glamorized in music and movies (Dunlap 8).

Film specialist David Biscobing has found that many female prostitutes in the United States start to work on the streets before they even enter their teenage years. Child prostitutes are entering at younger ages because the younger age group collects more revenue from buyers. Sometimes these kids are runaways or come from dysfunctional households. Many people will believe that all of these “throwaway children” are minorities from lower class groups, however, there is a large proportion coming from middle-class and wealthy families as well. Studies have shown that there is no definite trend predicting which girls end up in prostitution during their childhood years. Though there is most certainly a larger proportion from specific demographics and social classes, there is representation from other sectors as well that have been ignored in previous decades of research. These children can be recruited from schools, the Internet, and in public malls. They are often initially treated as family and within weeks become physically abused and enslaved. With the overwhelming violence and coercion, there is no getting out for these children (Biscobing 3-7).

Child Prostitution in the European Union (EU)

Over the past five years, the number of Dutch children working in prostitution in the Netherlands has skyrocketed from 4,000 to 15,000, according to the Amsterdam-based Child Right organization. Radio broadcaster Carin Tiggeloven has previously stated that unlike the United States, most children in prostitution in Amsterdam are male, or young underage asylum seekers. In the past decade there has been a rise in the number of Dutch girls who are runaways or homeless being forced into prostitution. Most of these runaway girls suffer from a mental disability. The other large group of children, noted as “ordinary” school children aged from 13 to 14, come from a stable home environment. The asylum seekers are typically Nigerian children, accounting for nearly 33.3%. This overview shows that out of a total of 15,000 children involved in prostitution, there one-third are Nigerian children, one-third are Dutch impaired, and one-third are middle class school children (Tiggeloven 2).

The 2017 Defense for Children International Report states that the organization End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT) stands to end child prostitution, child pornography, and trafficking of children for sexual purposes. EPACT is a non-governmental organization and a global network that works on this issue. ECPAT-NL (the Netherlands location) has existed since 1995 and has worked with organizations in Europe against sexual abuse targeting children since 2003. Currently ECPAT-NL is lobbying for effective law enforcement and prevention against victimizing Dutch children. As of now, ECPAT-NL has helped create and complete the Dutch National Action Plan ‘Sexual Abuse of Children’ to address child sexual abuse in the EU, particularly Dutch children (“Defense” 3-10).

Although the forms of prostitution are changing with technology and other developments, the general

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practice has a long history. Journalist Sarah Collins asserts that prostitution dates back to medieval times in Europe with men upholding aggressive dominance over women. Because it was expected for women to slave for their husbands by cooking and cleaning, prostitution began in medieval times because prostitutes were free to express their sexuality however they pleased with whoever they wanted, without control from a male figure. Furthermore, men use prostitutes as an outlet to express sexual desire and freedom. During these times in Germany, if women didn't demonstrate that they upheld a domestic environment, they could be labeled as a prostitute. One has to remember that during these times women also



were commonly getting married by the age of 15 so these prostitutes were all children according to current age-related norms. This was the start of underage prostitution.

Now, there is a newly established form of child prostitution that invites children from all over the EU to the “child prostitution capital of Europe” in the Czech Republic. A town called Cheb hosts teenage girls, prepubescent boys, and “the special” (i.e. children ages 3-4 years old) to be rented or purchased by others for sexual encounters. The average age for the child prostitute here is around 14 years old or younger. They each sell for thousands of dollars to the surrounding German buyers. Though they are without medical care, doctors in the area don't want to be associated with activities of child prostitution so no help is provided. Police continue to not intervene and the German tourist shoppers of prostitution continue to thrive in the area.

Although many people pay to engage in sex with children, it is simple to obtain free sex from children with 21st century technology. According to researcher Sarah Benson, there are up to 1,000 female children in prostitution in rural Ireland. These areas and services can be found and uncovered through Internet sites. The children are forgotten and their bodies are being traumatized in unthinkable ways (Collins Paras 3-4). In 2011, a report made by Fanny Busuttill acknowledges that both male and female children are coerced into this service.

Why would children be chosen for prostitution instead of adults? A part of the reasoning is that children are less able to defend themselves. In certain cultures, there are even prejudices that justify sexual activities with children. In Asia, some men are aroused due in part to a belief that having sexual relations with a young virgin girl prevents from a future contraction of HIV/AIDS. Along with this “prevention,” men in some cultures believe that sex with a virgin girl increases their virility and gives them “success” in future business endeavors.

However, the main cause for child prostitution is, at its core, poverty. Parents of impoverished backgrounds feel that they need to sell services from their children to local pimps because of their inability to meet family needs. Also poverty can lead to abandonment of children, thus leading them to be more susceptible to getting involved with street prostitution at a young age with nowhere to turn.

Prostitution of children can make other salaries seem minimal. The demand is higher than one might think. In Kenya, engaging in a sexual service with a female under 16 years old can cost more than 20 euros. It can reach up to 60 euros if the child is in demand. The average Kenyan worker only earns 4 euros a day. The immediate economic incentive seems all too clear (Busuttill 8-10).

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CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

As mentioned previously, many children engage with different social media environments. What children aren't noticing are the possible repercussions that go along with use of these apps. With Instagram, for example, comes instant direct messaging of photos that don't disappear. These messages can be stored and filed away and sent again. There are now Snapchat features where the receiver can save the sender's snap without them knowing. Children who may take part in "sexting," or sending sexually explicit visual images, may not know that their images are being digitally stored, or even forwarded to other parties.

Child Pornography in the United States

Recently in The Huffington Post, Dr. Mary Pulido published that the Crimes Against Children Research Center in the United States is a resource that studies trends in child pornography. Due to this research, this organization has stated that child pornography can best be defined as the visual messaging or distribution of explicit conduct that can include masturbation, sexuality, intercourse, or exhibition of genitals. It can essentially be anything sent that was meant to be lascivious. Though many people aren't aware, but having images of this sort from a child 17 and under is a felony in every state. Those who share images back and forth are known as P2P, or "peer to peer." There were a staggering amount of P2P users arrested in 2009 in the United States and 33% of the photos shared were of children aged three or younger.

Child pornography is a quickly growing business on the Internet with annual revenues of every year rounding up to be around \$3 billion. The Association of Sites Advocating Child Protection states that child pornography is either distributed as commercial for profit, or offered free or traded on P2P networks like Kik or Snapchat. It also has reported that the United States has the largest share of commercialized child pornography websites and trade networks in the world, making up about 50% of the total network worldwide. Some of the children that had images passed around have later been targets to sexual violence and exploitation due to the distribution of the images.

In 2012, the United States Sentencing Commission sent a report about the country's child pornography problems to Congress. The report analyzed the aspects of this illegal activity specifically the trafficking of the actual photos, common characteristics of offenders, and how they are handled in regards to legal punishment. Approximately one-third of offenders have practiced in illegal types of sexual behavior before being prosecuted for child pornography usage (Pulido Para 7).



Child Pornography in the Netherlands

In 2011, the former Radio Netherlands Worldwide, or "RNW," reported that almost 200 suspects in the city center had been arrested for large-scale child pornography on an internal level. This investigation was known as 'Operation Rescue' and sparked countries around the world to take action as well.

In 2017, News Team "Expatica the

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Netherlands” published that in 2004, Amsterdam police seized 280 computers, DVDs, and other visual tools during a nationwide raid to rid child exploitation. The addresses and banking details that were found had evidence of obtaining payments for child porn (“Dutch” Paras 7-14).

Now, there is a debate in the Netherlands to legalize virtual child pornography, which has become a magnificent controversy. Writer Nicolas Delaunay shared in an article about two Dutch sexologists, Rik van Lunsen and Erik van Beek, who in 2012 proposed an idea that because pedophiles and child pornography addicts cannot be kept under control, there should be some “reasoning” behind legalizing certain parts of the problem. The two sexologists thought of creating child porn using computer-generated images that weren’t actually specific children but were more like figures of the sort, but this practice was made illegal in 2002 when technology had the ability to make photo-realistic graphics. Van Beek believed that if no child was abused then the pedophiles could be regulated. It is known that actual traditional child porn sharing is punishable by only four years in prison. Van Beek also shares that taking away the fantasies in its entirety can lead to frustration in these addicts, which could potentially lead to a greater likelihood of actual sexual harm to children rather than taking away porn and cracking down on the sexual prosecutors. This entire study sparked a huge debate in Dutch social media and journalism. The government’s parliament agreed that it would be a huge responsibility to tell if the virtual images were real or make believe. A crime journalist by the name of Peter de Vries said that the proposal was possible but problems could most likely arise. The real question comes as: how far should it go? How can we see what is realistic versus too realistic? Some people want photos of naked children, others want to watch children participating in sex, and others want to look at little boys.

One percent of the Dutch population of 16.5 million has pedophilic preferences. However, according to sexologist studies, only a tiny fraction could ever actually abuse children. The sexologists argued that people aren’t responsible for their thoughts or fantasies but are only responsible for actions. This may sound correct but if sexual fantasies trigger actions or lead to increase thinking of acting on illegal activity, this could become even more controversial (Delaunay 5).

The lives of children that are exploited through child pornography have been altered for the long run, not only by substantial effects of molestation but also by the permanent record of their services. This kind of documentation then becomes blackmail for the child into further submission of child porn services. Computer crime researcher Margaret Healy asserted that The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has been ratified by a majority of the nations across the world to identify child pornography as a violation against children, requiring that nations who are subject to these services take measure to prevent this type of exploitation of children for material service. However, despite this effort, child pornography in many nations remains a thriving issue.

Some challenges of any study of international child porn includes the lack of data regarding the production of child porn in certain parts of the world (most often in Latin America and Africa), the shifting of global patterns in the consumption of child porn, and lack of any uniform definition of what child pornography really is. There is a fast moving production and distribution of international access that is transforming the child pornography practice. In addition, the advent of child porn of computer altered images has been creating challenges for law enforcement around the world.

International Picture of Child Pornography

The U.S. market is the most lucrative in the world, according to the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the U.S. Senate. However, the phenomenon of child pornography exists throughout the world. Though most of the data that exists about child pornography is only focused in North America and northern

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Europe, there are also other regions that play a key role in this activity.

With an examination of international production, there is a sense of the global supply and demand of child pornography. In Asia, Japan is the most important center for the commercial production of child porn. Their teen porn most commonly depicts young Japanese girls in sexual poses in teen magazines, producing millions of erotic comics for an audience of young students that can be bought in vending machines. This type of child pornography reflects an appeal for sex with Japanese girls in school uniforms, which is especially present in the commercial practices of Tokyo. The early 1970s marked the rise of commercial production of child pornography on the Western side of the world with the main European production centers in Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Yet many who were featured in European magazines were photographed in the U.S. and then published abroad. The 1980s brought increased governmental regulation from the U.S. and Europe. After this, commercial distribution was no longer a major means of circulating porn. The majority of child pornography now is exchanged internationally between child molesters without any commercial or profit motive. Pornography used by underage participants is an organized crime (Healy Para 8).

FORCED LABOR

Child Bonded Labor

Millions of children around the world are subject to abuse in the work environment. The United States Department of Labor estimates that there are nearly 168 million underaged children at work. Of that total, 51% of those children are in hazardous conditions during their illegal employment. The International Labor Organization averages that there are a total of six million children that have been forced into labor or sexual exploitation. Through deceiving acts, and human trafficking, children have been placed within or outside their own countries without the ability to leave. Currently the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) is working to protect the human rights of children when it comes to employment around the globe. ILAB gives a yearly report on the statistics of forced child labor to try and analyze solutions. They assist the U.S. government's strategic efforts to reduce such labor practices. ILAB is also currently funding projects to help children find school and refugee programs with supportive adults so family dynamics would not have to depend on child labor to make ends meet. ILAB has published over 30 congressionally mandated reports to create a public list of places in the United States where child labor practices have been proven to be prevalent. ILAB urges to work directly with families to give assistance at both community and national levels to make sure families are taken care of.

The International Labor Organization's Forced Labor Convention states that 'forced labor' can be described as work being underdone against a person's choosing. This could be from a threat or a penalty of some sort. Forced labor can be cut into different segments. In some areas, victims are born into slavery; this is not so much the case in the United States. Others are trafficked, which are most of the victims from the United States and the Netherlands ("Child" 7).

Because of researcher Kirti Sinha's work, it is known that India has the largest number of working children in the world with estimates ranging from 60-115 million. Working in the fields for 16 hours a day or more, these children are living unbearable lives, picking rags in city streets or sweating in stone quarries. The picture below shows a young child in India working on a brick-laying site (Sinha). They are earning close to nothing and are abused at a whole new level. There is not enough to eat for all the workers, and their literacy skills are being delayed or forgotten because education is not provided to these underage workers. 15 million of them are virtual slaves who are known as the bonded child laborers of India. Bonded child labor is work to pay



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off a debt. From the Human Rights Watch Analysis in 1996, this debt attaches them to the employer, and the parent usually receives a small loan that the child earns. Bondage is a traditional worker-employer relationship in India. Usually the parents need this money to pay for medical funds, or put food on the table. As these children in India reach maturity, some of them are released in exchange for a younger child. In the past five years, there has been rising public awareness in India to this practice, specifically in the carpet industry. Typically associating child servitude with images of children working while chained to carpet looms, the international public has challenged the use of bonded child labor in the production of carpets. However, how can we only focus on this problem in carpet work? More than 300,000 children work in the carpet industry in India, which is only 2% of the bonded child laborers in India. There are so many other sectors being ignored. Agriculture, for example, accounts for 64% and is completely ignored. This is despite the fact that the practice of child debt servitude has been illegal in India since 1933 when the Children Act was enacted under British rule. There are certain laws governing child labor in factories. The Child Labour Act of 1986 states that a child below the age of 14 should be prohibited from working in hazardous conditions. However, there is no prohibition of the use of child labor or minimum age set for child workers. The labor laws are sorely lacking and there is no risk of punishment to the perpetrator ("India" 9-10).

Child Domestic Labor

As previously described, there are many different forms of child labor. The most discouraging to hear includes debt bondage, prostitution, and slavery. In regards to child domestic labor, there has been a focus on fixing the problem in Amsterdam. In a recent press conference, the Amsterdam representative of Conference Chairman, and the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment of the Netherlands called delegates to make the elimination of child labor a priority, arguing that working children should be in school. This is the main argument for this worldwide problem. According to the International Labour Organization's Director-General Michel Hansenne, there has been a denouncement of labor exploitation that has been carried out in a "gross violation of international law and national legislation unjustified by any economic circumstances." 90% of rural working children in Amsterdam are involved in agricultural activities, in which they are commonly exposed to fertilizers and pesticides. Safety experts consider this environment one of the most difficult places to protect children. In industrial manufacturing environments, city children work in slave-like conditions with dangerous chemicals and gases. There are jobs not prone to these children



who are in glass working, mining, carpet weaving, and bricklayers, such as heavy lifting and unsupervised machinery. Children suffer the effects of fatigue faster than adults. Little girls work long hours as unpaid servants. Others participate in street trade for objects in favor of masters. Crime in the area and lack of economic stability has forced these children into all of these activities. Long hours of work not only impair the physical and emotional development of what is supposed to be childhood, but they impair a child's opportunity to be

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learning in school. In the United States, research has shown that the academic performance of children aged 12-17 years is affected greatly if they are already working 15 hours a week. In places like Amsterdam, children work at even younger ages and for longer hours. The ILO estimates that of the millions of children working between ages 5-14 years of age, nearly 48% work full time. The majority of these workers are in small outskirts of Amsterdam and in rural areas. Large concentrations of these workers are rare. The children are scattered in different areas which makes it that much harder to find them (“Amsterdam” 3-16).

While child workers are considered important to the running of national economies of various nations, as a workforce they are the most vulnerable to exploitation and abuse worldwide. Human rights advocates have seen and captured instances of exploitation faced by these child workers at the hands of their dirty employers. Rape, daily beatings, and forced labor in inappropriate conditions are being put upon these kids around the globe. According to the International Domestic Workers Federation, employers who underpay these children make \$8 billion (£5.1 billion) a year in simply illegal profits. The children’s vulnerability is rooted in the nature of the work hidden in private facilities. Only 10% of child domestic workers in the world have the same basic work rights as in all other industries of the workforce. One-fourth of all of these workers don’t have any legal rights.

The International Trade Union Confederation predicts that 2.4 million domestic workers under the age of 18 are slaves. The majority of them are migrants from less developed countries including Sri Lanka, Nepal, Philippines, and India. After arriving in new countries, the workers fall under the Kafala system. This means the consent of a “sponsor” family is required if one is to leave employment. If they become runaways, then they can be treated as undocumented workers and can also be detained. In countries that enforce this, like Saudi Arabia, it is effectively illegal for the workers to flee the abusive conditions without the permission of their employers. A 2013 study found that 17% of these workers are sexually abused in Dhaka (Bangladesh’s capital), while another 83% have been regularly physically abused from their employers. Hundreds of thousands of children in Nigeria work as domestic servants. All of this puts these children at risk for sexual violence and every other form of abuse. Globally, an estimated 10.5 million children are employed as domestic workers (Falconer 4).

EFFECTS OF TRAFFICKING ON IMPACTED CHILDREN

Child trafficking describes extreme forms of child maltreatment and violations of human rights. Current research is lacking on the impact of these crimes on child development and the well-being of the victims. But in general, trafficking of children presents risks to the physical, psychological, spiritual, and social-emotional development of victims.

Researcher Abigail English shows us that some of the effects can include PTSD, suicidal thoughts, depression, anxiety, and self-harm. The Kiss et al study of trafficked female children pointed out the several crucial aspects of the human trafficking experiences in child survivors. In addition, there are significant health consequences from sex trafficking and labor trafficking. While most of those interviewed were noted to have been forced into sex work, there was still a large amount of young women that were trafficked into factory work.

Health care professionals have played key roles in the identification of those who have indeed been trafficked as well as responding to needs, trauma, and after-effects. Once the risk becomes a true-life situation, health care professionals can help make or break the child’s situation. Their first response is to identify the individuals and survivors and then figure out the appropriate health care needs. Some ways they can undergo this process includes direct clinical care and research (English 2).

Psychologist Yvonne Rafferty has studied how traffickers use psychological manipulations and methods

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to maintain control over victims. Children who experience human trafficking are commonly subjected to routine beatings and abuse. The unrelenting emotional and physical trauma present a grave risk to the social-emotional development of the child in the future. Some die, some disappear, and for those that survive, they are permanently damaged for the remainder of their lives. There is a strong link between child maltreatment and maladaptive psychological outcomes. Educational deprivation, emotional or behavioral issues, and health problems are all effects that impact trafficking victims. Different developmental and trauma theories can help understand how trafficking really affects children.

Children that have been through prolonged abuse, neglect, and severe torture in any form are at risk for negative symptoms related to biological integrity, emotional regulation, cognitive functioning, attachment, and self-concept issues. They are robbed of educational opportunities that could have been available to them, therefore threatening their future economic placement in the world. Their memory skills and grade retention are severely and negatively affected. Victims that live through inhumane living situations with poor diets and lack of hygiene result in health problems that live with them for the rest of their lives. If a victim was involved in any type of sexual exploitation, there are expectations of unhealthy and unsafe sexual practices in the future. This could lead to high-risk pregnancies, unsafe abortions, and STDs. HIV/AIDS and other STDs are prevalent among those who were sexually exploited, and in turn, provide difficulties in future sexual activities, relationships, and consensual physical activity.

One of the most important effects would be on the emotional well-being of the children that go through experiences of human trafficking. Children experience physical and emotional issues associated with the initial forced removal from their homes. Case studies have reported adverse effects among these children including depression, lack of self-esteem, guilt, and PTSD. These messages influence how they feel about themselves and their relationships with those around them. Emotional neglect is associated with social and emotional withdrawal. Anxiety, depression, and social isolation all arise from the newly recovered victims. Their whole lives are different now. In regards to behavioral outcomes, the victims can deal with mistrusting adults, and become severely antisocial. They feel as though no one can relate to them and have trouble connecting and making new friendships.

We have to build a protective environment for children that are victims from trafficking. Programs are essential to focus on promoting the well-being of those that have been affected. Psychologists with social policy expertise could work with the government to ensure the development and implementation of effective prevention and after-effect programs to benefit the exploited. Legal procedures are needed in every country to ensure that those who profit from trafficking are brought to justice and the victims can rest knowing that they can one day return to a relatively normal life (Rafferty Paras 8-19).

PROSECUTION AND PROTECTION

In the course of this essay, I have discussed the basics of human trafficking that involve children. I defined human trafficking and parts of its historical timeline. I also went through the various types of human trafficking and how those practices developed and continue to work to this day. In addition, I went through how many people are being affected in various regions around the globe. The effects of child human trafficking are undeniable and terrifying. The real underlying fact is that we have so much to learn and there isn't enough research being done to uncover what is really happening. However, we now stand at the final concept of discovering what current efforts are being made to stop this detrimental problem.

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In general, government intervention varies across the world. Some countries are creating policies that work for specific cultures while others lag behind with no efforts to stop the trafficking at all. The following research has been proved in a 2013 issue of “The Muse,” written by Natalie Jesionka, that analyzes the efforts of countries made to cease child trafficking. In 2003, the UN Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons made a universal trafficking definition and set goals to lead countries to prevent and fight child trafficking. In parallel, the U.S. Department of State’s “Trafficking in Persons Report” gives guidelines for nations to comply with minimum standards for stopping child trafficking.

However, these methods are difficult when addressing the variations of child trafficking across the globe. Because of various cultures, fluctuating economies, and a diverse plethora of religions, all nations have complications in the implementation and enforcement of justice systems worldwide. For example, many of the laws around the world focus on just sex trafficking of children but ignore labor trafficking, despite child labor trafficking being more widespread and more of an issue. In general, while there is an increase of media exposure on trafficking as a whole, the majority of the problem is being ignored and not addressed. To outline this, I will provide an overview of six different countries’ efforts and the challenges that they face to implement human trafficking laws.

The United States

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was enacted in 2000 and became the first federal law that actually addressed sex and labor trafficking of children in the United States. The TVPA was primarily for the protection of and help for the victims and to further prosecute the offenders. It was reauthorized and amended in 2003, 2005, and 2008 to become the Trafficking Victim’s Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) and each modification gave more positive changes. In 2008, the TVPRA required the Department of Labor to publish lists of products made by forced child labor, giving citizens a different perspective when purchasing these particular products. In 2011, the TVPRA expired and is currently in need of an update to relook at the changing landscape of human trafficking of children in the United States.

In 2016, a bill to reauthorize the TVPRA was introduced to Congress. In its amended form, it held government contractors accountable for using foreign labor recruiters that would exploit the laborers. This helped law enforcement more effectively prevent and prosecute sex tourism. It also created a grant-making program to prevent child trafficking in humanitarian crises. In the section of “Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking” under the TVPRA, the U.S. government is actively trying to become a leader in ending child trafficking.

Because of the Polaris Project, Massachusetts has been rated one of the best states for effective activism to combat human trafficking. This project made the Human Trafficking Task Force to strengthen the protection of the children in trafficking and makes using the Internet for this practice punishable by law. However other states have much more progress to make, in Wyoming, for example, there are no existing laws in place that punish trafficking of any sorts. Though recently the state House Bill 133 added human trafficking legislation to the law and the bill is currently going to the Wyoming Senate.

India

In India, more than 200,000 children are trafficked in various forms each year and, for the most part,

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are forced to perform domestic service and/or labor in embroidery and brick factories. The country has government-sponsored Anti-Trafficking Units, however they are not widely implemented or enforced. Ideally, they are supposed to investigate human trafficking cases and establish prosecutions. The biggest issue is that it is difficult to see if one law can work for a country as regionally diverse as India. Corruption, and lack of education and training make it hard to make the programs effective. Currently the U.S. State Department is encouraging India to raise awareness about human trafficking, although this may be a lost cause. The United States wants, however, to help India first establish a file-and-prosecute case precedent in local anti-trafficking courts, and then build from there.

Cambodia

In Cambodia, the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation was initially created to work with U.S. anti-trafficking efforts. This law has been downplayed though for conflating the sex work of children with regular labor practices. Cambodia is one of the poorest countries in Asia, and sex exploitation of children here is considered rational for the economy especially in rural regions. This alone makes legal enforcement a challenge to both the victims and those that participate by choice.

South Korea

Trafficking of children is widespread in South Korea and there have been several reported cases of people from the Philippines, North Korea, Russia, and Thailand being exploited in South Korea's sex industry. Even more, many of the human trafficking victims in the United States originate from South Korea and find themselves in situations of debt bondage when they arrive in the United States.

On the United States Trafficking in Persons Report, South Korea is a Tier 1 country, meaning it meets the minimum standards for preventing the trafficking of children. However there are still many cases of labor exploitation in difficult and dangerous factories. These workers are vulnerable and fall ill in these extreme conditions. The Punishment of Acts Arranging Sexual Traffic and its Labor Standards Act puts legal sentences on the perpetrators. Despite this, there is no legislation defining child trafficking, so it is almost impossible to determine these individuals as guilty to be prosecuted.

Sweden

In Sweden, the Kvinnofrid law makes it illegal to buy sex from children but not necessarily illegal to actually sell it. This kind of law would, in theory, reduce human trafficking and the demand for prostitution. This law is under a label called a "John Law" and is considered controversial because it tends to force the child sex workers underground to make them invisible from the public. Arguably, this does not reduce the number of cases: it hides them. This is more dangerous for the sex trafficking to even operate. The law was later used by Norway and Iceland despite measuring the impact of the laws being extremely difficult.

Denmark

In 1999, Denmark decriminalized prostitution in order to make it easier to regulate. There are several organizations that support underage sex workers for their rights and labor unions. Every now and then, the government brings up child prostitution bans but the Danish public actually widely opposes this. However, there are trafficking and pimping practices that are still illegal in Denmark. The Danish Criminal Code makes sure that the sex and labor trafficking of children is still treated as a major criminal offense. The country has made a National Action Plan against this offense at the Danish Anti-Trafficking Centre. This place assists trafficked children and helps them get treatment and assistance from authorities. It is not easy to implement

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trafficking laws here though because the effectiveness of the laws is clearly still a controversy between the government and the Danish public. The challenges of legislation are continuing to make efforts but have given up in many ways (Jesionka Paras 2-18).

CONCLUSION

There are many forms of human trafficking, and many ways in which it harms trafficked persons, and in turn, there are many methods that people around the globe can employ to help fight and end child trafficking. We must learn the indicators of this type of service that children are suffering from so we can identify potential victims. Responding to the victim's physical and emotional needs is outside the initial matter of the provider's practice. The client will need long-term treatment and care with a team of healthcare professionals. Every provider should care for physical trauma, STDs, diagnosis of diseases, any suicidal thoughts or mental disabilities developed, and all other immediate needs. One must be informed about the facts that no victim can be forced to report a crime, the victim's family may be at risk if they report the crime, and he or she is also, due to the underage status of the minor, under legal obligation to report anything to child protective services. Training is available in selected locations for businesses, law enforcement offices, educational institutions, and others. We need to be conscientious and informed as consumers. Figure out who picked your tomatoes, who makes your sweaters, and where your silk is coming from. Look up the Department of Labor's List of Goods Produced by Child Labor. Encourage companies to take initiative to investigate child trafficking in supply chains and how products are being sold.

I spoke about history, child exploitation, child pornography, and labor trafficking in European countries as well as the United States. There is so much more to learn on each of these topics as this is only stressing adolescents excluding other vulnerable populations. The message of this paper is to take a stand to conduct more research on each sector of research I have discussed. I will continue to be included in my campus awareness organizations for human trafficking efforts as well as promote companies that aim to trigger the fight.

Volunteer and support anti-child trafficking efforts in your community along with meeting with and writing to government representatives to know that you care about the fight against children trafficking. What can they do to address it globally, not just in your home country?

Businesses can provide jobs, internships, and training to survivors. Students can take action on their campus by establishing a club to raise awareness about this global phenomenon. Health care providers can identify the indicators and assist those victims. Journalists and writers can understand that media plays a huge role on shaping perceptions about this worldwide issue. Attorneys and government officials can offer legal services for those needing assistance, like applying for special visas. Give resources for representatives, and people of or relating to human trafficking victims. We must work toward the end of modern child slavery and sexual exploitation, no matter how treacherous and long the fight may be.

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Title: A World “Made of Breath”: Cormac McCarthy and the Oral Storytelling Tradition

Cormac McCarthy is an American author who has written many novels and plays, including literary “hits” such as *Blood Meridian: Or the Evening Redness in the West*, *All the Pretty Horses*, *No Country for Old Men*, and *The Road*. Though one may be tempted to categorize him for further study, McCarthy is notoriously difficult to classify; in doing so, a person “pigeonholes” McCarthy in the most negative sense of the word. McCarthy is taught in university courses ranging from modernist American literature and Southwestern American literature to contemporary fiction and Southern literature. As Dana Phillips astutely observes, scholars of the author’s oeuvre are generally divided into two camps: one that classifies him as a Southern writer, and the other that considers him a Western writer of the American notion and tradition. Neither classification, however, captures McCarthy and his works with full accuracy. Furthermore, as Steven Frye and Timothy Parrish have noted in their respective articles that, though McCarthy’s specific reading habits are not readily known, scholars are aware of his literary influences. They range from Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Lucretius, St. Augustine, and the King James Bible to William Faulkner, Flannery O’Connor, Ernest Hemingway, Herman Melville, and Fyodor Dostoevsky. In short, McCarthy has been shaped by a Western narrative tradition that both predates literature (“the art of letters”) itself and continues to make its presence felt in contemporary literary realities (Scholes et al. 17).

In light of McCarthy’s relationship and deference to the Western literary and narrative tradition—he himself admits “that books are made out of books”—I will examine McCarthy’s novels *The Crossing* and *The Road* through the theoretical framework of narratology (Woodward 3). Furthermore, I will examine the aforementioned novels alongside *The Nature of Narrative* by Robert Scholes and other studies in narratology. *The Nature of Narrative* tracks the trajectory of the narrative tradition (oral, classical, etc.) to its present status in the form of the novel. An in-depth study of the narrative tradition of which McCarthy was acutely cognizant throughout his writing career begs the question: how are *The Road* and *The Crossing* in dialogue with certain aspects of narratology?

In response to the research question above, two specific areas of study in *The Nature of Narrative* are relevant to this research project: the oral heritage, or tradition, and the dichotomy of “illustrative” and “representational” meaning in narrative. The oral tradition and the issue of meanings in narrative are intertwined. First, Scholes defines meaning in a narrative work of art as “a function of the relationship between two worlds: the fictional world created by the author and the ‘real’ world, the apprehendable universe” (82). As one may surmise, the relationship between the world of the author, transcribed and preserved as a fixed text at a fixed moment in history, and that of the reader un beholden to that same particular time leads to complications: a collision between the reality in which the text was composed and the reality in which the text is read. Scholes notes, however, that in an oral culture, the disparity between the world of the author and the world of the reader is mitigated. As Scholes claims, “In an oral culture, this problem does not exist. Singer and listeners share the same world and see it in the same way” (82). Furthermore, in a more in-depth study of the oral storytelling tradition, Scholes observes that “[e]ach performance is a separate act of creation. Until he actually sings a narrative, that song does not exist, except as a potential song among infinitely many others in the abstract apparatus of the singer’s tradition” (22). Scholes implies that an oral culture better bridges any disparity between

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the world of the performer/storyteller and the world of the audience than its “fixed text” counterpart.

Western literature often aspires to imitate or duplicate the real world despite its status as an artifact one step removed from actuality. Interestingly, although McCarthy is influenced by a Western narrative tradition, his works seem to be outliers in the general mimetic tendency of Western literature. As Steven Shaviro notes, “[t]he language of *Blood Meridian* is not primarily mimetic, as in classical models of the novel; but neither is it turned inward to thought or back upon itself, as is canonically the case with modernist texts. It is rather in intimate contact with the world in a powerfully nonrepresentational way” (153). Shaviro’s observation is crucial to understanding McCarthy not only as a novelist practiced in the art of letters (literature) but also one whose works (especially *The Crossing* and *The Road*) may constitute one extended attempt to examine, endorse, and challenge the oral storytelling tradition as much as possible within the confines of a modern culture of written letters. That is, McCarthy’s attempt at mimesis is not an attempt to capture a “slice” of real life or to pass his works as “real.” Rather, McCarthy’s mimetic effort is directed at the oral storytelling tradition; a tradition that equally may not capture the totality of reality but is simultaneously made true in the very act of telling the tale and in constructing the narrative world to which both teller and listener are privy.

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The primary sources for this project consist of two novels by Cormac McCarthy: *The Crossing* and *The Road*. Of McCarthy’s expansive oeuvre, the oral storytelling tradition is most present as both a plot element and a theme in *The Crossing* and *The Road*, respectively. Through a close reading and analysis of the novels, I examine how the oral tradition is manifest in the plots of these novels and how the oral tradition is constructed (or replicated) and communicated to readers of these novels. Furthermore, I consider this study’s contribution to Cormac McCarthy scholarship and the Western literary/narrative tradition as we conceive it today.

Secondary sources will include book length studies and journal articles specific to Cormac McCarthy’s *The Crossing* and *The Road*. Though most secondary sources consist of articles or book chapters dedicated to the two novels, there are also secondary sources that examine other works by McCarthy but nonetheless contribute to understanding McCarthy as a novelist. Other secondary sources pertain to the theoretical framework of narratology through which I examine and contextualize McCarthy’s works. A seminal source is *The Nature of Narrative* by Robert Scholes et al. More specifically, I will focus on two chapters in *The Nature of Narrative*: Chapter 2: “The Oral Heritage of Written Narrative” and Chapter 4: “Meaning in Narrative.” Lastly, secondary sources include texts that clarify terms employed in this project: “the Western literary tradition” or mimesis. Through a diverse set of secondary sources, this project offers contrasting perspectives on often unclear terminology for readers who may not be well-versed on these topics. Some of these works will be selected essays in *Illuminations* by Walter Benjamin and *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* by Harold Bloom.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The range of topics in McCarthy scholarship is as expansive as McCarthy’s writing career of fifty-plus years. They consider McCarthy’s works alongside, for example, American history, historical revisionism, philosophy, mythology, film studies, and most recently, gender and ethnic studies. A case in point is Timothy Parrish’s “Cormac McCarthy’s *Blood Meridian*: The First and Last Book of America.” Parrish examines *Blood*

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Meridian alongside a study of postmodernist history and contemporary “identity politics.” He asserts that the violence portrayed in *Blood Meridian* is perhaps the continuation of “the original violent encounter between Indians and European interests” and “the collision between the New World (America) and the Old World (Europe) of the fifteenth century” (Parrish 85). Regardless of whether one agrees with Parrish’s interpretations of *Blood Meridian*, one cannot deny his astute placement of *Blood Meridian* in some form of tradition or, to say the least, a lode of discursive continuity, be it historical or literary in nature. As Parrish claims: “If history, and thus civilization, is but the continuation of an eternal violence by different names, then *Blood Meridian* implies both the beginning and the end to human history, and its true concern is with its own status as the book that binds the world together” (85). As Parrish does with *Blood Meridian*, I hope to place *The Road* in a larger, holistic context, that of the narrative tradition.

Though scholars writing on McCarthy’s *The Crossing* and *The Road* have dealt with constructing meaning, they often do not explicate oral storytelling as the specific means by which this construction of meaning is made possible. By way of illustration, Erik J. Wielenberg in “God, Morality, and Meaning in Cormac McCarthy’s *The Road*,” asserts that the man “needs to believe that he is on a divine mission” but does not specify how the man fulfills this mission (3). In fact, as I illustrate below, the character fulfills this mission through the narrative constructs he shares with his son. Similarly, Allen Josephs finds his argument on archival records of McCarthy’s *The Road*. Citing the Cormac McCarthy Papers at Texas State University, Josephs claims, “it is clear from the very beginning that ambivalence about God was to form a central theme of *The Road*” (134). Though I agree with Josephs’ statement, I contend that the narrative oral storytelling tradition fills the vacuum left in a world in which God’s presence is ambiguous at best. For though Dianne C. Luce contends that characters “participate in the life of the world through narrative acts that create meaning and value,” in a post-apocalyptic world such as that of *The Road*, narrative acts may very well be God and the world itself in one (207). More importantly, I take these insights into consideration but also add to the scholarly conversation in the next sections by emphasizing the oral tradition and its far-reaching implications not only for McCarthy’s work but for literature itself.

THE ORAL STORYTELLING TRADITION IN THE CROSSING

Cormac McCarthy’s *The Crossing* depicts Billy Parham’s journeys into Mexico, some of which are undertaken with his brother Boyd. Though he initially crosses into Mexico to return a she-wolf to her native land, Billy’s life takes unexpected turns, prompting further excursions. During these trips, Billy runs into an array of characters: the old wolf-trapper Don Arnulfo, the priest, the blind man, etc. These characters philosophize about the nature and reality of the world in extended oral monologues that render Billy’s wanderings a mere installment of a story that is a story of the world.

The oral storytelling tradition or some form of oral transmission is manifest in *The Crossing*’s opening passage. The act of oral transmission comes after the action of Billy’s riding into Hidalgo, competes with it for prominence, and ultimately supplants it: “He [Billy] carried Boyd before him in the bow of the saddle and named to him features of the landscape and birds and animals in both Spanish and English” (TC 3). On one level, Billy’s naming the landscape, birds, and animals in Spanish and English conjures atavistic images or at least subtle evocations of the first and/or primitive man (say, Adam of the Judeo-Christian tradition or simply the first *Homo sapiens* to whom we are all progeny) as well as to English and Spanish settlers of a New World, that “new country” which “was rich and wild” (TC 3). At this point in the narrative Billy does not yet have a name.

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He is referred to as an anonymous “he” of an equally nameless group referred to as “they.” The lack of a name contributes to resonances of a continuous narrative un beholden to a specific individual or a specific time period. Here, Billy (“he”) is merely one installment of a greater “[He]”—humankind—that has woven itself into the landscape as its temporary inhabitant and its inevitable departed.

To illustrate the point made above, at one point in *The Crossing*, Billy and Boyd are reconfigured into historical abstractions and new additions to a subsuming, continuous narrative. As the boys encounter the Tarahumara, we are told:

An old man and a young boy were playing home-made violins and the boy stopped playing but the old man played on. The Tarahumara had watered here a thousand years and a good deal of what could be seen in the world had passed this way. Armored Spaniards and hunters and trappers and grandees and their women and slaves and fugitives and armies and revolutions and the dead and the dying. And all that was seen was told and all that was told was remembered. Two pale and wasted orphans from the north in outsized hats were easily accommodated. (TC 192)

Here, Billy and Boyd are transmuted into “two pale and wasted orphans from the north” as part of a history of at least “a thousand years” into which they “were easily accommodated” (TC 192). McCarthy portrays the brothers not as the central protagonists of *The Crossing* but simply as two additional figures now inscribed into the history of the Tarahumara as artifacts no different than the “names and dates . . . written in the rock by men long dead” (TC 163). More significantly, getting to the crux of the oral storytelling tradition, this history of the Tarahumara is passed down orally as some form of narrative that is simply told and is thus remembered. The claim that “all that was seen was told and all that was told was remembered,” though ambitious, is authenticated prior to the Tarahumara’s “vignette” of a world history by the old man’s and the young boy’s disparate reactions to Billy and Boyd (TC 192).

As the Parham brothers pass through the Tarahumara land, the young boy stops playing his violin. However, the old man’s reaction to them is markedly different from that of the boy’s. As Billy and Boyd pass through, the old man with his homemade violin “play[s] on,” paying no attention to them (TC 192). The old man’s imperturbable demeanor lies in the claim that “all that was seen was told and all that was told was remembered” (TC 192). Through his participation in this oral transmission of “history,” either as listener or teller, he bespeaks “a view of a world provisional” and contingent upon oral transmission for man’s bearing in the world, “[a]s if to steady the world, or himself in it” (TC 193, 284). However, this notion of steadying the world or at least trying to “steady” oneself in it hearkens back to the opening passage in which Billy attempts to find his bearings by naming the features of the landscape, animals, and birds. This continuity of the oral storytelling tradition, its atavistic resonances of the first *Homo sapiens* to the settlement of the New World, its role as the anchor to which the thousand-year history of the Tarahumara is moored, and its prominence not only in the opening passage but in the late 1930s in which the novel is set, suggests that the oral storytelling tradition is the phenomenon or the ultimate contingency upon which a matrix of contingencies depend, binding the world together from its ascertainable inception to its eventual end.

To return to the novel’s beginning, after the Parhams have presumably settled into a new house in Hidalgo County, Billy lies awake at night and listens to Boyd’s breathing. Again, the action of the passage—Billy’s lying awake and listening and Boyd’s sleeping—are succeeded and superseded by an act of oral transmission in the form of storytelling as Billy “would whisper half aloud to him [Boyd] as he slept his plans for them and the life they would have” (TC 3). In an extensive study of *The Crossing*, Dianne C. Luce asserts that Billy’s “mapping the world for his baby brother and telling him stories about the future” is Billy’s attempt “to plot his own course

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even as a child” and “to script his own life” against the currents of a predetermined life woven by a deity or of a life that has a logic of its own (196-197). Luce finds ironic Billy’s charting the features of the landscape, the animals, and the birds in the opening passage. This irony is doubly true when one considers that Grant County and Hidalgo County are themselves evidence of prior people’s efforts to chart what was once a “new country” where one “could ride clear to Mexico and not strike a crossfence” (TC 3). There is, however, a subtler irony in Billy’s naming the features of the landscape when it is contextualized within Don Arnulfo’s notion of the world “made of breath only” (TC 46). When Billy goes to Don Arnulfo seeking counsel in trapping a she-wolf, Don Arnulfo extemporizes that:

Men wish to be serious but they do not understand how to be so. Between their acts and their ceremonies lies the world and in this world the storms blow and the trees twist in the wind and all the animals that God has made go to and fro yet this world men do not see. They see the acts of their own hands or they see that which they name and call out to one another but the world between is invisible to them. (TC 46)

This passage implies that Billy’s naming the features of the landscape has only contributed to a world “made of breath” in which humankind sees “the acts of their own hands...or that which they name” (TC 45-46). Consequently, then, the very efficacy of the oral tradition or orality itself in transmitting “true” tales or histories is dubious. For if there is another world that “is invisible to [us]” how “real” is the world created by humankind’s acts of labeling and naming the world (TC 46)? Furthermore, Billy’s naming of the landscape and his mapping the life he will share with Boyd is not only a contribution to the world “made of breath” as noted earlier but is also a continuation of this oral storytelling tradition by which humankind has woven itself into the world as tale. If it is a continuation of this oral storytelling tradition evocative of the first Homo sapiens or New World settlers, then the opening passage’s literal status as “the beginning” to a story (The Crossing) is itself doubtful and readers themselves have entered into “the middle” of a story that is the story of the world. This naming of the landscape is made all the more ironic in that the world “made of breath” to which Billy is contributing and continuing is as fictitious as the “story world” into which readers have entered. Ultimately, The Crossing, then, may be no more than a continuation, an installment of a larger story that cannot be fully apprehended partly due to the oral tradition’s own limitations but also because events that have occurred but are not orally transmitted, recorded, or documented are lost to us. These later conversations with Don Arnulfo give us a new perspective on the opening passage of the novel, to which I will return now.

We are told that Billy and Boyd had lives prior to their moving to Hidalgo County as we are told “they came south out of Grant County” (TC 3). Though Boyd is a baby at this point in the novel, Billy, who is old enough to ride a horse, obviously did not come into being as a boy; he too has a history, a life from birth onwards. However, their lives in Grant County are lost to us simply because we are not told by the storyteller Cormac McCarthy via omniscient narrator. The only detail provided is that “[i]n that country they’d quit lay the bones of a sister and the bones of his maternal grandmother” (TC 3). Yet details of their lives, their histories, their relationships with Billy and Boyd are quite literally buried in the ground, lost to readers, and only scantily exhumed by Billy in the form of stories. The opening passage then implies that what is not told or recounted is lost to us. Consequently, when the prior assertion is contextualized within Don Arnulfo’s notion of the world in which humankind is only aware of the order in creation that they imposed upon it via labels, narratives and histories, oral or otherwise, any apprehension of the world of The Crossing is exposed as forebodingly fragile.

By extension and way of illustration, towards the end of the novel, Billy sleeps on “the broad Animas plain,” in close proximity to the natural world, with “a small fire” as the “winter stars slip their hold and race to

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their deaths in the darkness” amid the “flare of lightning over Mexico” (TC 346). Despite Billy’s closeness to the “real,” natural world, he is denied a communion with nature or a spiritual experience by which he romantically apprehends the totality of the cosmos (TC 46). Instead, Billy soberly comprehends the world as rendered by Don Arnulfo: “he [Billy] said softly...that the one thing he knew of all things claimed to be known was that there was no certainty to any of it” (TC 346). Billy realizes towards the end of his journey that, as eloquently and succinctly put by “the blind man,” “the world [is] sentient to its core and secret and black beyond men’s imaginings” (TC 283). The world is made of breath only to the extent to which humankind has arbitrarily named, labeled and transcribed it and, most forebodingly, may be no world at all, being a fictitious concoction with “varying relationships to truth” as the oral stories by which it is carried down from generations prior (Luce 196).

Having established the unreliable nature of oral storytelling and orality itself in apprehending reality, McCarthy reveals through Don Arnulfo’s world “made of breath” the Borgesian “counterbook” to the “book” that is the oral tradition (TC 46). In other words, to borrow Jorge Luis Borges’s quotation that “a book which does not contain its counterbook is considered incomplete,” McCarthy has included in *The Crossing* via Don Arnulfo’s notion of the world the shortcomings of the oral tradition (77). These shortcomings are ironically conveyed by the oral storytelling tradition, exposing the tradition as artifice and as dubious in veracity. In other words, the oral storytelling tradition is only complete to the extent to which oral storytellers include as part of the world they speak into being their own failures to facilitate a perfect comprehension of reality or capture the world itself by including that which contradicts an oral performance as all-encompassing or all-knowing. Simply put, a complete and accurate oral tradition includes acknowledgement of its own limitations.

The priest acknowledges this when he speaks to Billy about the world that is the world of *The Crossing*. That is, that “this world which also seems to us a thing of stone and flower and blood is not a thing at all but is a tale” (TC 143). In what is arguably the central “thesis” of *The Crossing* that binds the novel’s separate narratives together, the priest acknowledges that “[e]verything is necessary. Every least thing . . . Nothing can be dispensed with. Nothing despised” (TC 143). The priest, in offering the “counterbook” to the oral storytelling tradition, is cast in irony in that, as mentioned before, the very medium by which he delivers the limitations of oral storytelling is oral transmission. However, many readers often miss an important and far more subtle third player in the oral storytelling performance in which the priest and Billy are engaged: “the profoundest silence” that intrudes between the priest’s pauses in his extended monologue and serves not to represent a “counterbook” to the oral tradition but to indicate that which precedes and has always preceded the oral tradition itself and thus encompasses it (TC 143).

If the Western landscape of McCarthy’s fiction is said to be a type of character, as some scholars assert, this “profoundest silence” too may be a type of character with something to say and something to represent: the world “in its ultimate granulation” (TC 112). Billy encounters this world in a dream, what Edwin T. Arnold claims “may...provide direct contact to the true and essential, unmediated by . . . symbolic substitution or undistorted by intentional misrepresentation” (49). In this dream, Billy sees that which has preceded the world of *The Crossing* with its matrix of oral storytelling performances and what is waiting to claim its original and rightful place the moment any oral storytelling or any form of orality ceases to be:

His father’s eyes searched the coming of the night in the deepening redness beyond the rim of the world and those eyes seemed to contemplate with a terrible equanimity the cold and the dark and the silence that moved upon him and then all was dark and all was swallowed up and in the silence he heard somewhere a solitary bell that tolled and ceased and then he woke. (112)

This “profoundest silence” may represent the world as it once was, prior to human speech, and as it will be again,

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cold, dark, and silent. It renders the oral storytelling tradition as the true anomaly, a type of usurper of a throne upon which once reigned the world that “moved in eternal darkness” as “darkness was its true nature and true condition” (TC 283). Nowhere is this made clearer in McCarthy’s oeuvre than in *The Road*, in which the “cold and the dark and the silence” that lay in wait at the periphery of *The Crossing*, windowed away in dreams, has come to reclaim the world, a world merely “[s]ustained by a breath, trembling and brief” (TR 11). In other words, if we are to discuss McCarthy’s engagement with the oral storytelling tradition in *The Crossing* and *The Road*, we must acknowledge the extent to which McCarthy is aware that as with all performances (of a tradition), the oral storytelling performance too has a beginning, a middle, and an eventual end that is to be followed by that which was always there: silence; whether the performance is held around a campfire or at a grand concert hall is of no matter.

THE ORAL STORYTELLING TRADITION IN THE ROAD

In *The Road* the matrix of stories of the world as portrayed in *The Crossing* is arguably reduced to a single story about a man and his son struggling to survive in a post-apocalyptic reality. As they trudge towards the coast for refuge, they encounter vestiges of the former world—destroyed homes, burned cities, ruined libraries—indicative not only of the apocalypse but of the absolute truth of the world that has accompanied it. The post-apocalyptic world—arguably the only objective truth in the world of the novel—stands in stark contrast to the world the man and his son have created between themselves through oral narratives, which ride on their precious breaths and evoke the ancient oral tradition.

The apocalypse in *The Road* is not a random or meaningless event. Rather, it may be understood as an apocalypse quite traditional in nature, its meaning derived from the Greek term *apokalypsis*— the revelation of something previously hidden. In following the logic of this definition, the apocalypse in *The Road* is not so much concerned with a disaster, man-made or natural. In fact, McCarthy himself has remained mum about the true cause of the apocalypse. By extension, even if the cause were to be revealed, it would only be a physical manifestation of destruction (fire, flooding, meteor strike, etc.) that betrays a far deeper, nuanced apocalypse. This “nuanced” apocalypse of which I speak is concerned with an apocalypse in which *The Crossing*’s “world made of breath” has vacated its provisional position for what always was the “[b]arren, silent, godless” landscape (TR 4). McCarthy’s decision, then, to place *The Road* in a post-apocalyptic setting is not an arbitrary coincidence or his catering to a popular literary genre. Rather, *The Road*’s post-apocalyptic setting is that which was always there, previously hidden but hidden no longer in the world of *The Road*. For Billy, if the world wholly apprehended were merely a dream, for the man and his son in *The Road* it is the reality in which they struggle to survive.

This portrayal of the world as revealed, however, is not a fatalistic dismissal of the oral storytelling tradition. Rather, *The Road* may be interpreted as the ultimate endorsement of the oral storytelling tradition at its most elementary level: its ability to create and recreate meaning through oral narratives that are more or less fictitious amid “the absolute truth” of the post-apocalyptic world. Simply put, the stories between the man and his son are made up. One may go further and call them outright lies. Yet these stories’ power to have “real” effects on the man’s and son’s quest for survival despite their fictitious nature that may, in fact, be the miracle underpinning not only the novel but the very notion of storytelling itself. The ultimate struggle, then, in *The Road* is not between the man and his son against the roving cannibals, nor is the novel solely concerned with a simplistic confrontation of good versus evil. Rather, the central struggle around which the novel revolves is the

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oral tradition's ability to recreate worlds and meaning against and despite a pervasive "absolute truth." If in *The Crossing* the world "made of breath" is portrayed as limited and shortsighted on the part of humankind, in *The Road*, the "precious breath" is all that stands between the man and his son and death (TR 3). Furthermore, its limited and shortsighted nature is seen as inherent to narrative, which makes the narrative's efficacy to combat the absolute truth of the world only that much more miraculous.

While *The Crossing* commences with Billy's naming features of the landscape, the animals, the birds, and the world being made and remade through oral transmission, *The Road* begins with the world as is, as finally revealed. The world of *The Road* consists of "[n]ights dark beyond darkness and the days more gray each one than what had gone before" (TR 3). Furthermore, we are told that the man "looked toward the east for any light but there was none" (TR 3). The lack of light and the pervasive darkness is significant for several reasons. On a superficial level, it is a result of the ash clouds that have obscured the sun. However, on a deeper level, the grey days may simply be the culmination or a reflection of the way the world was (as apprehended by Billy in his dream) in which the sun that "sank eternally" is truly no more and the world-as-tale has been exposed as a farce and a performance that has ended (TC 6). There are also cosmological undertones in this passage in that most cosmological or creation stories begin with the advent of light. In the world of *The Road*, however, this light is no more and the darkness approaches, in what may be interpreted as events indicative of an anti-creation (destruction) myth. Subtly hidden in this passage of receding creation, however, is "the precious breath" of the child, the first inklings of a type of "creation story 2.0" not heralded by light but by the breath upon which ride the words and stories shared between the man and his son (TR 3).

By way of illustration, the notion of a "creation story 2.0" is depicted further in the opening passage in which the world is revealed and subsequently departs. In a dream, the man enters a mysterious and unnamed cave, what Walter Benjamin would call "the innermost chamber of the realm of created things" or what is perhaps the literal manifestation of "hyponoia": the under-meaning or meaning beneath the surface (107). In this cave imbued with cosmological undertones ("the black and ancient lake"), the only "dialogue" that breaks the silence is from the earth itself: "[t]olling in the silence" are "the minutes of the earth and the hours and the days of it and the years without cease" amid "[d]eep stone flues where the water dripped and sang" (TR 3). In this dream, the man and his son encounter a mysterious creature. While Lydia Cooper calls this creature a "monster" that "strikes a terrifying note" by its "possession of a heart and a mind," there is no indication in the novel that this creature is terrifying (221). Rather, the man and his son remain coolly detached when they encounter this creature and are even physically distant from it as the creature is on

"the far shore" separated from the man and his son by a body of water (TR 3). The lack of any interaction and the physical apartness between the man and his son and the creature is more telling; it is indicative of a worldview present in both *The Crossing* and *The Road* of a world which functions irrespective of and ultimately eludes human enterprises.

Keeping in mind that McCarthy is greatly influenced by Plato and remaining cognizant of the dream's

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cosmological undertones, readers may conclude that this creature may be the Living Creature from Plato's *Timaeus*. In Plato's words, "this world came to be...in very truth a living creature with soul and reason" (qtd. in Fraser 142). This Living Creature is the world in literally its clearest and most transparent manifestation, "pale and naked and translucent" while the man and his son observe its inner workings: "Its bowels, its beating heart. The brain that pulsed in a dull glass bell" (TR 4). As examined by J.T. Fraser in *Of Time, Passion, and Knowledge*, Plato's Living Creature has "no eyes, for there is nothing external to it to behold" (142). Fraser's image is corroborated by McCarthy's description of the creature as having "eyes dead white and sightless as the eggs of spiders" (TR 3-4). Though the extent to which McCarthy intended to portray or replicate Plato's Living Creature is unknown, the creature's departure as it lopes "soundlessly into the dark," presumably forever, may be interpreted as the world finally made transparent to the man and his son in keeping with the traditional definition of an apocalypse as noted above (TR 4). By extension, an attempt to reconfigure the opening passage as a type of prologue to *The Road* would not be off the mark. In this "prologue," the world prior to the apocalypse is rendered as an illusion by the Living Creature, after which readers are introduced to the new world: the post-apocalyptic reality heralded not by any light but by the "first gray light" (TR 4; emphasis added). In this new, post-apocalypse world reduced to a "raw core of parsible entities" grand notions of an oral storytelling tradition (or literature and the art of letters, for that matter) have suffered a similar end (TR 88). *The Road* dismisses the art of letters and the notion of a tradition, a canon, or *The Crossing's* matrix of stories in a challenge to a modern culture of written letters. What endearingly remains instead is that which undergirds literature, McCarthy's oeuvre, and the oral tradition itself: the individual act of storytelling. In other words, the final disclosure and departure of Plato's Living Creature (the world) along with the subsequent depiction of the man and the "first gray light" lends cosmological weight and authority to a tale of a man and his son who confront a post-apocalyptic reality through acts of creation in the form of oral narratives (TR 4).

It is important to note that in *The Road*, the notion of an oral storytelling tradition is moot. What is instead depicted in the novel is oral storytelling or, put more simply, stories, understood by the man's son to simply be "like dreams" or "just things that you think about" (TR 268). The son's rudimentary understanding of stories, however, is understandable given not only his young age but also his having been born after the apocalypse. The man reflects that "[s]ometimes the child [his son] would ask him questions about the world that for him [son] was not even a memory....There is no past" (TR 53-54). This reflection is the means by which the notion of a tradition of oral storytelling comes apart. Walter Benjamin claims that "memory creates the chain of tradition which passes a happening on from generation to generation" (98). Furthermore, Harold Bloom asserts that the notion of a canon is "identical with the literary art of Memory" (17). For the son, who has no memory of the former, pre-apocalyptic world and by extension has no formal education whatsoever upon which to build the notion of a history, a tradition, or a canon, a tradition of oral storytelling is insignificant if not completely obsolete.

Approximately midway in the novel, we see a poignant scene involving the man and a ruined home library. The man observes "[s]oggy volumes in a bookcase" and we are told, "[h]e took one down and opened it and then put it back" (TR 130). That the man encounters "volumes in a bookcase" is significant in that it implies a type of contingency: a single volume depends on what precedes it and is redefined by that which succeeds it (TR 130). It is this type of contingency upon which a tradition or canon is founded. Perhaps more consequentially, for a writer who has admitted "books are made out of books," a scene in which the notion of a tradition or canon (literary or otherwise) is arguably dismissed by the novel's protagonist (the man simply opens a volume of a series and puts it back) is unexpected, if not alarming; it is also, however, rife with deeper meaning (Woodward

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3). Though this scene portrays a possible dismissal of a tradition or canon, this is not to say that the act of storytelling itself is forced to the same fate.

What follows the man's interaction (or lack thereof) with the volume seems to endorse the act of storytelling at its most basic, even primitive level: an individual orally transmitting a narrative construct to another individual in a world in which books have become mere artifacts. One of these narrative constructs shared between the man and his son contends that they are "carrying the fire" (TR 83). In the library scene, after the man puts back the ruined book, we are told that "he found a candle . . . and put it in his pocket" (TR 130), the candle being a physical manifestation which lends a tangible credence to the man's and son's narrative construct of "carrying the fire." As the man walks out of the ruined home in which the library was situated, he sees "the absolute truth of the world . . . The crushing black vacuum of the universe" (TR 130). At this point, there seem to be two competing "truths": the absolute truth of the world in its "[d]arkness implacable" but also the narrative construct of "carrying the fire" (TR 130, 83). Simply put, which is more real: the world as revealed or the oral stories through which the man and his son find meaning?

Returning to the narrative constructs between the man and his son, though the truth of the world is "implacable," this does not mean that orality (not only stories but the very words spoken) is without the ability to remake or contribute to the reality in which the man and his son find themselves. In two separate scenes, the man and his son share a conversation in which the father tells his son to watch what he, the son, says in a matter-of-fact display of a parent disciplining his child:

[son] I wish I was with my mom.

He [man/father] didnt answer. He sat beside the small figure wrapped in the quilts and blankets. After a while he [man/father] said: You mean you wish that you were dead.

Yes.

You mustnt say that.

But I do.

Dont say it. It's a bad thing to say.

I cant help it.

I know. But you have to. (55)

In a separate occasion, we see a similar scolding:

[man/father] There's no one to see. Do you want to die? Is that what you want?

I dont care, the boy said, sobbing. I dont care.

The man stopped. He stopped and squatted and held him. I'm sorry, he said. Dont say that. You mustnt say that. (85)

In both scenes, the reason for the man's reprimanding his son is unclear. Given the post-apocalyptic setting, it is unlikely that the man is trying to teach his son proper social conventions for their own sake. Furthermore, as heartbreaking and as difficult as it may be for a father to hear his own child say that he wishes to die, this explanation too falls short. Though the possibilities above are not invalid, they are encompassed by the notion that the words spoken through our "precious breath" have immense power to recreate reality (TR 3). The man tells his son that he must not say that he does not care or that he wishes to die merely because the remarks are impolite, insensitive, or even painful for the father. Rather, words which have not been spoken into being don't have a reality yet, known or unknown, and words spoken out of rage or by one's feeling upset (in both instances the child is upset), cannot be unspoken and only contribute to a reality that can be remade through orality but not unmade. In other words, the reality prior to the child's negative remarks cannot "be made right again" and

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this may be one of McCarthy's most foreboding lessons: something, anything that once was, can, in an instant, never be again (TR 287). What the man most fears, then, is that the child may very well come to believe that which he has carelessly spoken; that in fact he does wish to die; that he really does not care anymore, which runs counter to the father's narrative that the good guys "keep trying. They don't give up" (TR 137). The very act of orality, then, and of speaking realities into existence that we then subsequently inhabit, known or not, is portrayed as terrifyingly powerful in its ability to beautifully sustain life but to also contribute to one's premature demise.

If we are to take at face value McCarthy's belief that "books are made out books The novel depends for its life on novels that have been written" we may surmise that *The Crossing* and *The Road* are in dialogue with one another; they are, after all, the two novels among McCarthy's many works that, in my opinion, examine and challenge the oral tradition (Woodward 3). If *The Crossing* is a type of precursor to *The Road* in its portrayal of the oral tradition, the concluding passage of Part I of *The Crossing* may contribute to further understanding not only of *The Road* but of McCarthy's views on storytelling that bind his various works together as a collective whole. This passage serves as a beautiful but also foreboding tribute to the deceased she-wolf, which as explained by Don Arnulfo, "is made the way the world is made," that is, out of "breath only" (TC 46). It is also, however, a tribute to the sheer power of storytelling, orality, and the words we contribute to the world we inhabit and perpetually recreate for better or for worse, corroborated by *The Road*'s man and his son. They have constructed a relationship in which they are "each the other's world entire" through the narratives they share, by the words they speak but also withhold from each other (TR 6).

The breath motif depicted in *The Crossing* also makes a presence in *The Road* in a passage involving the man and his wife. Prior to the wife's departure and subsequent suicide, she tells him:

The one thing I can tell you is that you won't survive for yourself. I know because I would never have come this far. A person who had no one would be well advised to cobble together some passable ghost. Breathe it into being and coax it along with words of love. Offer it each phantom crumb and shield it from harm with your body. (57)

Here, the fictitious and intangible nature of narrative is laid bare. At best, it is a "passable ghost" that subsists on "phantom crumbs" equally unreal as the "ghost" to which they are contributing (TR 57). Though the scene portrays a struggle between the man and his wife, with the man imploring his wife to stay while she is determined to end her life, a much subtler struggle is occurring simultaneously between the objective truth of the apocalypse and a fictitious meaning or purpose the man must concoct in order to survive. The wife insists that she is "speaking the truth" and later tells the man "[y]ou have no argument because there is none," to which he quietly acquiesces perhaps in agreement (TR 56-57). In the argument between the man and his wife, the wife wins; she eventually leaves and commits suicide. In the struggle between the truth of the apocalypse and phantom narratives, however, the intangible "passable ghosts" that are oral narratives prevail, to which *The Road* is a testament (TR 57).

The tale that is *The Road*, then, is arguably one to which all tales and stories stand subjugate in that the very essence of storytelling—fictitious creations breathed and spoken into being—is challenged, threatened, but ultimately victorious. The man himself states: "there is no other tale to tell" (TR 32). Though his claim may be interpreted as a type of literary trope regarding a man having a single life to live or being unable to change the past, its implications run much deeper. McCarthy ambitiously, perhaps even audaciously, suggests that *The Road* is the story underpinning all stories in its vindication of fictional narrative's power "to cut and shape and hollow out the dark form of the world surely if wind can, if rain can," to borrow a phrase from *The Crossing* (TC 127).

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In other words, *The Road* is a novel that examines the very efficacy of storytelling, and McCarthy suggests that only after storytelling is justified at its most elementary level—as portrayed by the man and his son—can there be other tales to tell.

The ultimate truth, however, which renders the notion of competing truths a secondary concern is the son's appropriation of storytelling as a means of survival despite his lack of any notion of a storytelling tradition. The son only becomes aware of some form of a storytelling tradition at the very end of the novel when he is told by the woman who adopts him into her family after his father's death that, "the breath of God was his breath yet though it pass from man to man through all of time" (TR 286). Yet interestingly the boy survives until the novel's conclusion and finds meaning in the world through narrative. What McCarthy may be suggesting here is that, much like the jar of clear water on which the man and his son depend for survival, and in which he sees a "single bit of sediment coiling in the jar on some slow hydraulic axis" there is a cosmic, even mechanical precision untraceable by the naked eye on which humankind, the purest form of which being the child, depends for sustenance (TR 123). This may be the "divine" truth of the novel to the extent to which something can in fact be divine in the "godless" landscape of *The Road*. As the man himself says: "If he [the child] is not the word of God God never spoke" (TR 4, 5). McCarthy suggests here that if there is to be some form of truth divined from the post-apocalyptic world, we may observe the child. In observing the child, we see a truth to which competing truths stand subjugate: the jar of clear water within us, which houses a narrative-making or storytelling instinct inseparable from the human constitution.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, Cormac McCarthy is notoriously difficult to categorize. Scholars agree that he is an American author. However, this categorization is made ironic in light of McCarthy's expansive literary influences, many of which date back to several millennia prior. Furthermore, attempts to label McCarthy as a Southern writer or as a Western writer within the American literary tradition have failed to quell debate about McCarthy's place in the literary tradition whether it be that of the United States or that of the world. I assert that McCarthy is not so much a willing participant in the American Southern literary tradition nor in its Western counterpart as he is an author who attempts to examine, endorse, and even challenge the oral storytelling tradition: a phenomenon that marks the beginnings of a narrative tradition. In *The Crossing*, a matrix of oral storytelling performances is the way in which the world is apprehended, though its relationship with truth is eventually exposed as dubious. This matrix harkens back to Scholes' and Shaviro's assertions about the oral tradition and McCarthy's mimetic practices, respectively. According to McCarthy, oral storytelling comes closest to capturing and ascertaining the "real world" (mimesis) but ultimately falls short. In *The Road*, the rich matrix of oral stories as portrayed in *The Crossing* is reduced to a single tale of a father and son. At stake in this story is not only the survival of the father and son but also the very efficacy of stories, despite their fictitious nature, to remake the supposedly absolute truth of the post-apocalyptic landscape. McCarthy, then, may be best termed as a writer not limited by temporal and geographical realities and whose true role in the literary tradition is that of a curator acutely cognizant of the enduring constant underlying the narrative tradition from its oral-based beginnings to a modern, still prevalent, culture of literature as the art of written letters: the act of storytelling itself.

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Associate Editor: Lindsay Boerger

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Title: Evaluating Differences in Serial Murderers on a Global Scale

Scholars often analyze serial murderers from perspectives that exclude the sociological and/or environmental factors that often contribute to their motives for committing their crimes. This paper traces the cultural and societal differences that mold serial murderers in divergent cultures.

Increasingly sociologists and researchers such as Eric Hickey have begun studying the factors that go beyond the common biological and psychological explanations that researchers often consider. Laurence Alison, Craig Bennell, Andrea Mokros, and David Ormerod have argued that offender profiling assumes that people who commit crimes in a similar style have similar background characteristics; this misconception has led to many studies that show the perpetrators' motivations but exclude their characteristics, as they are understood as almost irrelevant (Fujita, 296). In order to stereotype serial murders in certain ways, many researchers base their judgments off of a distortion of the truth to fit their own cultural, historical, or religious beliefs. Hickey's *Serial Murderers and Their Victims* (2015) helps clear up misconceptions about why serial killers are driven to commit monstrous acts through the review of numerous profiles of case studies of infamous serial murderers and deeply analyzing the specific characteristics of the aforementioned serial murderers.

Hickey's global, cross-cultural study of serial murder challenges the common assumption that only two kinds of killers exist: those who lust for blood and those who are mentally ill. Although Hickey agrees that most serial murderers suffer from some form of mental disorder or illness (e.g., psychosis or dissociative identity disorder), he disagrees with the notion that some serial killers are simply "blood thirsty" (Hickey, 376). He asserts that many serial murderers, if not mentally ill, have experienced severe psychological stress themselves, and have thus become incapable of coping. As a result, they become hostile and long to live in a fantasy—both of which accelerate their capacity for violence—in hopes of living out the feeling of conquering their emotional stress in other ways. These serial murderers eventually become so disconnected from society and their own friends and families that they perceive violence as a seemingly viable—and oftentimes rational—option (Hickey, 376). Hickey describes how juvenile mass murderers fit this profile of feeling disconnected from their lives and the people around them, thus possibly resorting to violence as an outlet for their pent-up emotions. Hickey's work suggests that serial murderers' methods and motives for their actions differ based on the culture and society in which they were raised (Alison, 2002; Fujita, 2016).

SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

Travis Hirschi's social control/bond theory focuses on the idea that deviance is not a response to learned behavior or the negative stimuli surrounding an individual. He argues instead that deviant behavior is actually a facet of human nature, not an anomaly; rather, the absence of deviance is the abnormality that needs to be explained (Bates, 286). Hirschi concludes that individuals do not engage in criminal activity because they have distinct bonds to social conformity that prevent them from engaging in socially unacceptable activities (Bates, 287). This research further enumerates four different social bonds that individuals either "strengthen or weaken in relationship to the society in which they live": attachment, commitment, involvement, and common values or beliefs (Hickey, 126). An example of attachment would be a case in which an individual is under strong parental

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supervision and does not want to deviate from social norms and risk disappointing their family. The second element commitment means that the more committed an individual is to conventional forms of action, the less likely they are to engage in deviant behavior. Similarly, the element of involvement suggests that if an individual is more involved in conventional activities, they will be less likely to deviate from social norms. The final element, common values, suggests that if an individual has a sound understanding of right and wrong or has a respect for authorities or the laws, they will also be less likely to deviate from social norms (Hickey, 126).

A CROSS-NATIONAL APPLICATION OF SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

Hickey highlights three main issues that surface when studying serial murder on a global perspective: “(1) serial murder is defined or viewed differently in other cultures; (2) cultural differences influence the methods and motives for serial murder; and (3) serial-murderer profiles constructed in the United States are often contradicted by profiles created by law enforcement agencies in other countries” (Hickey, 378). Studies of serial murderers in various countries show how different cultures have unique views and display different trends in murder that fit their communities or backgrounds. Social control theory will be utilized to explain how one’s involvement with their society has an impact on their views and morals, thus influencing them to—or not to—commit these heinous crimes in two very different countries: Japan and South Africa.

Japan

Japan is known for having a more group-oriented, rather than individualistic, society. This social organization can potentially spark a desire for individualism (Fujita, 299). In some instances, this shedding of societal attachment may lead to aggression, resulting in serial murders and violence in general. The strong sense of community deeply embedded in Japanese culture leaves community members committed to the norms of society. Because of this instilled group-oriented behavior, nearly half of Japan’s offenders have at least one accomplice. In The U.S. on the other hand, only 26% of the U.S.’s offenders having accomplices (Hickey, 403). This proportional disparity shows why it is essential to study serial murders across cultures and countries, as certain aspects and characteristics of serial murderers that differ country-to-country are sociological effects of their environments.

Goro Fujita claims that serial murder in Japan is most closely related to Akers’ social learning theory, which adds a psychological conditioning aspect to study of behavior and crime (Fujita, 296). Fujita believes that people would be more likely to commit murder if they experience some sort of reward or gain as a result, whether that be support from friends and family or an internalized feeling of satisfaction; however, they would be less likely to take a human life if everyone around them looked down on the act or despised them for committing the act (Fujita, 296). Fujita’s arguments closely relate to Hirschi’s element of attachment, in which someone closely attached to others is less likely to commit a crime, as they take into consideration what those people will think of the act. However, Fujita’s perspective that psychological conditioning can lead people to commit crimes lacks a deeper understanding of Japanese socio cultural emphasis on collective welfare over individual satisfaction. The Japanese commitment to community is a main contributing factor to whether one deviates from the norms or not, not the sense of acceptance one receives from doing or not doing the acts; it is instead one’s commitment to their culture and way of life that prevents them from committing crimes.

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South Africa

Gerard Labuschagne, Gabrielle Salfati, and Marina Sorochinski tested the applicability of a homicide crime scene classification framework in South Africa that had been recently developed in the United States. The difference in how perpetrators plan their murders, along with the violent behavior that offenders engage in in the United States versus South Africa, is thoroughly analyzed in this study. These three scholars argue for the “importance of the awareness of national differences and the need to further explore how these differences may be manifested in the [behaviors] offenders engage in;” cross-national research enables the exploration of background differences in tool availability and physical environment, along with psychological factors (Labuschagne et al., 70). They further expand this by claiming that tool availability and one’s physical environment can impact how he or she goes about committing the act, and the physical environment of where the crime occurs can influence how the perpetrator disposes of the body or murders in the first place, such as whether a large and deserted place is easily available. (Labuschagne et al., 70).

In another study, Amber Horning finds that South African serial murderers and those in the United States are comparable when it comes to age, marital status of the offender, criminal history, and victim-offender relationship, but differed in areas that included “weapon[ry], where the crime occurred, and the race of the offender and the victim, which reflected the geographical and sociological landscape of South Africa.” This directly correlates with the points made in Labuschagne’s work regarding cross-cultural differences (Horning et al., 40). Hickey also discussed the differing factors between South African serial murderers as opposed to those in the United States. For example, out of the 50 cases that he studied, 22 of the South African offenders murdered interracially, but this is not as prevalent in the United States (Hickey, 410). Along with this, 34% of South African offenders may have both male and female victims, showing no preference in gender, which is the opposite of what is typically seen in methodology of serial killers in the United States (Hickey, 410). Further research has found that serial murderers in South Africa also engage in mutilation of their victims, what they call “muti murder,” as “muti” is a Zulu word that implies intentionally gathering body parts for use in traditional African medicine (Hickey, 412). In certain African traditions, it is believed that people innately have a certain amount of luck; thus, the removal of human body parts (while the victim is still alive) is an exceptionally powerful way to obtain this luck and will help in achieving their goals (Hickey, 413).

CONCLUSION

Serial murder varies in different cultures and countries, with varying cultures cultivating dissimilar beliefs and/or raising individuals to be more or less connected to the people around them. The emergence of new studies from sociological researchers is crucial in examining these differences. Travis Hirschi’s social control theory concentrates on why people do not engage in criminal activity, rather than why they do. He believes that his four social bonds are reasons why someone does not deviate from social norms: attachment to people around them, commitment to other aspects of life (such as extracurricular activities), involvement in conventional activities, and common values and belief in authorities or the laws. Eric Hickey’s studies demonstrate how serial murder can vary in methods across different cultures and countries. Such cross-cultural findings highlight the differences between serial murderers overseas and in the United States; for example, most Americans would believe that bodily dismemberment (either pre- or post-mortem) is an extremely heinous crime, but in South Africa, this is a more common occurrence due to some of their cultural and traditional beliefs. The way South

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African society was constructed is entirely different from ours, which reflects in their beliefs and common values.

Living in the United States, it is essential that researchers study serial murder cross-culturally, as this can assist in the crucial capture of perpetrators. Eric Hickey's assertion that violent behaviors result from sociologically differing cultural environments (and not simply biological and/or psychological) is supported by his research. He exposes the readers to the racial and cultural differences that lead to serial murder, allowing for a better understanding of the different methods, motives, and targets of serial murderers around the world.



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Associate Editor: Sophie Campos

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Author: Demetria Lee

Title: Tarot in Blood Meridian

Cormac McCarthy's *Blood Meridian* tracks a young man known only as "the kid" through the lawless US-Mexico borderlands in the mid-1800s. The kid, either seeking adventure or seeking pure violence, joined a gang of scalp hunters known as the Glanton gang. Among this brutal coterie were John Glanton, Captain White, Toadvine, two men both named John Jackson, Tobin, the ex-priest, and Judge Holden. The judge, an enormous, hairless man, was a polyglot, a draftsman, a man of incredible knowledge among the uneducated villains. He reproduced everything he saw in a sketchbook before promptly destroying the very thing he drew—be it plant, stone, or animal. The judge practiced a sort of devout nihilism into which he tried to fold the resisting kid. The Tarot cards referred to in the novel allowed the reader to glean meaning from the story, just as the cards allow diviners to glean meaning from the real world. The cards that I will be exploring are the Fool, the Four of Cups, the Chariot, the High Priestess, the Four of Wands, the Hanged Man, the Devil, the Hermit, the Hierophant, Judgment, and Death. While the judge's philosophy was laid out in his monologues, the taciturn kid's beliefs must be read through the cards. In applying the symbols of the cards, I propose a reading of the novel in which the judge evangelized a dehumanizing dogma of nihilism while the kid holds out for a more positive philosophy that will give his life meaning.

THE ANATOMY OF THE DECK

There are 78 Tarot cards: 56 Minor Arcana, 22 Major. Diviners arranged the cards face-down called a spread; each placement represented a different aspect of the question. Perhaps one asked the mystic about one's love life. The diviner, then, arranges the cards and flips them over in a predetermined order. The first might represent the person in question; the second, the person in question's immediate future, distant future, distant past, and so on. Different cards yield different meanings, some of which I will go through individually. The Minor Arcana are in four suits: cups, pentacles, swords, and wands. Cups generally represent emotion and relationships; pentacles, material, possessions, swords, intellect and rationality; wands, energy and spirituality. Elementally, cups correspond with water, pentacles with earth, swords with air, and wands with fire. For each suit of the Minor Arcana, there is a page, a knight, a king, a queen, an ace, and numbers two through ten (e.g. the King of Cups, the nine of Swords). The Major Arcana are grand symbols such as the Tower of Destruction and the Moon. For divination purposes, each card has a different meaning, and when the card is inverted (drawn upside-down), this meaning changes—usually to something negative. In a Tarot reading, one might ask a single question, draw a card (or several), interpret it, and, if its meaning is obscure, the person in question might, then, draw another clarifying card.

I will include pictures from the Waite-Smith Tarot deck. Although this deck was published after the novel's setting, it has been very influential on modern interpretations of the Tarot. I will provide a picture of each card, give an explanation of its meaning, and describe its appearance in the text.

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THE CARDS THEMSELVES

The Fool

The Fool is looking not at the cliff falling off directly in front of him, but off into the sky. His dog nips at his heels, some say in warning (Nichols, 24). The Fool acts by intuition rather than rationality: “The Fool’s spontaneous approach to life combines wisdom, madness, and folly. When he mixes these ingredients in the right proportions, the results are miraculous, but when the mixture curdles, everything ends up in a sticky mess” (Nichols, 24). When reversed, the Fool is interpreted to mean that the drawer is either too cautious or too reckless (Greer, 41).

While on their trek through the desert in search of scalps, the Glanton gang was briefly joined by a family of circus performers. While camping together, the matriarch reads her Tarot cards to tell the fortunes of the gang. Jackson, the first man to draw, picked this card which “bore the picture of a fool in harlequin and a cat” and was called “el tonto” (McCarthy, 97). Readers are not told what exactly the woman begins to chant, but the judge interprets her as saying: “in your fortune lie our fortunes all” (97).



The Four of Cups

The Four of Cups suggests a “divided heart” and is “generally associated with mercy” (Sepich, 107). This comes from the Kabbalistic interpretation of the Tarot which connects fours of all suits with ‘chesed,’ which translates to ‘mercy’ (Sepich, 106).

In the Waite-Smith illustration, viewers are shown a man sitting meditatively under a tree ignoring the gift of an additional cup. One interpretation is the man was being tempted by this offering. Often, he is interpreted as ignoring the gifts of the world and taking them for granted (Greer, 124). This card is also associated with daydreaming on things that are not there yet ignoring that which is (Greer, 124). Inverted, this card represents a “lack of devotion” (Bradford, 21). It also represents boredom, restlessness, and a need to move on (Greer, 125).

The Four of Cups is the only card in the novel that appeared twice. The first time was when the kid and Sproule encountered an empty, burned village,

just before they discovered the heap of corpses in the local church. In one house, they found: “Illustrations cut from an old journal and pasted to the wall, a small picture of a queen, a gypsy card that was the four of cups” (McCarthy, 63). At the reading, the kid drew the Four of Cups: “He’d not seen such cards before, yet the one he held seemed familiar to him. He turned it upside down and regarded it and he turned it back” (McCarthy, 97). The Four of Cups is also the first explicitly inverted card in the novel.



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The Chariot

The Chariot was the novel's second inverted card. The Chariot referred not to the driver, but to the vehicle that bore him. The prevailing interpretation is fate or the power of the human will. It is also associated with hubris (Nichols, 145). Inverted, the Chariot illustrated recklessness, the lack of self-control, surges of power, and disregard for the effects of your pursuits on others (Greer, 58).

After Glanton, the leader of the gang, draws the Chariot, the beldam began chanting. The chanting angered Glanton so much that he drew out his gun. Glanton's anger was illustrative of the rashness represented in the card. "La carroza, la carroza, cried the beldam. Invertido. Carta de Guerra, de venganza. La vi sin ruedas sobre un rio oscuro..." (McCarthy, 100). This quote was a clear representation of the Chariot inverted: it has no wheels, no way of controlling it. "Wheel" may also refer to another card, the Wheel of Fortune, which does not represent luck so much as it does with fate (Greer, 64). Not even fate guides the wild journey of the Glanton gang.



The Devil

The judge was a devil-like character—a brilliant dancer, fiddler, a powerful being and tempter. The Devil, of course, was a figure that was not specific to Tarot. Later in the paper, I will discuss the judge and the Devil in more detail, but here I will merely outline what the Devil represents in the cards. The Devil represented lies, fear, cruel use of power, domination, and addiction (Greer, 77). The "shadow" aspects are on display in the Devil—these are parts of oneself that one does not wish to associate with or even confront (Greer, 78).



The Hermit

The kid met a hermit early on in the novel. The man was kind enough, opening up his home to the kid, but, ultimately, he was revealed as a deviant: he proudly owned a black, shriveled human heart and the kid woke up in the middle of the night to the disheveled man bowed over him.

The Hermit lived by his lamp, the golden thing that he had discovered. He was a solitary figure, unlike the Hierophant, and so subverts establishment spirituality:

His lamp seems an apt symbol for the individual insight of the mystic. Whereas the Pope's chief emphasis lies in religious experience under conditions prescribed by the Church, the Hermit offers us the possibility of individual illumination as a universal human potential, an experience not confined to canonized saints. (Nichols, 166)

The Hermit could represent the spiritual pining that many people go through in life—looking for wisdom greater than themselves in others (Nichols, 168).

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Judgment

This is a card with religious imagery. An angel blew his trumpet and the dead risen from their graves, an illustration of the Bible's account of Judgment day: 1 Thessalonians 4:16: "For the Lord himself, with a cry of command, with the archangel's call and with the sound of God's trumpet, will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will rise first." Compare also to Revelation 20:13: "Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and all were judged according to what they had done."

In Tarot, Judgment could represent the crossroads at which great transformations were necessary (Greer, 90). Additionally: "when projected onto others, you may see them as trying to influence people through the force of their personality or propaganda" (Greer, 92). The judge certainly has a powerful personality, and he aimed to influence what he judges (perhaps those things he writes in his book), through destruction or otherwise.



THE KID AND THE FOUR CUPS: DIVIDED HEART AND FALSE PROPHETS

Readers felt sorry for the kid the moment readers were introduced to him. His dad was a drunk, his mother was dead, and he seemed sort of neglected, wearing his "thin and ragged linen shirt" (McCarthy, 3). He ran away and readers were not surprised, although his thoughts were rarely made known. The judge and Tobin had long monologues in which the kid responded with little more than "I know" and "Yeah." However, his drawing of the Four of Cups and the way that it "seemed familiar to him" (McCarthy, 99) gave readers some insight (which I will shortly explain by analyzing the meaning of the card) into his heart beyond which readers were explicitly told about him.

The Four of Cups could be associated with mercy, a divided heart (Sepich, 107), or even a "lack of devotion" (Greer, 21). The kid, after he ran away, looked for a surrogate family, something to fill the lack of nurture he received from his own family. He found a Hermit, Captain White, and Glanton and his gang, all while avoiding the judge. His desire to find something greater than himself to cling to divided his heart between the pursuit of belonging and the judge's spiritual nihilism.

At the outset of the novel, the kid encountered the hermit: "Solitary, half mad, his eyes redrimmed as if locked in their cages with hot wires. But a ponderable body for that" (McCarthy, 17). The hermit gave the kid a place to sleep for the night, water to drink and a fire to sit by. Despite his "ponderable body"—the acuity that readers are led to believe the hermit might possess—readers were soon shown that solitude does not produce a person that one aspires to be nor one with something valuable to teach others. When the kid asked where he could get some water, the hermit told him to follow the path outside. The kid protested that it is too dark, but the hermit rebutted: "It's a deep path. Foller ye feet. Foller ye mule. I caint go" (McCarthy, 17). The kid, embodying elements of the Fool on his journey, was encouraged to follow his intuition and his animal instinct, but the Hermit was no such character. He clung to the shelter that he had managed to establish. The Hermit shrugged off the wise-old-man archetype and admitted to certain limitations despite having the wisdom of survival. The novel's hermit kept a blackened human heart with him in his home, which showed readers just how removed from the rest of the world one can become when one chooses a cloistered life—the closest he came to human

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understanding was the feeling of a dried heart in his palm. In the night that he spent in the hermit's cave, the kid "woke sometime in the night with the hut in almost total darkness and the hermit bent over him and all but in his bed" (McCarthy, 21). Hermits and monks have a sort of wisdom attached to them—many people seek them out for spiritual guidance. This hermit is no such source.

Captain White is the kid's next false leader. White has had previous followers with almost cult-like zeal, such as the man who recruited the kid, telling him: "If I'd not run up on Captain White I don't know where I'd be this day. I was a sorrier sight even than what you are and he come along and raised me up like Lazarus. Set my feet on the path of righteousness" (McCarthy, 32). The man was comparing Captain White to a sort of powerful religious figure exactly the sort that gained an undeserved following. It does not take long for the kid to realize that he has walked with yet another false prophet. After a battle between the Native American army and Captain White's battalion, the kid sees Captain White's head in a jar. The kid remarked, "Somebody ought to have pickled [White's head] a long time ago. By rights they ought to pickle mine. For ever takin up with such a fool" (McCarthy, 74). In hindsight, the kid recognized the hollowness of White's command. He specifically used the word "fool," which occurs frequently within the novel and was interpreted as many instantiations of the Fool card in Tarot. This particular use likely referred to the Fool's recklessness and his ignorance of the path ahead, emphasized by Captain White's willingness to lead others to their deaths.

The taciturn kid does not seem particularly moved by John Glanton. It was the kid's ally Toadvine who put them in Glanton's service. It was not out of reverence for the man, but out of a desire to avoid prison. There were no tender moments between Glanton and the kid. However, in a conversation with the judge, the kid defended his former leader. In their last conversation as members of the Glanton gang, the judge asks the kid: "Do you think Glanton was a fool? Dont you know he'd have killed you?" (McCarthy 319). Here the Fool reappeared, again compared to perceived leaders. The judge's question seemed to imply that Glanton was not a fool. Perhaps the judge's question was meant to show the kid that Glanton was ignorant to the danger of their trade and the recklessness with which their inverted chariot rode. The kid defended the man saying: "He never took part in your craziness" (McCarthy, 320). It seems that the kid wanted to remember his leader well, but the judge rightly revealed Glanton to be another false one. Within the Glanton gang, the kid also looked to Tobin the ex-priest for guidance. When the judge turned on the kid and Tobin, they joined forces to escape from the judge. At one point, Tobin told the kid to go on without him, but the kid refused to abandon the ex-priest. Tobin apparently had no qualms about abandoning the kid, which the latter learned when he woke up in a jail cell alone. The judge, sitting on the other side of the bars, asked him this: "What joins men together, he said, is not the sharing of bread but the sharing of enemies. But if I was your enemy with whom would you have shared me? With whom? The priest? Where is he now?" (McCarthy, 319). Damningly, the judge pointed out Tobin's desertion, but not before making reference to the fact that the kid desired someone to align with. The judge suggested that the kid would not make enemies without allies and that even alliances come from animosities.

In the aftermath of the Glanton gang dispersal, the kid wandered alone for 29 years. It was in this time that readers saw his last attempt to find someone to connect with—an elderly hispanic woman who was, like the kid, completely alone. It was a surprisingly sentimental scene for one so reserved:

He made his way among the corpses and stood before her. [The lone woman] was very old and her face was gray and leathery and sand had collected in the folds of her clothing. She did not look up. The shawl that covered her head was much faded of its color yet it bore like a patent woven into the fabric the figures of stars and quartermoons and other insignia of a provenance unknown to him. He

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spoke to her in a low voice he told her that he was an American and that he was a long way from the country of his birth and that he had no family and that he had traveled much and seen many things and had been at war and endured hardships. He told her that he would convey her to a safe place, some party of her country people who would welcome her and that she should join them for he could not leave her in this place or she would surely die. (McCarthy 328)

Not only did the kid, in a seemingly uncharacteristic act of charity, tried to help the old woman, he told her that he would take her to be with her people. He admitted to her that he was not even close to his country in which he had no family. The moment he found another lone person, he immediately bonded with them, looking desperately for a human connection in this world. Most tellingly, reader were told his exact words to her: “Abuelita, he said. No puedes escucharme?” (McCarthy, 328). The kid has added a diminutive to the Spanish word for grandmother: “Abuela.” He was using the informal “tu” with her. This type of language would only be appropriate if one were talking to one’s own grandmother. Calling her “Grandmother,” might have evoked the drama of encountering Mother Earth, but instead, it more closely resembles calling one’s middle-school teacher “Mom” by accident or referring to a stranger as “Gramm-Gramm.” This scene demonstrates the kid’s desperation to find someone in this world to connect to. Yet, human connection has once again been pulled from under him when the woman turned out to be a corpse: “She was just a dried shell and she had been dead in that place for years” (McCarthy, 328).

THE JUDGE’S SPIRITUAL NIHILISM AND THE KID AS HERETIC

If the kid was so lonely, why doesn’t he turn to the judge? The judge seemed to have some fixation on him. The judge tempted the kid with payment for his pistol like the Devil in the desert; he visited him in jail; and he finally enfolded him in some awful embrace. The judge also seemed to understand the kid’s yearning, telling him: “Don’t look away. We are not speaking in mysteries. You of all men are no stranger to that feeling, the emptiness and the despair. It is that which we take arms against, is it not?” (McCarthy, 343). While the judge was taking arms, the kid was looking for someone to follow. It was in part this apparent lack of mystery that the kid rebelled against. The judge espoused this sort of positive nihilism—rather than there not being anything, there is nothing. In the same way that one might criticize the watchmaker argument and other theories of intelligent design for showing a lack of faith in the power of randomness and void, so did the judge insists that believing in nothing was different than not believing in anything. Unprovoked, he told the Glanton gang at fire one evening: “Your heart’s desire is to be told some mystery. The mystery is that there is no mystery” (McCarthy, 263). The shocking revelation of the judge’s world was not that there was some great unseen power, but that insufficient power has been attributed to what was seen. Another spiritual statement by the judge came from his speech on the nobility of war: “War is the ultimate game because war is at last a forcing of the unity of existence. War is god” (McCarthy, 261). The judge, like the kid, saw divinity in the “unity of existence.” The kid searched for a place to belong while the judge surveyed land to conquer—both set out with the intention of discovering some sort of harmony. The judge’s evidence was the word of god, delivered through: “stones and trees, the bones of things” (McCarthy, 123). Perhaps these bones include the skull of the novel’s epigraph—the scalped head of a hominid. The judge seemed aware of this or other evidence for ancient violence, as he ominously put it: “War was always here. Before man was, war waited for him. The ultimate trade awaiting its ultimate practitioner” (McCarthy, 259). “War gods” had been replaced in the west by “personal saviors,” so this notion might be unattractive to readers: all one has was what one can observe and one’s inescapable observation was that one

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was part of an enduringly violent species. The kid, readers know, was inclined towards mindless violence; yet he repeatedly rejected the judge and the judge found himself wanting.

The judge accused the kid of not being fully committed to the Glanton gang, an accusation well-illustrated by analyzing the judge as Tarot's Judgment and the kid as the Four of Cups. The judge told the kid that there was a "flawed place in the fabric of [his] heart" (McCarthy, 312), which was reminiscent of the "divided heart" sentiment of the Four of Cups. The judge went on to call the kid "mutinous" and claimed that: "You alone reserved in your soul some corner of clemency for the heathen" (McCarthy, 312). "Clemency" is "mercy [or] leniency" especially as it is "shown in the exercise of authority or power" (OED). The kid had some amount of power, which might amount to no more than his free will: his ability to choose not to shoot the judge, to help a man dig an arrow out of his leg, and even to hold back a part of himself and not fully participate in the exploits of the Glanton gang. The kid's actions were in keeping with the judge's own vision of himself as suzerain. The kid was able to maintain some amount of autonomy under the judge, who, acting as suzerain: "rules even when there are other rulers. His authority countermands local judgments" (McCarthy 207). However, by showing "clemency for the heathen," the kid's belief in mercy went against the religious order established in the judge's kingdom. As in many civilizations, this subversion of religious principles resulted in the persecution of the kept by the keeper. It might seem as though "heathen" refers to the Native Americans, as they were frequently referred to as such. However, it is clear that two major tenets of the judge's religious understanding were: there was no great mystery, and war was god. The kid himself was the heathen, and he has clemency for the part of his divided heart that continued to yearn for that mystery greater than himself and a sense of belonging. When the judge visited the kid in prison, he said to the kid: "it was required of no man to give more than he possessed nor was any man's share compared to another's only each was called upon to empty out his heart into the common and one did not" (McCarthy, 319). The kid did not give everything over to the Glanton gang because he was looking for a group to belong to, not the judge's devotion to war as an observable fact of life.

THE JUDGE AS JUDGMENT: RELIGIOUS IMAGERY IN HIS BATTLE WITH MERCY

The Tarot's Judgment depicted a scene from Revelation in which the dead were resurrected by the blowing of the archangel's trumpet. This card was often seen to represent triumph over death and higher consciousness (Place, 211), the former of which might explain why the narrator told readers thrice at the close of the novel that the judge "says that he will never die" (McCarthy, 348). Judgment and Judgment Day were repeatedly referred to in the Book of Revelation. The judge's book in which he attempted to record things before destroying them reminded one of the book of life by which humanity will be judged:

And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and all were judged according to what they had done. Then Death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. This was the second death, the lake of fire; and anyone whose name was not found written in the book of life was thrown into the lake of fire. Revelation 20:13-15

The Judgment card of the Tarot depicted this moment of resurrection and triumph over death, but readers knew that soon after, judgment would be cast, and those whom the judge has not approved for autonomy would be killed. The judge's favorite game was also present in the New Testament's final book: "war broke out in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon" (Revelation 7:7). The dragon (the Devil) lost this war and was

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sent to earth. After a stint on earth, he himself was sent to the lake of fire with “the false prophet” (Revelation 20:10), reemphasizing the presence of fraudulent and hollowed sources of meaning and malevolent deceivers. The judgment that the judge put onto the kid was also present in this apocalyptic book. In one of the letters of Revelation that the narrator was given to send to the 12 churches, it was written: “because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I am about to spit you out of my mouth” (Revelation 3:16). In this same way, the judge deemed the kid “lukewarm” —the kid is “not partisan” (McCarthy, 312). The judge attempted to evangelize to the kid of the divinity of war, but the kid clung to something more beautiful and finished the novel “against [the judge’s] immense and terrible flesh” (McCarthy, 347). The judge judged other people as well. When recording things in his book, the judge did not worry if people refused to be put into it, saying: “Whether in my book or not, every man is tabernacle in every other and he in exchange and so on in an endless complexity of being and witness to the uttermost edge of the world” (McCarthy, 147). The judge knew enough about humanity to account for everyone, to judge everyone, and he thinks little of most people. His low opinion on humanity mirrored the way in which perpetrators of heinous violence often dehumanize the groups against which they acted. In order to frame this with Tarot, I will compare this to Judge Holden’s role as the Fool.

SCIENCE AND VIOLENCE: THE DEHUMANIZATION OF THE FOOL

The Fool was often pictured with a dog or some other small pet at his heels; in *Blood Meridian*, the Fool in the card was accompanied by a cat. Some scholars compared the Fool’s relationship with his dog to a king’s relationship with his fool (Nichols, 24). The Fool has a wide range of characteristics—he could be seen as very wise in his lack of prejudice, or stupid and reckless in his blind pursuits. Thus, it was not difficult to imagine that the interchangeability of the roles of king, fool, and dog. In her article arguing that the judge best embodies the Fool, Stinson argued that the judge’s dual role as the fool and the king fulfilled his role as suzerain—ruler among and above other rulers (Stinson, 14). The judge ruled over the Glanton gang even while Glanton was the captain. For example, Glanton has great talent taming animals, but although he could make a mean dog follow him and he responded to the title of “jefe,” readers knew that the judge ultimately had the upper hand on Glanton due to their “secret commerce” and their “terrible covenant” (McCarthy, 132).

Instead of owning a dog, the judge owned a person. When the gang met a man who travelled with his mentally challenged twin brother, James Robert, the judge adopted James Robert and, as Stinson argued, James Robert assumed the role of the Fool’s dog (Stinson, 14). James Robert was mostly referred to as the imbecile and the idiot in readers’ earliest interactions with him, but was called a fool more often as the novel progresses. Keeping a man as a pet is a dehumanizing act. Towards the end of the novel, the gang takes shelter near a community of women who recognize this dehumanization and try to rectify it. They bathed James Robert, put him in a collared shirt and a wool suit, greased his hair, fed him candy, and kissed him goodnight. After this attempt to re-humanize him, James Robert returned to the water and almost drowns:

[the judge] stepped into the river and seized up the drowning idiot, snatching it aloft by the heels like a great midwife and slapping it on the back to let the water out. [...] he twisted the water from its hair and he gathered the naked and sobbing fool into his arms and carried it up into the camp and restored it among its fellows. (McCarthy, 270)

Though this might seem a sweet moment, the judge saved James Robert only to make him his personal pet.

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Someone gave James Robert alcohol and watched him dance by the fire. When the Native Americans raided the camp, they found the judge in bed with a young girl and James Robert present. James Robert followed the judge until he disappeared from the novel. The judge had no problem with treating others as though they were less than human; however, it was not merely his treatment of James Robert, but his outlook on humanity as a whole that was degrading.

During the final conversation between the kid and the judge, the latter picked apart a man across the bar. The judge criticized his lack of agency: “his life is so balked about by difficulty and become so altered of its intended architecture that he is little more than a walking hovel hardly fit to house the human spirit at all” (McCarthy, 343). The judge seemed to think this man’s existence was typical of humans, telling the kid to “Pick a man, any man” (McCarthy, 343), reaffirming his belief that every man is housed in every other. The inability of men to bend things outside themselves to their wills and realize their own destinies leads him, the judge, to devalue them. This sort of separation of oneself from inferior others had often been used to justify war and other acts of violence. Genocide Watch published a series of eight stages of genocide in 1988. The first three are classification establishing an “us and them,” symbolization naming these separate groups, and dehumanization denying the humanity of the other group. The judge was not targeting a group and calling them less than human, but rather placing himself as suzerain and judge over a species he deemed more or less insignificant on the whole. The fear of dehumanization is that: “perceiving particular groups or individuals as subhuman can form the basis for justifying social and oral exclusion” (Vasiljevic and Viki, 137). This process leaves the dehumanized population vulnerable to violence on the immeasurable scales of the genocides society had witnessed in society as well as in the world of *Blood Meridian*. Science, for many years, was concerned with defending this process of dehumanization. An “anthropologist” named William Edwards: “postulated a basic distinction of people who are tall with long heads versus those who are shorter and have round heads, which foreshadowed the dichotomy of ‘Nordics’ compared with lesser breeds. He also contended that the physical differences would correspond to mental ones” (Jahoda, 14). This was a project of phrenology, a debunked pseudoscience that sought to uncover human nature by measuring the shapes of skulls. The judge pursued a similar study with the cranium of James Robert’s brother: “The judge reached out and took hold of the man’s head in his hands and began to explore its contours” (McCarthy, 249). The judge was very curious about the fact that James Robert’s brother was not similarly afflicted. As a man of both science and violence, the judge sought figure the world in such a way that he was above those whom he judged, much in the same way that similar, historical scalp-hunters would have imagined the victims of the genocide to which they contributed.

CONCLUSION

Blood Meridian was rife with Tarot cards and similar archetypes. Analyzing these cards has led me down several paths. I explored the divided heart of the kid—the way in which the divided heart that the judge accuses him of having is illumined by his connection to the Four of Cups. This analysis required delving into the judge’s religious beliefs, if they can be called so, and the kid’s conviction that there was more to be felt. I, then, compared the judge to the Judgment card and reemphasized this conflict between mercy and judgment played out by this paper’s focal characters. Finally, the judge resembled a perverted version of the Fool, one mixed with the Devil. The judge confidently strode along the edge of the cliff with his dehumanized pet James Robert in tow. The judge considered himself a man of science, a man with an airtight philosophy, and does not question himself as he dehumanized all mankind in order to justify obscene acts of violence. Just as McCarthy opened the novel

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with a quote recounting the discovery of evidence for a genocide thousands of years old, I will close this paper with a quote from Alan McGlashan, a pilot in the first World War and a psychiatrist in the second. It similarly illustrated the real world philosophy of war as a nihilistic philosophy written into human nature:

War is the punishment of man's disbelief in those forces within himself. It is the cruel reaffirmation of those powers which the ego can never command or subdue. And disastrous as the cost may be, something in the depths of man is mysteriously assuaged by this release of daemonic and destructive energies. There is a fierce satisfaction in living under the rule of the Early Gods. There is dignity in facing powers beyond us, and indifferent to us. To be blind to this, to fail to grasp its difficult meaning, is to let slip the golden Ariadne's thread that may lead man at last out of the stinking labyrinth of War. (36-7)

Not only does this beautifully capture McCarthy's style—with ancient indifferent gods and the veneration of war, but it also described the nature of the kid's divided heart. The kid rejected the judge why? He fought against his own nature and his inclination for violence in defense of the human spirit. The kid "fails to grasp its difficult meaning," and only fought harder against his own shadow as it manifested in the judge. Readers, like the kid, cognitively or even spiritually knew that humans have no need to partake in war and violence, but to dismiss them from human nature was to underestimate our capabilities to apply science and religion to justify cruelty of which all humans are capable. The judge used twisted logic to marry barbarity and moral reasoning; the kid struggled to oppose the judge's nihilism with a belief system that allowed for humans to be violent while still being deemed good by some undefined objective moral truth.



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Associate Editor: Nicole Kurka

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Title: Exploring Turn-Taking and Discourse Markers through Generations

ABSTRACT

While studies have explored organized turn-taking conventions (Schlegoff et. al 1974) and conversational analysis among friends (Tannen, 1984), less work has investigated how small units of discourse differ across generations (though see Schiffrin 1987 and Naya 2006). In this study, I audio-recorded conversations between female friends of two generations - Baby Boomers and Millennials – and compared the frequency and form of minimal feedback (i.e., “mm hm”, “yeah”) between the two groups. The results suggest that both the overall frequency of minimal feedback has changed over time, as well as the discourse markers used in giving minimal feedback.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes turn-taking between friends and focuses on minimal feedback, the frequency of minimal feedback, and if minimal feedback has changed over time. During a conversation, one person typically speaks at a time. The person holding the floor and talking is identified as the Speaker. The other person who is listening to the speaker in the conversation is identified as the Listener. The roles identified within a conversation, the Speaker and the Listener, are not fixed; they are constantly switching between the people who are holding the conversation. If the roles switch between the people who are holding the conversation, then this is identified as a 'turn' (Schegloff et. al. 1974).

However, sometimes the Listener will speak even when it is not their turn, such as when trying to take the floor through an interruption or to indicate that they are listening. The latter contribution is called minimal feedback which consists of small units or words or phrases that indicate to the Speaker that the Listener is listening to the conversation. Units of minimal feedback are considered a featured class noted as 'discourse markers' (Schiffrin 1987): 'little words' like oh and well, and phrases like y'know and I mean. Arguably, these features are seen as 'inarticulate' and 'sloppy' in speech and described as 'meaningless' and 'fillers' (devices speakers use to 'fill out' their remarks then have nothing of substance to say). However, Schiffrin argues that the smallest details of talk are functional and potentially meaningful: if something is 'there' in people's talk, then it must be there for some purpose. While linguistics as a field views language as unstable and ever-changing. (Abbou and Baider, 2006), little work has investigated changes over time in discourse styles and minimal feedback (though see Schiffrin 1987 and Naya 2006).

In this paper, I attempt to fill that gap by investigating discourse markers and minimal feedback exhibited in speech patterns from the Boomer and Millennial generations. By comparing speakers of different ages to investigate changes over time, this study rests on the assumptions of the Apparent-Time Hypothesis which assumes that most features of language acquired by a person will remain relatively unchanged throughout an individual's lifetime, especially once that individual has reached a certain age. Therefore, by comparing the speech today of two generations: Boomers (born 1946 - 1964) and Millennials (born 1982 - 2004), we assume that any differences we observe reflect differences between the speech of, for example, 20 year olds in 2018 and 20 year olds in 1978.

II. METHODOLOGY

The participants (all native speakers of U.S. English, and female) were interviewed in pairs (the participant and the friend). Four pairs of eight women were from the Baby Boomer generation, and four pairs of eight women were from the Millennial generation. I conducted all interviews and asked the pairs questions about any historical or cultural influences and their notion of politeness, and they would answer together. The interviews were all audio-recorded for no more than an hour. These questions generated co-constructed conversations, where turn-taking was observed as well as the use of minimal feedback. Table 1 shows the average age of participants and the average duration of their interviews in minutes.

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Table 1. Interview and Participant Information

Interview and Participant Information	Boomers	Millennials
Average Age of Participants:	58.5	21.3
Average Interview Time (minutes):	32.83	42.39

III. CODING

Each audio recording was transcribed, and all turns within a subsection (5 - 10 minutes) of each interview were identified. A 'turn' is defined in this study as any time the roles between the participants switched. For example: If the Speaker is talking and then the Listener begins to speak over them, the Listener then becomes the Speaker and the Speaker becomes the Listener. Hence, any time the roles of the individuals change, a turn has occurred.

For example:

1. Keep

Is defined in a 'turn' when the Speaker is talking and is not interrupted by the listener at all, hence the Speaker's flow of speech is uninterrupted and they continue to talk. Hence, 'Keep' is defined as a way for the speaker to hold onto their turn.

Example:

A: I thought mine was small from high school

L: mhm

A: mine was two hundred and ten

2. Switch

Indicates that the role of the Speaker and Listener change. Hence the participant who was the 'Speaker' is now the 'Listener' and the Listener is now the Speaker. initial speaker has been interrupted and speaker two now holds the floor

Example:

A: that's **[right]**

L: **[where]** your classes are

After turns were identified and roles were established, they were then coded for:

'Who': Identify the speaker

'What': The discourse marker and minimal feedback was uttered

'Type': of minimal feedback: Content Adding [CA], New Thing [NT], Eval [E], Listening [L], Agreement [A], and Other.

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I developed the 'Type' coding system specifically for this study because the amount of minimal feedback that was provided by the Listener to the Speaker was outstanding, I wanted a way to organize the immense quantity in order to better understand it so I could evaluate and then define the minimal feedback.

Content Adding (CA) feedback is when the listener builds on what has already been stated by the speaker, using an already stated phrase and building from that.

Example:

L: **i'm glad it happened**

S: **i'm glad it** did too cause I feel like there was definitely a bond there

New Thing (NT) feedback is identified as changing the topic. If the roles within the conversations change, for instance if the listener becomes the speaker by interrupting and discussing matters of a new topic, then this notion would illustrate 'NT' feedback.

Example:

S: [fingers crossed]

L: [**mhm**] **so what do you have to do tonight**

S: i keep like i keep missed two of them and she doesn't let you do them again and she's like
once you miss them you miss them

L: oh

3. Evaluative (E) feedback is identified through the use of a small phrases typically beginning with (i.e. "that" "oh" or "well"). Dependent upon what phrase was expressed by the listener, the word should be noted and distinguished in the Evaluative column. For instance, in the example provided above, "that's so cute," the word "cute" would be labeled under the Evaluative column. Whatever the context provided after the minimal phrase would be noted under the Evaluative column.

Example:

L: to find out eh well maybe that's not the [right way]

A: [**oh** that's] funny

Example II:

S: **that's** kind of fun

L: yeah so

S: it's going to be pretty fun

4. Listening (L) feedback indicates a particular type of marker that indicates the engagement of the person who is listening through a small utterance and a lower intonation level would indicate that 'L' feedback is being illustrated and through the forms: (i.e. : yeah, mhm, right, uh huh etc.).

Example:

L: mhm

S: **i don't know**

L: yeah

5. Agreement (A) Feedback is identified by the role of the Listener as a form of agreement through feedback. A rise in the Listener's intonation level would indicate that 'A' feedback is being illustrated and through utterances: [i.e. :yes, true, exactly, I know].

Example:

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L: i'm not sure whose mourned the kids or the pa[rents]

A: [exactly] well that'

6. 'Other' was created if there was not a clear marker and hence could not be classified into any of the 'Types,' noted above in my Coding.

IV. RESULTS

4.1 Type

Table 2: Proportions and Raw Numbers of Different Types of Minimal Feedback by Generation

Table II	A	CA	E	L	NT	Other	Grand Total
Boomer	0.2 (70)	0.39 (113)	0.04 (11)	0.12 (40)	0.07 (20)	0.07 (20)	274
Millennia l	0.24 (60)	0.41 (100)	0.06 (14)	0.07 (19)	0.09 (22)	0.04 (11)	226
Grand Total	0.24 (130)	0.64 (213)	0.05 (25)	0.1 (59)	0.09 (42)	0.06 (31)	500

Table 2 illustrates the distinct 'types' I coded for within my transcripts. Overall, Boomers produce more minimal feedback (274 vs. 226) over the selected time period. The significance of these numbers shows that the older participants provided more minimal feedback in their conversations. This suggests a possible change over time: speakers today may be providing less minimal feedback than speakers in the past did.

To see whether the feedback differed in terms of type, I calculated the proportions of each type of minimal feedback. As seen in Table 2, most Types are very similar across Baby Boomers and Millennials, except for the 'L' listening column (see Figure 1). To investigate whether this difference was significant, I conducted a Fisher's T-Test comparing the proportion of feedback that was coded as Listening across the two groups. The Fisher's exact test statistic value is 0.0708, which is not significant at $\alpha < .07$, though is close, and possibly with more data, we would find that Baby Boomers give more feedback that indicates listening relative to Millennials

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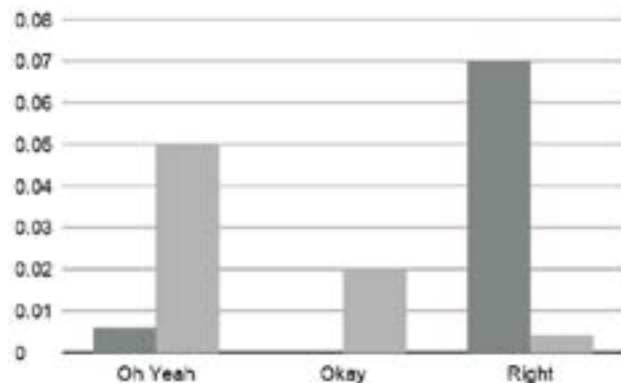
4.2 Discourse Markers

Table 3: Proportions and Raw Numbers of Most Frequently used Discourse Markers by Generati

Table 3	mhm	oh yeah	okay	right	yeah	Other	Grand Total
Boomer	0.04 (12)	0.006 (2)	0 (0)	0.07 (23)	0.18 (53)	0.67 (184)	274
Millennia l	0.02 (6)	0.05 (13)	0.02 (6)	0.004 (1)	0.15 (39)	0.78 (207)	226
Grand Total	0.001 (18)	0.02 (15)	0.01 (6)	0.04 (24)	0.17 (92)	0.7 (391)	500

The data exhibited in Table 3 shows the proportions and raw numbers (in brackets) of the discourse markers most frequently used from the 'Listening' type, which was extracted from the five to ten minute mark in the transcripts.

I ran Fisher's T-Test to check whether the differences in rates of usage of each of the markers was significant, focusing on the forms that appeared to have the biggest difference in Table 2. Specifically, I analyzed the data by counting each marker and found that oh yeah, okay, and right to the Grand Total column (see Figure 2). The differences in the use of right were used more frequently by the Boomer speakers. Meanwhile, the use of oh yeah and okay were used more frequently by the Millennial speakers and these differences were all statistically significant ($\alpha < 0.05$).



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The Function & Definition of the Most Frequently used Discourse Markers:

Right

A recent study has evaluated the function of right as a discourse marker. Right is associated with agreement and illustrates the listener agreeing with a previous statement (Naya, 158).

Example :

D: she was very sick so Paul took me around

N: **right**

D: **right**

N: that's **right** . and then . . my favorite part about Diana was i wanted to [.]

Oh Yeah

The function of oh indicates that the listener was listening to the speaker and recognized something. Oh focuses on creating fluidity between turns (Fuller, 2003). Yeah is the most frequently used discourse marker and functions as acknowledgment by the listener. (Jucker and Smith, 1998).

Example:

S: i'd say excuse me please

L: yeah . yeah and if they didn't . it depends if they're like just being like [obnoxio]usly large

S: **[oh yeah]**

Okay

Classified in conversations to create coherence between speaker turns (Fuller, 2003). Further analysis has evaluated the role of okay as 'transitionally relevant' in speech exchange systems (Beach, 1991).

Example:

C: I always call her and I'm like come over

Q: **okay**

C: **okay** I'll see you in studio **okay**

Q: last year, I had a key to her house

V. CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study was to analyze turn-taking between friends by focusing on minimal feedback, the frequency of minimal feedback, and if minimal feedback has changed over time. By looking at the speech of sixteen women, I found evidence that Millennial speakers gave less minimal feedback overall than the Boomer speakers. Even though there is not a distinct significance between the classified 'types' in conversations among the generations, the Boomer generation happened to use more discourse markers within their conversations compared to the Millennial generation. An evaluation and analysis of this time variation, The Apparent Time *Hypothesis*, could indicate that there is a difference in the way conversations are held between the generations.

There has also been a distinct change in discourse markers over the course of time when Listeners are giving minimal feedback. The Baby Boomer's use the marker right significantly more than Millennials, who appear to have replaced it with the markers okay and oh yeah.

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Title: The Impact of Christianity on Israel-Palestine Peace Relations

ABSTRACT

When analyzing the Israel-Palestine conflict, one may be tempted to focus solely on the political and historical situation of the geographic land. However, it is also important to consider the deeply embedded religious traditions of the area. When doing so, one will come across Christian Zionism, an impediment to peace. Some of the most prominent voices find validation for their narratives and actions through Christian Zionism. Zionism, in all forms, is an ideology that anchors Jews to Eretz Yisrael, the land of Biblical Israel. Some forms of Zionism include a system of balancing accumulations of land, resources, and wealth with the displacement of Palestinians. This belief that the Jews have a divine right to the accumulation of land and resources legitimizes Zionism in their conquering of the past-legitimate Palestine. Thus, as Palestinian scholar Edward Said states, Zionism is an imported ideology in which Palestinians “pay and suffer” (Said, 1978).

Christian Zionism consists of a variety of beliefs that promote and protect the Israeli state and government, while also dehumanizing the Palestinians and equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. As a result, Christian Zionism is a challenging obstacle, one that is necessary to overcome to establish peace. Therefore, due to Christians being called to live peacefully (Colossians 3:15), the Christian tradition must seek and adhere to an alternative theology to Christian Zionism. Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology is a relevant way to interpret Scriptures based on the Christian tradition of peace found in the Old and New Testaments. Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology disputes dual-covenant theology and dispensationalism, two characteristics of Christian Zionism, while focusing on liberating the Palestinian from the oppression under the Israeli occupation. Therefore, Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology provides a workable road to peace, while Christian Zionism is solely a road block.

UNDERSTANDING CHRISTIAN ZIONISM IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Although many have claimed that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a continuation of an ancient religious dispute, this is simply not true (Tessler, 1994). Contrary to the common narrative that war has always raged in the Middle East, one can pinpoint the beginning spark of conflict between the Israelis and Arabs to a century ago and, more specifically, November 2, 1917. On this day, Arthur James Balfour signed the Balfour Declaration, inspired by a surge in “national consciousness, aspiration, and development [...] providing an intellectual backdrop, inspiration and guide” (Morris, 2008). This momentous document stated, “His Majesty’s [King George V] government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object” (Balfour, 1917). Thus, Palestinian land was compromised and promised to Jews for a Jewish home. As a result, this declaration led to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Started by the Balfour Declaration, a chronic disease of conflict spread throughout Arab-Jewish relationships. Prior to the Declaration, Arabs and Jews lived in relative peace yet after 1917, violence spiked between Jewish settlers and Arabs (Morris, 2008). In 1920, the intercommunal conflict in Mandatory Palestine began due to violent Zionism and Arab nationalism, prodded along by the influence of international foreign

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influences, such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Central to this conflict was the ideology of the right to the land. Although the Arabs had been in the land since the Ottoman Empire overtook Israel in the early 6th century, Palestine was not recognized as a nation-state. Therefore, as with the Zionist phrase, “a land without a people, for a people without a land,” the presence of the Arabs was ignored.

The conflict between the Arabs and Jews rose to an all-time high in 1948. For the Israelis, 1948 is a year of celebration leading to their Declaration of Independence. The War of Independence, also known as the War of Liberation, celebrates the victory and creation of the modern state of Israel based on Zionist ideals. Influential in early discussions of conflict, Chaim Weizmann claimed 1948 is remembered differently in Israel Proper and Occupied Palestine (McDowall, 1987). Palestinians have come to refer to 1948 as the Nakba, the catastrophe. The Nakba refers to the more than 700,000 Palestinians expelled from their homes through the conquest and destruction of the war (McDowall, 1987). This War of 1948 was the “inevitable result of more than half a century of Arab-Jewish friction and conflict” (Morris, 2008). As a result of the war, Israel maintained the territory granted to them by the United Nations, gained nearly 60% of conquered Palestinian land, and occupied the remaining land in the West Bank and Gaza (Morris, 2008).

In 1987, the Holy Land saw another wave of violence due to organized Palestinian uprisings and boycotts protesting against the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli government responded quickly and violently through house raids and shootings. After six years of attacks, 1,162-1,204 Palestinians died (compared to the 160 Israeli killed) (Nasarallah, 2013). Despite major losses, the Palestinians received the right of self-government and the Palestinian Authority was established via the Oslo Accord (Cronin, 2012).

The Oslo Accord was “heralded as the beginning of a new era in the Middle East peace process” (Gopin, 2002). However, peace was short-lived. In 2000, a second wave of Palestinian uprisings began the Second Intifada in response to the breakdown in Oslo peace negotiations (Marton, 2004). This intifada included extreme use of military force by the Israelis, which was incomparable to the actions of the Palestinians. While the Palestinians would host demonstrations and throw stones, the Israeli government would respond with tear gas and bullets. “During this period, Israel’s tendency to believe in, and rely on, power intensified to a toxic level. Israel’s enormous military arsenal (endlessly renewed by the US) reinforces their reliance on the use of force” (Marton, 2004). Due to the extreme violence, the Second Intifada saw higher casualties, an estimated 3,000 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis (Terrorism, 2014). Despite protest from the United Nations, a large separation wall was built between Israel proper and occupied Palestine as a result of the conflict’s resolution in 2005. This wall drew new boundaries diverging severely from the Green Line boundaries established in 1967.

Since 1967, violence has continued through numerous attacks carried out by both populations. This violence is fueled, in part, by Christian Zionism, which contributes by inspiring funding and support for the Jewish State. Understanding Christian Zionism’s implication in the Middle East violence is particularly important for the United States, which houses the largest population of Christian Zionists in the world. As a result, American Christians must take seriously the threat of Christian Zionism and, therefore, consider alternatives, such as Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology. With the largest Christian Zionist population in the United States, it is critical for the United States to understand Christian Zionism and the role they play in the conflict. U.S. Christians must reevaluate and adopt another theology, in order for peace discussions to be successful.

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CHRISTIAN ZIONISM

Christian Zionism's rise to public awareness began with the formation of a Protestant America, where many prayed fervently for a restoration of a Jewish homeland, in order to usher in a new era of religious flourishing and vibrancy. There are more than 45 million active Christian Zionists in America, with the Assembly of God and the Southern Baptist Convention drawing the largest numbers (Harris, 2008). Many influential Christian Zionists leaders set up base in America, including Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. These dedicated Christian Zionists work to maintain and preserve Jewish control over Israel-Palestine.

Christian Zionism comes in many configurations, but the real-world effects of its varied forms are clear and devastating. Christian Zionism has contributed to the destruction and death of many Palestinians suggesting that Christian Zionism's theology is inimical to violence. Sadly, many arrive at Christian Zionism because they are unaware of any alternative theologies or other perspectives than the one their church teaches. Thus, they are unaware to the plight of the Palestinians.

Other Christian Zionists draw on the theology of dispensationalism. Popularized by Cyrus Scofield, dispensationalism states the Jewish return to Israel will begin the end times. This eschatology rests on creating a divide between the Christian Church and the Jewish people. Focused primarily on the Book of Revelation, Dispensationalists believe God's divine plan for the Church and the Jewish people are separate, but correlated (Woodbridge, 2006). A part of this plan is the reestablishment of the state of Israel as interpreted from Ezekiel 37:21-22:

Then say to them, Thus says the Lord God: I will take the people of Israel from the nations among which they have gone, and will gather them from every quarter, and bring them to their own land. I will make them one nation in the land, on the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king over them all. Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms (NRSV).

Dispensationalists believe God's fulfillment of the Jewish covenant, including securing a nation, will lead to God's fulfillment of the Church's covenant. In doing so, dispensationalists believe this will be a precursor to the end times and establishment of a new Heaven.

Another group of Christian Zionists adheres to dual-covenant theology. The tenants of dual-covenant theology include the belief that the Old Covenant, contained in the Old Testament, is an active covenant for the Jewish people, while the New Covenant of the New Testament pertains only to Gentiles. The terms of the Old Covenant include Eretz Yisrael, the Biblical land of Israel, granted to the Jews unconditionally by God. As a result, dual-covenant followers do not view Israelis as the occupiers, but as the rightful owners of Israel-Palestine (Kaplan & Cantz, 2014).

Lastly, Christian Zionists may also connect to post-Holocaust theology. Post-Holocaust theology states that the world owes the Jews the land of Israel out of repentance for the Holocaust. Following the Holocaust, the Christian Church struggled to amend their theology to rid itself of obvious anti-Semitic literature. As a result, unquestioning support of Israel arose. In a process of repentance for past actions and inactions against the Jews, unwavering support of Israel is justified (Braverman, 2009).

Regardless of the reason, Christian Zionists share a call to work towards preserving the land of Israel. Based on an interpretation of Genesis 12:3a "I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you, I will curse," Christian Zionists believe their work will bring great reward. Although Christian Zionists have their own reasons for supporting Israel, their efforts are in turn encouraged by the Israeli government who

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supports and encourages Christian Zionism through the International Christian Embassy, which seeks to engage international Christians in activism supporting Israel's maintenance.

PALESTINIAN CHRISTIAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

In response to Christian Zionism, Rev. Mitri Raheb, a Lutheran pastor in Bethlehem, pioneered Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology. This theology seeks to challenge Zionism through an emphasis on justice and nonviolence, which is manifested in creative resistance. Raheb and other faith leaders use this theological perspective to challenge the Jewish divine right to Israel, asking questions such as, "What is the promised land?" and "Are God's chosen people solely based on ethnicity?" Rev. Munther Isaac, the Academic Dean of Bethlehem Bible College, has dedicated his career to studying Christian Zionism and Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology. As a result, Munther believes in a one-state solution. In his book *From Land to Lands, from Eden to the Renewed Earth*, Munther states the land must be shared in order for peace to be achieved. This peace is possible only if one allows for the idea of divine right extending to all people. By emphasizing the universality of divine right, Munther challenges Christians to advance peace by being Good Samaritans and refusing to turn a blind eye to Palestinians and their equal claim to the land.

Leading the advance of Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology in the United States is Rev. Walter Brueggemann, a pastor and Old Testament scholar. In his book *Chosen? Reading the Bible Amid the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Brueggemann argues Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology is the most peace-producing biblical interpretation of texts regarding Israel and is the way for modern Christians to react to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Brueggemann expands his argument by addressing questions Christians face when considering the role of Zionism, such as God's land covenant in the Old Testament and the conditionality of the land holding. Thus, Brueggemann challenges Christians to become advocates for human rights by moving beyond a place of ignorance and seeking an in-depth understanding of the conflict from the sides of all involved.

Many churches in the United States are responding to the call of Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology. The first denomination to respond was the Reformed Church in America in 2004. The Reformed Church declared the ideology of Christian Zionism an "extreme form of dispensationalism" and a "distortion" of the Biblical message (RCA, 2004). With growing agreement, the National Council of Churches called a workgroup to examine the topic of Christian Zionism. In 2007, the National Council of Churches released a statement condemning Christian Zionism:

The theological stance of Christian Zionism adversely affects: justice and peace in the Middle East, delaying the day when Israelis and Palestinians can live within secure borders relationships with Middle Eastern Christians relationships with Jews, since Jews are seen as mere pawns in an eschatological scheme relationships with Muslims, since it treats the rights of Muslims as subordinate to the rights of Jews interfaith dialogue, since it views the world in starkly dichotomous terms (NCC, 2017).

After the release of this statement, the Presbyterian Church (USA), and the United Church of Christ declared their denunciation of Christian Zionist theology. The last to join in 2017 was the Mennonite Church USA, releasing a statement criticizing Christian Zionism and empathizing with the Palestinian experience.

Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology refutes all three positions of Christian Zionism, dispensationalism, dual-covenant theology, and post-Holocaust theology. While dispensationalism creates a divide between the Christian Church and the Jewish people, Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology analyzes

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the Old Testament to show how dispensations are replaced by a New Covenant. In this New Covenant, grace is found reconciling all to God and removing divisions. In Galatians 3:28, this New Covenant is described: “there is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus” (NRSV). Additionally, Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology refutes the dual-covenant of Christian Zionism by including all under one covenant, instead of separating Jews and non-Jews. By doing so, both Israelis and Palestinians have an equal right to the land and the Israelis have no right to discriminate against the Palestinians. Lastly, post-Holocaust theology is debunked. Palestinian Liberation Theology states that the atrocities of the Holocaust do not merit the current harm to the Palestinians. Palestinian Liberation Theology urges the Christian Church to repent for the Holocaust, while also fighting for the rights of non-Jews in Israel-Palestine.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN CHRISTIAN ZIONISM AND PALESTINIAN CHRISTIAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Both Christian Zionism and Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology hold a special reverence for the Jews as God’s chosen people. This statement is found throughout the Bible. In the Old Testament, Deuteronomy 7:6 states, “For you are a people holy to the LORD your God. The LORD your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on the face of the earth to be His people, His treasured possession” (NRSV). In the New Testament, this favor remains, “as regards election they [Israel] are beloved; for the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable” (Romans 11: 28-29, NRSV). Christian Zionists use verses such as these to legitimize a holy Israel over the non-favored Palestinians. Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology explores these verses in a larger context of history to reach the realization that God supports the Palestinians too.

Although there is no doubt in the Bible’s statements of God’s love for Israel, much has since changed. The love of Israel was originally bestowed upon vulnerable Jews experiencing the repression of many conquering nations, including the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Romans. As seen in the Old and New Testaments, God loves the vulnerable. From favoring the second-born and crowning the youngest brother to eating with sinners and conversing with Gentiles, “the Lord lifts up the downtrodden [while,] He casts the wicked to the ground” (Psalm 147:6, NRSV). Therefore, the God that loved and intervened on the behalf of the downtrodden Israel is also at work on the behalf of Palestine. The Palestinians now suffer under the repression of Israel due to the Israeli hostile occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as, the illegal seizing of land and settlements built in Palestinian territories. Thus, God’s support and love extends to the Palestinians too.

Another argument of Christian Zionism is that God ordained the State of Israel to be solely for the Jews: “for all the land which you see, I will give it to you and to your descendants forever” (Genesis 13:15). When establishing the State of Israel, many Jews demanded that the biblical land of Israel be the only acceptable homeland. Many of these Jews stated that the land was promised unconditionally to Israel and, thus, is the rightful inheritance of modern Jews. Christian Zionists tend to support this view by seeing Palestinians as enemies to God for occupying Israel’s rightful land. Additionally, many Christian Zionists believe the Messiah will return only if the covenantal land is occupied. However, Palestinian Liberation Theology views this covenant quite differently on the basis of supporting biblical Deuteronomic Laws.

Although the land is given unconditionally, the land is held conditionally (Brueggemann, 2015). Isaiah 1:19 states, “if you are willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land” (NRSV, emphasis added). Although the land is unconditionally given, only through obedience will the rewards of the covenant be

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reaped. Due to their unfaithfulness, Jerusalem is continuously destroyed and the Jews sent into exile. It is within exile that the land becomes a “bedrock conviction” for Jews (Brueggemann, 2015). The idea of returning to the land becomes a part of the Jewish identity: “If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither! Let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest joy” (Psalm 137:5-6, NRSV). With this idea came the belief in a homogeneous culture; the idea that only Jews can occupy the land. However, the homogeneous culture of Israel is not supported biblically. Throughout the Bible, God is continuously welcoming the outsider into the pact of Israel. For example, God welcomes Ruth the Moabite, as well as the repenting Nineveh (Brueggemann, 2015). Although Christian Zionists seek to exclude the other by giving exclusionary land rights to Israel, God, in fact, has given the land unconditionally to all, following Israel’s loss of conditional holding on the land.

One can understand the Christian Zionist usage of the Bible to exclude the other. Many throughout time have done so. For example, some Christians have used the Bible to merit excluding minority races, women, and the LGBTQ+ community from church involvement. When reading the Bible searching for reasons to exclude, a person can find verses to support his or her fears. In the case of Israel-Palestine, Christian Zionists read the Bible to say that God has chosen to love Israel and grant Israel land unconditionally and exclusively. As a result, a dangerous ideology appears that limits God’s love to God’s people to a one-dimensional possibility. However, through a closer reading of the Bible, one can see God’s abounding love for the vulnerable and the diverse (Brueggeman, 2015). This is the ideology that Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology embraces and seeks to use in order to facilitate peace.

THE CHALLENGE OF SUPPORTING PALESTINIAN CHRISTIAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Churches that reject Christian Zionism are frequently labeled “anti-Semitic” by both Israel and other churches. Israel is quick to label those who do not support Zionism as anti-Semitic in order to protect themselves from criticism. Some, including Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, believe it is in Israel’s best interest to erase the line between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Ben-Gurion stated that he sought to “prove that the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism is not a distinction at all” (Noam, 2010). Additionally, Christian Zionist churches are quick to label anti-Zionism as anti-Semitic. For example in, neo-conservative Jewish journalist, Jonathan Tobin’s article “Presbyterians Declare War on the Jews”, he discusses the Presbyterian (USA) statement against anti-Zionism as, “a full-blown attack against the very concept of Zionism and seeks to compare Zionism to the Christian anti-Semitism that led to the Holocaust and other historical atrocities. [It] not only swallows the Palestinian narrative about Middle East history whole, it is nothing less than a declaration of war on Israel and American Jewry” (Tobin, 2014). Thus, churches that deny Christian Zionism and embrace Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology face a tremendous obstacle.

Although Christians have much to regret for their role in the anti-Semitism leading to the Holocaust, a fear of being labeled anti-Semitic is not an excuse for unwavering support of Israel (Brueggemann, 2015). The atrocities of the Holocaust are just as real as the atrocities being carried out against the Palestinians. Christians cannot be indifferent to the reality of thwarted peace created by Christian Zionism. With courage and humility, those who adhere to Palestinian Christian Liberation Theology are challenged to respond to this new political reality with new duties (Brueggemann, 2015).

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CONCLUSION

Due to the heightened religious tensions surrounding the politics of Israel-Palestine, any peace solution must address religion. Marc Gopin, director of the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, discusses the important role of religion in the peace process in his book *Holy War, Holy Peace: How Religion Can Bring Peace to the Middle East*. Gopin argues that the Abrahamic faiths have made war holy; however, in doing so peace has become holy. In the Abrahamic traditions, peace has become ritualized, therefore, in seeking peace in the Middle East, one must analyze the ritual of peace within the context of religion. Yet, “holy peacemaking” has been overlooked by scholars and activists who ignore cultural and religious factors (Gopin, 2002). Thus, the current peace aspirations “do not embrace the basic needs of average people on all sides” and “are bound to fail” through ignoring the religious sphere (Gopin, 2002). It is only through including religion that the peace process can move beyond its fragile state and look towards a longer lasting solution rooted in ritual and tradition.

In analyzing religion, one will find the challenge that Christian Zionism presents to the peace process. Christian Zionism protects the statehood of a Jewish Israel and demerits the Palestinians’ claim to the land. As a result, Israel’s occupation of Palestinian territories and discrimination against Palestinians is declared legitimate. In order for this violence to end, Christians cannot “reduce the Bible to an ideological prop for the state of Israel, as though support of Israel were a final outcome of biblical testimony” (Brueggemann, 2015). Instead, Christians need to evaluate their faith traditions to find the God who seeks out and protects the lowly and oppressed. When doing so, one will encounter the Palestinian Liberation Theology, a satisfying and accurate alternative to Christian Zionism. Palestinian Liberation Theology is able to refute Christian Zionism through reevaluation of the Old Testament covenant through the lens of the New Testament, which describes a New Covenant. This New Covenant requires a renewed vigor for the care of the oppressed and is a foundation on which to build lasting peace.

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